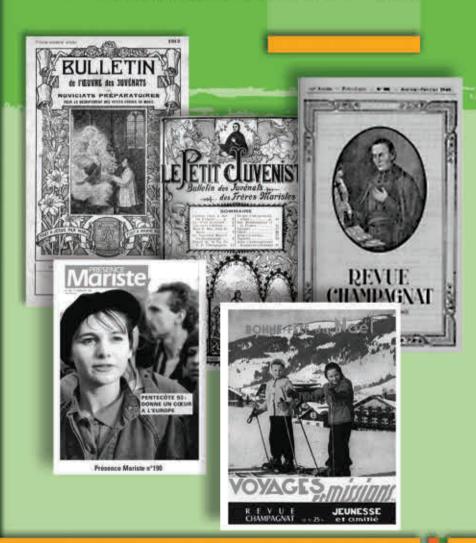
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- 1. Marist Brothers History.
- Spirituality.
- 3. Cultural patrimony. I. Fratelli Maristi delle Scuole.

CDD - 200

TABLE OF CONTENTS

3 EDITORIAL

André Lanfrey, fms and Antonio Ramalho, fms

ARTICLES

Spanish translations of circulars of the Superiors General Stella Maris and F.T.D. in the vanguard of emancipation from Marist Francophone centralism Antonio Martínez Estaún. fm



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From Bulletin de l'Œuvre des Juvénats to Présence Mariste (1879-2022)
Recruiting vocations, making the Institute known and spreading the Marist spirit

André Lanfrey, fms



alanfrey@maristas.net

29 Fifty years of Marist history in Korea Juan Castro, fm





Marist Ardèche:
its contribution to the wider Marist world
Georges Cellier, fms



gcellier@maristes.net

Annals of the Province of Constantinople - 1892 to 1942

Gérard Cuinet, fms

qeqelyon6@gmail.com



The Province of Santa María de los Andes, Twenty years of bringing Marcellin's dream alive in Peru, Chile and Bolivia

Francisco J. Fores Sánchez





The herbarium of the college of Pamplona Science and art at the time of school museums

André Lanfrey, fms | Victor Pastor, fms

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The long journey for legal recognition of the Little Brothers of Mary (1822-1851)
Tensions between the founding vision and the political-religious reality

André Lanfrey, fms, et

alanfrey@maristes.net



Brother François as formator of brother directors - An analysis of Letter 1374

Antonio Martínez Estaún, fmss

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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EDITORIAL

In this year of the Marist vocation, Marist Notebooks 41 approaches the theme by looking at our Marist mission in various times, regions and Provinces. The contributors to this issue do this from a range of perspectives. Brother Georges Cellier recalls for us us that the region of the Ardèche was a place of massive recruitment, then of sending Brothers from the Provinces of St Paul and Aubenas to the four corners of the world. Brother Gérard Cuinet evokes the golden age of the Province of Constantinople where Europe and the Middle East meet, and of which the Brothers in Greece are the heirs today. Brother Michael Green refers us to two other Marist regions that started in the nineteenth century: Australia and Ireland. The new Andean Province mentioned by Francisco J. Flores Sánchez, and Korea, founded by Brothers from Mexico, remind us of a new phase of mission in the twentieth century in a world that was already very different from that of the nineteenth.

Treatment of the Marist vocation takes us not only through a diversity of Provinces and regions, but also of activities. Without having consulted each other, several authors speak to us of activities that are associated with our mission but that are too often forgotten. We remember in particular publications such as Présence Mariste in France, the distant successor to the Bulletin de l'œuvre de juvénats (Br André Lanfrey), or Stella Maris covered by Brother Antonio Martínez Estaún, which published some of the Circulars of the Superiors General in Spanish. This opens an area that deserves to be better appreciated and researched. Also worthy of more attention are works of art, science and pedagogy, such as the herbarium preserved in Pamplona, described for us by Brother Victor Pastor.

In this issue there is a only a limited treatment of our origins and on notable characters in our history.

But we believe that they are considered from a relatively original angle. The article on the legal recognition of the Institute presents the Founder as a political-religious personality, an perspective from which we are not used to looking at him. The letter of Brother François to the Director of the school in Breteuil near Paris (Brother Antonio Martínez Estaún) comprises high spirituality with grounded realism. Is it not a good example of what we would call today prophetic and servant leadership?

A new feature, to conclude. Since issue 40 of Marist Notebooks (2022), you may have noticed that we have included a technological feature called QR Code (Quick Response Code). This feature allows access to additional content: on the cover, the QR Code invites you to a quick poll about the profile of the reader and the path taken by Marist Notebooks around the world. We will be grateful to those who take part in this survey. At the opening of each article, the QR Code goes to a video that presents the author and his motivations.

To access this interactive content in the printed notebook, point your smartphone camera at the QR Code and click on the suggested link. For the digital version of the notebook, click on the code.

We hope you enjoy the novelty and feel motivated to interact with us



SPANISH TRANSLATIONS OF CIRCULARS OF THE SUPERIORS GENERAL

Stella Maris and F.T.D. in the vanguard of emancipation from Marist Francophone centralism



Antonio Martínez Estaún, fms

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE VOLUME **CIRCULARES** SELECTAS

Dans la Bibliothèque mariste du MIn the Marist library at the Santa Maria de Bellpuig monastery in Las Avellanes there is a large volume entitled Circulares Selectas (Selected Circulars) containing the Spanish translation of 23 Circulars of the Superiors General. It includes five Circulars by Brother François, 14 by Brother Louis-Marie, one by Brother Stratonique, one by Brother Diogène and two by Brother Leonida.

The 23 Circulars are arranged with Roman numerals indicating the sequence of the fascicules in which they were published. Although the volume is a single book, the translations in it were done in instalments, with the compilation of the fascicules into one volume completed later.

Following the vicissitudes in the communities and schools of Marist Spain in the 1930s, in the De casa section of the periodical Stella Maris, the family review of the Province, we find translations of the Circulars of the Superiors General from French into Spanish. This arose in response to a need that emerged from the Plan of Studies drawn up by the Province's Commission of Studies:

Circulares Selectas

The great need felt by our young Brothers to have at their disposal the Circulars of our Superiors General, Reverend Brothers François and Louis-Marie, so they can do the study required to develop greater doctrinal depth, has become all the more intense as the spiritual-professional Plan of Studies of our Brothers takes shape.

In order to remedy this situation, the Province Commission of Studies has just published, in Spanish, these selected Circulars, with the intention that others of particular doctrinal importance will soon also see the light of day in our language: 1. On the life of faith. 2. Basis and foundation of the life of faith. 3. Practice of the life of faith. 4. Means of acquiring the life of faith. Brothers are advised that those currently in the Second Cycle of the Province's Plan of Studies should study the first, those in the Third Cycle, the second, and those in the Sixth and Seventh Cycle, the third and fourth respectively1

This news appears in Stella Maris in January 1941. The collection Circulares Selectas closes with Brother Leonida's Circular on *Apostolic Zeal*, dated 24 May 1949, which appears in Fascicle XX.

In order to date the translation of the Circulars contained in *Circulares Selectas*, we have several pieces of information. The first four Circulars written by Brother François were already available for use in January 1941, as indicated above. In the pages of *Stella Maris*, a competition for the translation of Brother Louis-Marie's Circulars was launched in January 1941, with the quality required for the translation indicated thus:

With a view to having an authentic translation which would add to its significant literary value, the whole doctrinal background of the Very Reverend Brother Louis-Marie's important Circular on the "School of Prayer", a competition² is opened among the Brothers with these conditions: the work must be finished and presented to the Province Secretary's office no later than Easter Sunday and must be typed. ³

Something else that may help to date the translation is that, in the same section of number 281, published in February 1946, "reading of the Circulars on Hell and Eternity" Fascicules VIII and IX4 is already suggested as a preparation for the monthly retreat. In the following issue (February 1946), in the same section, there is a similar suggestion to prepare for the monthly retreat by reading the "Circular on the Observance of the Rule" Circulares Selectas Fascicule V5. A recommendation like this was not repeated until December 1949, when the Circulars on Hell and Eternity (Fascicules VIII and IX) were again recommended.⁶ The fact that Fascicules VIII and IX were recommended for the monthly retreat before Fascicule V indicates that by that time (February 1946) these two Circulars of Brother Louis-Marie had already been translated. Fascicule VI was suggested in May 19467, Fasci-

¹ The "Circular on Prayer" and the "Circular on the Formation of the Brothers" both have a second part that is published on different dates, so they should be considered as different circulars; nevertheless, the translator or the editor has considered them as a single one, given the thematic unity that they deal with.

² Stella Maris Vol.7 224 (January 1941) 162.

³ This competition seems to have been unsuccessful, since no translation has been found of any of Brother Louis-Marie's circulars on The School of Pontmain or the School of Prayer to which he devoted four long Circulars. See: Louis-Marie, Circulars, Vol. 5. On the other hand, we have a translation of two of Brother Louis-Marie's Circulars dealing with prayer, which could have been a response to the competition mentioned above. However, neither of them includes the word "school" which seems to identify the announcement of the competition with the expression "School of Prayer".

⁴ Stella Maris Vol. 7 224 (January 1941) 163.

⁵ Stella Maris Vol. 8 281 (February 1946) 22. Suggestion to read Fascicules VIII and IX.

⁶ Stella Maris Vol. 8 282 (March 1946) 35. Suggestion to read Fascicule V.

⁷ Stella Maris Vol. 9 322 (diciembre 1949) 566. Suggestion to read the Fascicules on Hell and Eternity, VIII and IX.

cule VII in June 19478 and Fascicule V in March 19489.

From these data, we can conclude that Circulares Selectas was compiled and bound after May 1949, given that the translation of the text of the Circulars contained in it dates from before that time

2. TRANSLATION OF THE CIRCULARS IN THE JOURNAL STELLA MARIS

In addition to the collection described above, we also find the translation and publication of nine other Circulars of the Superiors disseminated through the review Stella Maris. The publication of these translations in the review was prompted by the difficulties created by the war which prevented the Superiors from communicating with the Brothers in Spain. On the other hand, the review is intended for a wider readership than only the young Brothers who were in the process of formation and had to follow courses outlined in the Plan of Studies. The reason why Stella Maris began to publish the Circulars in Spanish is explained in the review itself:

Supplement to the *Bulletin de l'Institut*Saint Genis Laval, 18 February 1944.
Dear Brothers,

Since in the current circumstances it is not possible to publish regularly the Bulletin de l'Institut, nor, when printed, is it easy to send it outside France, we think we can please the Brothers by communicating a summary of news, thus in some way supplementing the official organ of the Institute.¹¹

The "current circumstances" to which the editor of the review refers are described in detail by Brother Michaëlis, Vicar General, in his Circular of 25 December 1944 in which he gives a "short report on the evils of the war"¹²

In the following issue of *Stella Maris*, a new difficulty in the communication of correspondence and the transmission of news from the Superiors was noted, to which the review gave a full response:

From the Very Rev Brother Vicar General ¹³
Since, due to circumstances, the Circular Letter of the Very Reverend Brother Vicar General for the 25th December last [1943] has only reached the Provincial Houses, we believe it is our duty to dedicate an issue of Stella Maris to transmit to our Brothers the salutary advice contained therein. ¹⁴.

The review includes the full doctrinal content of the Circular, translated from French to Spanish, ¹⁵ followed by

⁸ Stella Maris Vol. 8 282 (May 1946) 57. Suggestion to read Fascicule VI.

⁹ Stella Maris Vol. 8 297 (June 1947) 213. Suggestion to read Fascicule VII.

¹⁰ Stella Maris Vol. 8 304 (March 1948) 313. Suggestion to read Fascicule V.

¹¹ Stella Maris Vol. 6 260 (May 1944) 176. (There is an inconsistency in the numbering of Vols. 5 & 6).

¹² Michaëlis, Circulaires, Vol. 19 (1944) 330-340.

¹³ The Vicar General is Brother Michaelis.

¹⁴ Stella Maris Vol. 5 261 (May 1944) 185. (There is an inconsistency in the numbering of Vols 5 and 6).

¹⁵ Stella Maris Vol. 5 261 (May 1944) 185-192. (There is an inconsistency in the numbering of Vols 5 and 6).

a summary of the news in the Circular. The following year there was a new incident in relation to the communication of the Superiors with the Brothers in Spain and this was reported in the review *Stella Maris*:

From home

From the General House

We have received, in a large envelope, a small greeting card assuring us that all was going well in the residence of the major superiors and referring us to the general news contained in the Rev Br Vicar General's first Circular that had been sent in the same envelope. The Circular, however, did not reach us; it had been removed from the envelope. And we cannot explain the fact because we know that it has reached other destinations. We regret not being able to communicate to the readers of Stella Maris the contents of the first Circular letter of the new Vicar General¹⁷

The following issue of Stella Maris 276 (September 1945) 397-404 published in full and in Spanish the Circular of 24 May 1945 of Brother Marie-Odulphe, Vicar General, who had just been elected by the Brothers of the Council after the resignation of Brother Michaëlis. The following year, in July 1946, a summary of the Circular of 24 May 1946 of Brother Marie-Odulphe VG was also published:

The Reverend Brother Assistant has received a copy of the Circular addressed to the Institute by the Very Reverend Brother Vicar General, dated

24th May of the current year [1946]. In it, after recalling the themes of Restoring everything in the spirit of the Venerable Founder and The need to cultivate and develop in us the interior life, after the example of the Venerable Founder, set out, respectively, in the Circulars of 24 May 1945 and 25 December of the same year, he exhorts all the Marist Brothers to renew in their souls the apostolic zeal of the Venerable Founder for the Christian education of youth.¹⁹.

3. MORE FAR-REACHING REASONS FOR THIS WORK

Marist Spain was approaching the golden jubilee of its foundation by a group of four French Brothers in 1886 and was coming of age as a Province. The pages of Stella Maris contain several biographies of distinguished Brothers of French and Swiss origin who had left their lives in the furrows of this Hispanic land. Those responsible for the works had handed over the baton to men who had been able to form new generations of Brothers. The large Province of Spain was first of all divided in two, and shortly afterwards gave birth to four Provinces. Brother Sixto was the first Spanish Brother to take on the responsibility of government as an Assistant to the Brother Superior General. The French language, which was at the beginning and for many years the official means

¹⁶ Stella Maris Vol. 5 261 (May 1944) 192-193. (There is an inconsistency in the numbering of Vols 5 and 6).

¹⁷ Stella Maris Vol.7 275 (August 1945) 395.

¹⁸ Marie-Odulphe, Circulaires, Vol 19 349. Circular of 24 May 1945.

¹⁹ Stella Maris 286 (July 1946) 76.

of communication of the Institute, ceased to be a symbol of institutional identity and was replaced by Spanish in all the Provinces of Spain. Because the French Brothers spoke and wrote Spanish perfectly, including in houses of formation, and since the new generations of Marists had difficulty in reading and translating the French of the Institute's principal texts, the passing on of the founding doctrine was no longer guaranteed. So that the doctrinal richness of this this spiritual patrimony could be preserved and handed on to the new generations, it was necessary to translate this material into Spanish.

As we have seen above, the review Stella Maris opened a space to respond to the need brought about by these circumstances. But the translation and publication of the full collection of Circulares Selectas needed to be carried out as a parallel project, and to meet objectives that differed from those of the Stella Maris.

4. TRANSLATION OF BROTHER LEONIDA'S CIRCULARS

Once the translation of the doctrinal content of the original Circulars had begun, *Stella Maris* continued to be a means for bringing to the Brothers new doctrinal contributions emanating from the pen of Brother Leonida, the next Superior General.

In his Circular dated 24 May 1947, entitled On the Spiritual Retreat, Brother Leonida SG invited the Brothers to undertake the annual spiritual exercises. *Stella Maris* published a full Spanish translation of the French original²⁰ as part of its regular content. This Circular was the first of the 24 he was to write during his term of office that was translated to Spanish.²¹

Brother Leonida's Circular On the cultivation and fostering of vocations,

²⁰ Stella Maris Vol. 8 298 (July 1947) 219-228. Forms part of the magazine.

²¹ The translations of the following Circulars was also published in Stella Maris: On Holiness, 24 May 1948. Stella Maris Vol.8 307 (July 1948) 356-364. Forms part of the magazine. On the obligation to give good example, 24 May 1950. Stella Maris Vol. 9 329 (July-August 1950) 76-85. Forms part of the magazine. On the cultivation and fostering of vocations, 8 December 1950, published in five instalments. Stella Maris Vol. 8 334 (January 1951) 138-143; 335 (February 1951) 152-153; 336 (March 1951) 165-168; 337 (April 1951) 174-179 & 338 (May 1951) 190-191. Forms part of the magazine (in instalments). On love for the congregation, 24 May 1951. Stella Maris Vol. 9 340 (July 1951) 211-220. Forms part of the magazine. On our Marist vocation, 8 December 1952. Stella Maris Vol.10 358 (January 1953) 3-9 & 359 (February 1953) 15-20. Forms part of the magazine (in instalments). On fraternal charity, 24 May 1953. Stella Maris 10 364 (July 1953) 83-92. Forms part of the magazine. On the spirit and aims of the Marian Year, 8 December 1953. Stella Maris Vol. 10 370 (January 1954) 155-167. Forms part of the magazine. On the necessity of the retreat, 24 May 1954. Stella Maris Vol. 10 375 (June 1954) 237-245. Forms part of the magazine. On visits and correspondence, 8 December 1954. Stella Maris Vol. 10 382 (January 1955) 414-425. Forms part of the magazine. Announcing the beatification of our Venerable Father Founder, 7 May 1955. Stella Maris Vol. 10 Supplement to 387 (June 1955) 1-10.

dated 8 December 1950, was published in five issues from January to May 1951 and was also included in the pages of the review. From June 1955 to May 1958, seven Circulars of Brother Leonida were published as a supplement to *Stella Maris* so that the long texts of the Circulars did not take space from the regular sections of the review. Those in charge of the review had created a new means for disseminating the translated Circulars by adding a supplement that was not strictly speaking part of the review.

The translation and publication of Circulares Selectas in separate fascicules, the text of which was not all included in *Stella Maris*, was a work carried out in parallel with these publications.

The only two Circulars of Brother Leonida included in Circulares Selectas are the Circular of 8 December 1946 and the Circular On Apostolic Zeal of 24 May 1949. The one of 8 December 1946, the first Circular written by Brother Leonida to all the Brothers, informing them of the ses-

sions of the 14th General Chapter, is not among the numbered fascicules of the collection Circulares Selectas, but is placed between Fascicules XVII and XVIII without any numbering. This indicates that it was published after the printing and distribution of Fascicules XVIII and XIX.

Brother Leonida's extensive writings during his mandate as Superior General were translated into Spanish in their entirety and presented to him at the end of the General Chapter, at which he was succeeded by Brother Charles-Raphael. The Brothers of the Spanish delegation, who attended the 15th General Chapter presented him, by way of their Brother Assistant, with a precious volume produced by the Luis Vives publishing house in Saragossa.

The Very Reverend Brother has been producing this magnificent series of Circulars with timeliness and appropriateness throughou this Generalate and today the Spanish delegation offers him the same Circulars, translated into Spanish, as a warm tribute of admiration and gratitude. ²²

On Fidelity to the obligations of virtue and the vow of poverty, 8 December 1955. Stella Maris Vol. 10 Supplement to 392 (December 1955) 623-642. On the virtue of fortitude, 24 May 1956. Stella Maris Vol. 11 Supplement to 397 (May 1956) 77-88. On charity towards our students, 8 December 1956. Stella Maris Vol. 11 Supplement to 404 (December 1956) 233-244. On perseverance, 24 May 1957. Stella Maris Vol. 11 Supplement to 409 (May 1957) 325-336. On purity of intention, 8 December 1957. Stella Maris Vol. 11 Supplement to 416 (December 1957) 445-452. On The annual retreat, 24 May 1958. Stella Maris Vol. 11 Supplement to 421 (May 1958) 545-552.

5. WHO IS THE TRANSLATOR?

With outward manifestations of humility typical of the period, the translator or translators of the Circulars, whether in the review *Stella Maris*, in the collection Circulares Selectas or in the compilation all the Circulars of Brother Leonida, did not include their signature.

Brother Hippolyte, one of the four founding Brothers of Marist Spain and later Provincial there, in a chronicle covering fifty years of teaching apostolate that was published in *Stella Maris*, alluded to the editorial work of those years when he wrote:

I am pleased to thank everyone for the positive reception given to the aforementioned collection [of books by the publisher F.T.D.]. I have sometimes been asked by people what was the name of the translator. We can simply say he is "The Marist", as if we were saying "The unknown soldier" who fights and succumbs in defence of the bastion of the Good Press. ²³.

Stella Maris has an extensive section on Our Original Printed Works in which it gives an account of the translation from French and the editing in Spanish of a large-scale publishing work, in six volumes, which began under the title of Año Cristiano (The Christian Year) but which finally appeared under the title El santo de cada día (Saints for Every Day). The

translation was the work of a team of Brothers who in their spare time contributed to the work of F. T. D.

We are organising the publication of Año Cristiano with a view mainly to the educational institutions and their school libraries: it will therefore be very modern, well-illustrated and very readable. You see, this is the first time that we are speaking not only of what has already been done but also of what we are doing and what we are going to do [...]. We have asked for help. For this edition of Año Cristiano, a high-level enterprise, and one of great importance, we can offer 22 well-sharpened plumes who are already at work. This is even more meritorious when we note that many others, among them the best, have not been invited and would not have been accepted, because they are overburdened by the weight of university studies²⁴

The 22 well-sharpened plumes that are assisting in this enterprise have two very great merits. One is characteristic of us, the one that similar groups envy us so much: that they present themselves completely anonymously. The other, appropriate to this work, is that they devote themselves, with total enthusiasm, affection and humility, to a task that many say and feel is a lowly one: that of knowing how to act as a simple translator. Father Isla wrote that in his opinion those who perform the very useful and glorious work of translating well are worthy of the greatest esteem, and that a good translator is worthy of the greatest applause, the greatest prizes and the greatest acclaim. Few are prepared to be so, especially to be so with diligence and will, which is why ours are more worthy of the greatest applause, the greatest prizes and the greatest acclaim, which will undoubtedly come one day. 25

²³ Stella Maris Vol. 6 241 (July 1942) 9.

²⁴ Stella Maris Vol. 4 143 (June 1933) 62.

²⁵ Stella Maris Vol. 4 145 (August 1933) 86.

In issue 143 (June 1933), the writer of these lines provides us with some of the names of these 22 well-sharpened plumes:

Brother Alberto: original, and meeting all the editing requirements of the subject matter; he can get right to the heart of things ... Brother Damaso: a model of promptness and industriousness which are much appreciated in this house ... Brother Cipriano Luis: one of those who most gracefully knows how to tread the line without crossing it. He has some magnificent pieces; real "finds" ... Brother José Cruz: good pen, good hand, very good handwriting, and bad ink. Change your inkwell; the original deserves it, as do you and we ...

Brother Téofilo: good translation, good handwriting, good ink ... Brother Saturio: the typesetters are unionised and do not accept pencil or corrections ...²⁶.

In another place he counts the number of lives of saints that have been translated and sent to the publishing house, indicating the names of the translators:

Just this morning, one of the most prestigious figures in the Spanish publishing world was looking through the printed booklets and spontaneously came up with the definitive sentence: "That can only be done by a publishing house like yours, which has so many collaborators".

This, then, is the place to mention the names and contributions of these meritorious workers. Adulfo 2, Alberto 20, Aurelio Víctor 3, Avito, Bernardo, Carlos Roberto 4, Cecilio 10, Cipriano Luis 8,

Crisógono 4, Damaso 14, Eustaquio 13, Geroncio, Honorio, Jerónimo Emiliano 4, Jose Cruz 8, Julio Andrés 4, Luis Felipe 4, Nicasio Jose 8, Pablo Agustin 4, Perpetuo 2, Pompeyo 8, Saturio 8, Teobaldo 4, Téofilo 4, Teótimo 4, Víctor Luis 7.²⁷

The visible benefits that this anonymous work brings are such that we should never stop acclaiming its excellence and usefulness because, by increasing and perfecting a spirit of modesty and simplicity in individuals, it fosters extraordinary union and family spirit in the Institute as a whole. ²⁸.

The coordinator of the translation and publication project became a master translator, solving difficulties and offering technical guidelines for the translation from French into Spanish. Because he proposed that Año Cristiano, in six volumes, required that "these pages be stripped of all foreign trappings",²⁹ he provided a series of observations on the art of translation. In the following issue, he celebrated their success:

The four small observations we have published on translation have been welcomed and appreciated. They have also been much used, for which reason, and because we were asked for more, we will provide some more³⁰.

From then on, each month he published a series of guidelines that turned *Stella Maris* into a real training programme for translators, thus transforming it into a teaching tool for

²⁶ Stella Maris Vol. 4 145 (August 1933) 87.

²⁷ Stella Maris Vol. 4 146 (September - December 1933) 100. The number following the name of each translator indicates the number of lives of the saints that he had translated.

²⁸ Stella Maris Vol. 4 147 (January 1934) 110.

²⁹ Stella Maris Vol. 4 146 (September - December 1933) 100.

³⁰ Stella Maris Vol. 4 149 (March 1934) 134.

practices that each Brother could access from the distance of his home

The admirable Brothers who so willingly sacrifice free time, hours of relaxation, recreation and walks for the sake of this apostolic work, well deserve to be helped and facilitated by us. Many other readers may also profit from these notes, which is why we willingly publish them. ³¹.

With all these references, it is clear that the translations of the Circulars, both those published in Circulares Selectas and those published in the review *Stella Maris*, must be attributed to the pen or pens of some distinguished Brothers who vanished into history wrapped in a beautiful Marist anonymity.

A possible clue to identify the name of the editors at Edelvives who directed the translators is to check the lists of appointments of the Brothers who were at that time at the publishing house. The archives of Santa Maria de Bellpuig in Les Avellanes contain a partial list of them. In 1934, Brothers Heraclius, Bernardino, Ismier, Sergius, Marcy, Nicóstrato, Isidro, Dominicio, Cosme José, Gerardo, Floro and Jaime Ramón made up the community of the publishing house, located at 400 Sicilia Street in Barcelona.

6. EVALUATING THE CIRCULARS

Une Undoubtedly a first assessment of the doctrinal importance of the Circulars of the Superiors General is the fact that the Commission of Studies, responsible for the spiritual and professional formation of the Brothers in the Provinces of Spain, included them as part of the ongoing formation of the Brothers in a graded and systematic programme.

From the evaluation of the books of the Institute, among which are the Circulars of the Superiors General, the review *Stella Maris* includes a short article signed with the letters H.C. in which it relates the following:

At different times in the course of my first years of religious life, I read, to use the familiar expression, "our books" and "the works of the Institute". None of these readings produced in my spirit the same deep impression left by a recent reading which was done, admittedly, in conditions of peace and quiet of spirit, of solitude, and of unconcern for the many material and intellectual matters, that are difficult to find in the ordinary life of the Marist Brother. This reading stirred my spirit and made it receptive to certain effects that gave rise to intimate feelings in my soul; feelings which soon spread through the atmosphere as if impelled by a desire that had not previously harboured in my heart ... The books we are dealing with have our Founder as their spiritual author. Although he did not write them himself, they were written by Brothers who lived for a long time at his side and by the first Superiors General who knew our venerable Founder. They made partial use of his teachings for their writings ... Numerous Brothers can be proud to possess a religious bibliography such as that bequeathed to their children in religion by the Venerable Marcellin Champagnat and his

³¹ Stella Maris Vol. 4 149 (March 1934) 134.

worthy successors, the Superiors General of the Institute. ³².

Another indicator of the enthusiasm and admiration for the Circulars of the Superiors General is an article in *Stella Maris* devoted to the centenary of the publication of Brother François' Circular on the Spirit of Faith

On 15th December [1948] we celebrate a century since the publication of the Circular on the Spirit of Faith. It contains the essence of what would form the first chapter of the second part of our Rules. Nothing can be removed without dragging down the whole. We need to commemorate the centenary of this writing. It is the first purely doctrinal Circular of our Institute. Our admired threesome [François, Louis-Marie, Jean Baptiste], whose combined hand is evident in the style of the document, well deserve that we, their spiritual children, should devote our full attention to their magnificent study, on the occasion of its centenary. This commemoration should not be something without feeling or a fleeting memory. Nor is a minimum of spiritual reading enough. A document requires study. Moreover, it is not only its nobility that should concern us. We can draw great benefit from it because its teachings are as topical as they were in 1848. It is as topical as the Gospel whose spirit informs it. 33.

CONCLUSION

The translation of nine Circulars of the Superiors General into Spanish in the review *Stella Maris* was the result of the collaboration of the leaders of the magazine and of the translators. This resulted from the initiative of the publisher F.T.D. and it highlights a boom of books in published Spanish and the emancipation of Marist Spain its French-speaking matrix. Marist Spain, which was approaching the golden jubilee of its foundation by a group of four French brothers in 1886, was coming to maturity as an entity. The French Brothers, who spoke and wrote perfect Spanish, had passed the baton to new Spanish formators. The transfer of the doctrinal contents of the Institute contained in the Circulars began to cause difficulties for the new generations of young Brothers and for this reason it was necessary to translate them into Spanish. The first archive of translated Circulars consisted of nine circulars published in the review Stella Maris. The second is the volume entitled Circulares Selectas with 23 circulars was published by the Province of Spain.

The review Stella Maris opened a space in its pages to respond to a need brought about by adverse circumstances. But the translation and publication of the collection of Circulares Selectas, which had to be carried out as a parallel project to the publication of the review, was undertaken to spread the fundamental themes of Marist identity necessary in the formation of the Brothers in the 1940s-1950s.

³² Stella Maris Vol. 4 161 (April 1935) 302-304.

³³ Stella Maris Vol. 8 310 (November 1948) 396.



FROM LE BULLETIN DE L'OEUVRE DES JUVENATS TO PRESENCE MARISTE

(1879-2022)

Recruiting vocations, making the Institute known and spreading the Marist spirit



André Lanfrey, fms

Marist Brothers do not feel particularly called to be iournalists. Around 1870, however, recruitment to the Brothers was becoming difficult as industry and the service sector offered numerous job opportunities to boys who were coming out of primary school. If they had ideas about a religious or priestly vocation, they soon lost them when they came in contact with the world of work. As the boys were too young to enter the novitiate, religious congregations of priests and brothers started junior seminaries to which they gave a variety of names: apostolic schools, minor novitiates, or juniorates. It is this last name which was mostly used by Marist Brothers.

From 1876, juniorates became one of the stages of Marist formation. They received boys between 12 and 15 years of age who were given a post-primary education before they went to the novitiate. Since these young men usually came from modest backgrounds, the charge that was made for their board and lodging was not sufficient to finance the works, so the Marist Brothers appealed to their benefactors. A Bulletin de l'oeuvre des juvénats was begun in March 1879 to serve as a link between the Institute and its benefactors and to keep them informed about the juniorates. At this time, the Institute had only three juniorates with 180 boys in them. However, very quickly each of the seven Provinces of France established at least one juniorate.



I have not been able to find a complete collection of this Bulletin. which ran initially from the first edition in January 1879 to January 1901. When the Institute was dissolved in 1903 by the French government, the review¹ certainly experienced periods of interruption, all the more so because the juniorates that were closed in France were re-opened abroad, principally in Italy, Belgium and Spain. The period 1901-1912 is not completely unknown but it appears that the interruption of the Bulletin must have been relatively brief, if there was one. Whatever happened, the Bulletin of January 1913 had a very different look from those of the nineteenth century. It said that it was the 36th year of the review1. There was nothing about the work of juniorates, probably because they had been disbanded, but the focus now was on benefactors in general. The editing was done in Grugliasco, in the Piedmont region near Turin (the General House during the exile), but the publisher remained in Lyon, at the publishing house of Emmanuel Vitte. The benefactors were informed about the variety of the works done within the Institute, not only about the work of the juniorates. It was, in fact, an addition to the Bulletin de l'Institut which was begun in January 1909 to be a means of connecting Brothers dispersed throughout the world. The edition was the responsibility of Brother Dalmace, the Sec-

retary General. He used certain articles for both bulletins. The last issue carried the date of January 1920 (the 41st year). There was nothing in its content to suggest it would cease. However, *Le Petit Juvéniste* succeeded it. It was no longer published from Grugliasco but by the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval.

1. LE PETIT JUVENISTE: RECRUITING NEW VOCATIONS

The First World War meant in France that some Brothers were mobilised and some were expelled from enemy countries. It also had the effect of mitigating the violent anti-Catholic spirit of the republicans. The Brothers who remained in France in 1903 and those who returned from abroad thought about re-establishing the juniorates, though the novitiates prudently remained abroad. The severe lack of priestly and religious vocations continued, even worse than in the 1880s and the Provinces in France. where the personnel had become quite a bit older, were in need of urgent rebuilding of members. For this reason, some large houses were required and an informative magazine to take on the role played by the Bulletin of the preceding century was started. During the General

¹ The review had commenced in 1897. If we assume that there were no interruptions, this should have been the 34th year. This error shows that an interruption had in fact taken place and that the review started again without worrying too much about exactitude regarding dates.

Chapter held at Grugliasco in May-June 1920, a commission looked closely at the reviews and periodicals published within the Institute and recommended moderation in this area, as journalism did not form part of the apostolate of the Institute. We suppose that the General House wanted to set an example by entrusting the *Bulletin* des juvénats to a Province.

Le Petit Juvéniste was started in May 1921 by Brother Louis-Emile (Germain Goddard) at the boarding school in Bellegarde at Neuville-sur-Saône where he was a teacher. The magazine had a sub-title: Bulletin of the Marist Brothers' Juniorates, 44th year. Brother Louis-Emile wished to affirm strongly its continuity with the periodical that it succeeded. In fact, the target group was larger than previously. Not only was it aimed at benefactors but also parents, Brothers and students. To this end, side-byside with spiritual and edifying texts, there was also information about the Marist apostolates throughout the world. Le Petit Juvéniste offered a variety of items and games. The magazine was directed especially at all those who might be interested in the possibility of a religious vocation. It was modest, and the format was semi-commercial: 135 x 210 mm. The initial circulation was 500 copies. (Le Petit Juvéniste, May-June, 1931). In 1921 and 1922, it was quarterly (four issues per year). From 1923 to 1938, it appeared every second month. It was not only of local interest; its diffusion was international. In 1931, it boasted 7,000 subscriptions (May-



June 1931, No.3). The editor looked to raise the number to 10,000 but it seems it never exceeded 7,000. The subscription fee was always modest but it did go up. It started at 5 francs, then 8, then 10 and 20. In 1945, it reached 35 francs.

Was the magazine a response to the wish of the Provincial Council of the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval, in which the boarding school of Neuville-sur-Saône was located, or was it an initiative of Brother Louis-Emile himself? Whichever the case, the boarding school of Neuville was one of the rare French establishments that had the intellectual and financial means for such an enterprise. Nor

did Brother Louis-Emile lack capacity to undertake the task. Prior to 1914, he had mixed in a very international environment in Istanbul (Türkiye) and in Greece. After his time in Neuville, he worked in Lyon, in the Gerson Catholic teachers college, for 22 years, first as a teacher and then as its Director. He remained the Director and was probably the editor-in-chief of the magazine, under the pseudonym of J de la Chautagne². Neuvillesur-Saône remained the centre for the publication.

During the Second World War, Brother Louis-Emile was elderly and faced multiple difficulties, yet he continued to publish, though on poor quality paper. There were three editions each year in 1940-41 and five in 1942-44. However, the issue of May-June 1944 told its readers that Brother Louis-Emile was afflicted with memory lapses (Alzheimer's?) and was hospitalised in a home that specialised in that illness. He died there on December 7 of that year. Brother Joseph-Félix Guillaud (1879-1951) replaced him.

He was already getting on in years when he helped Brother Louis-Emile to publish *Le Petit Juvéniste* for two periods at Gerson in 1930-33 and, more especially, in 1944-45. It was not easy to succeed Brother Louis-Emile. The war and his illness greatly affected the magazine. In 1945 there were only between two and three thousand subscribers.

The style was a little old-fashioned and from 1948 (No. 1), Brother Joseph-Félix was pointing out some grave financial problems. Above all, the magazine suffered from a strong dissatisfaction on the part of the Brothers in schools. This is why Brother Joseph-Félix published, in Numbers 1-3 of 1945, letters of endorsement from Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Lvon, and from Brothers Jean-Emile and Marie-Odulphe, Assistants General. The result was insufficient and so in the edition of September-October, 1949, there was "an important note from the editor", which notified readers that it will be "the last number of a magazine which has been strangled by rising overhead costs and insufficiently supported by too few subscriptions".

The rest of the note explained in veiled terms the heart of the problem: the Brothers did not feel that the magazine responded to the needs of young people. However, Brother Joseph-Félix remained committed to its goal: "To share information about the works of the Congregation and to encourage the children in our school to consider religious and priestly vocations." It was not a question of "becoming an amusing magazine that was more in touch with children." In the November-December issue of 1949, there was another editor's note that asked that "the Brothers make every effort to present each issue of the magazine

² La Chautagne is a region of Savoy from where this Brother certainly came.

to their pupils as an act of charity to fulfil. In this way the *Bulletin* would be spread around and the general costs be shared among a greater number of readers."

It is clear that the Brothers hardly responded and the magazine, which was about to enter its 30th year, was closed in January-February, 1950. It comprised 13 volumes, with 4,532 printed pages and 160 editions of about 30 pages each. It is a valuable source of information regarding numerous schools, large and small, and generally about life in the Marist world. However, in the eyes of the Brothers themselves, it was old-fashioned. Brother Joseph-Félix, already elderly and in precarious health when he took over, was only ever a pro-tem manager of the magazine. He died on April 4, 1951.

In the issue of January-February, 1950, he wrote "a few words from the manager of Le Petit Juvéniste", in which he offered his greetings and apologised for the delay in publishing the magazine due to "rather pressing obligations", and he announced that this would be the last issue under his management.

He took the opportunity to thank those who had worked with him, especially those responsible for the illustrations, the correspondents who sent him articles and various news items, the Brothers who took the time to share the magazine with their pupils and among their acquaintances. Finally, and above all, he thanked the generous benefactors who sent him amounts that were well above the cost of the subscriptions.

2. JEUNESSE ET AMITIÉ A MAGAZINE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

In 1950, there was a clear alternative: either complete abandonment or continuation in a different spirit. In contrast to the foundation of Le Petit Juveniste, the choice to continue was a Province decision. Replacing Brother Joseph-Félix would be Brother Marius-Léon Crétallaz (1903-1981), a teacher at Neuville-sur-Saône, appointed to this post in 1950 by the Provincial, Brother Freléchoz. He was from Savov and entered the Institute in 1920. Between 1927 and 1960 he was a teacher at the boarding school in Neuville-sur-Saône. His principal collaborator was Brother Victor-Camille Guicherd (1911-1968) who entered the Institute in 1926 and who, from 1928 to 1942, was also a teacher at



Neuville-sur-Saône. Between 1942 and 1960, he taught at the boarding school in St Didier-sur-Chalaronne, often travelling to Neuville by bus to work at night with Brother Marius-Léon on editing the magazine.

They were experienced men at the height of their powers (47 and 39 years old) and, as teachers and organisers of activities, had a good knowledge of young people. Their lengthy presence in Neuville allowed them to work together on editing Le Petit Juvéniste while seeking to give it a new tone. In the years 1945-1950 there would have been some difference of opinion between the traditionalists and the progressives concerning the magazine, the proposed title of which Jeunesse et Amitié [Youth and Friendship] clearly indicated the target-audience.

However, this title was not immediately taken up. In March-April 1950 a new No.1 of *Le Petit Juvéniste* appeared, but in a different format (21 x 27cm) and spirit. Then editorial board announced, moreover, that it wanted to have the magazine undergo "a metamorphosis" and to address itself primarily to young people. It invited its "loyal subscribers" and its "dear readers" to remain loyal to it since "*Le Petit Juvéniste* simply wanted to serve them better".

Brother Marius-Léon took on a new name: Mauris de Prévignan. The old aim of recruitment of vocations was not abandoned, but a new approach was adopted, more likely to appeal to the young. Where the classic Le Petit Juvéniste kept to six issues per year, the choice was made to go for ten. The first thirteen would keep the old title, undoubtedly so as not to cut off renewals of traditional subscriptions and to find a wider young readership. The new name appeared with No. 14 (31st September-October vear. 1951). comprising 24 pages, including covers, and it aligned the intentions of the editors and the content more closely. The editorial of this number was something of a manifesto which held to the ideas laid out in the first issue.

"Stay young ... This is the ambition of Jeunesse et Amitié which, without forgetting its former title (Le Petit Juvéniste) finds in the new title an expression more akin to its ideal. Created for young people, it wishes to remain for them the magazine they will always welcome with the greatest interest."

It went on to speak of the desire to collaborate with "the friends of young people ... under the banner of Christ and Our Lady". There were numerous photos, generally with a red or blue background. The magazine, based first at Neuville-Bellegarde, was later published and administered from Le Montet at Saint-Genis-Laval. It had articles on the missions in far-off countries and Marist works which were suitable for adults as much as for young people. However, in the remainder, there was talk of sports (baseball, for example) stamp-collecting, spectacular events (such as flying saucers). Competitions for prizes were organised. There were even cartoons. Any concern for recruitment was scarce-

ly evident; it was more a general magazine for the students of Marist schools. The subsequent numbers had the same scope, except for a special issue (without a number, but probably No. 22) which celebrated, in 36 pages, the fourth centenary of the death of Saint Francis Xavier. It was a packed study with excellent illustrations on the saintly missionary and his times. No. 24 came out in September-October 1952 and had only 16 pages. It was to be the last of a magazine, the tone of which contrasted strongly with what it had replaced.

3. AMALGAMATION WITH THE REVUE CHAMPAGNAT

Over the course of the years, Le Petit Juvéniste had become not only the magazine of the works of the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval, but also a widely read magazine in the Institute of Marist Brothers. Many other Provinces had created their own magazines, which were more or less widely read, but always with the same aim: attracting vocations, publicising the works of the Institute, and also working for the beatification of Father Champagnat. This last objective was particularly so in the Province of L'Hermitage, which, around 1935, had created the Revue Champagnat and the Calendrier Champagnat. In 1947 (Brother Jean-Emile, History of the Institute) the magazine had a run of 5,000 copies and the calendar 35,000. However,



the two Provinces of Saint-Genis and L'Hermitage were having the same problems of finance and lack of personnel, so the decision was made to amalgamate the two magazines and to coordinate their objectives.

4. VOYAGES ET MISSIONS - SEVERAL TARGETS FOR THE SAME MAGAZINE

The magazine Voyages et Missions began in October-November 1952. Its title purposely associated a taste for adventure with missionary ideal. These traits had been very much present in Jeunesse et Amitié. However, the amalgamation weakened its identity as a publication for young people. The first is-



sue of November 1952 stated that the new magazine would speak to young people about the history of the missions, sport, and cinema. Games and riddles, stories and even cartoons would be available. Benefactors and friends were not forgotten; they were continually informed of Marist works. Causes of beatification were also important: Revue Champagnat had been created to promote them. Voyages et Missions was, therefore, a compromise between tradition and innovation, and this remained its editorial approach.

As the magazine was under the care of two Provinces, they shared out the work. From the Province of l'Hermitage, Brother Antoine Vallet was the editor, and he included articles, film reviews, do-it-yourself hints, stamp-collecting and suchlike, while Brother Marius-Léon Crétallaz took on the administration and tech-

nical aspects. This split would end in 1959 (Brother Antoine became Provincial) and Brother Marius-Léon became responsible for everything except the printing. He still had Brother Victor-Camille as his right-hand man and he took on a good part of the editing. However, because the articles were anonymous we know very little of the names of the authors and fellow-workers.

Like Jeunesse et Amitié, the magazine would appear in ten quite slim issues of sixteen pages each year. However, the pattern of publication was not constant: in 1960 there were no more than six issues. On the technical side, the cover page was composed of a black and white photo on a coloured background. The first coloured cover-photo appeared in No. 75 (December, January 1962-63). The inside pages had quite a number of photos on a coloured background

To reduce costs, Brother Marius-Léon became involved in the printing - a task that presented him with a number of difficulties. Second-hand materials were purchased and set up in an unused classroom in the Neuville boarding school. Little by little, he and Brother Victor-Camille began to learn the trade. The workshop became increasingly better equipped with second-hand materials and was later moved around 1960 to Saint-Genis-Laval, in an annexe of the Provincial House. Its financial stability was assured thanks to the French Federation of Marist Former Pupils' Associations (AEM)

In issue No. 106 of July 1970, M. Paul Dehondt recalled that those in charge of Vovages et Missions in 1956 had set out the magazine's difficulties for the former pupils of Beaucamps and proposed amalgamating the former pupils' bulletins with Voyages et Missions. Little by little, the amalgamations permitted a considerable increase in the spread of the magazine and in October 1963 (No. 79) it became the official organ of the French Federation of Marist Former Pupils. It would publish four times per year at more than 30,000 copies, with special pages inserted for the Associations of different schools. The administrative and technical work remained essentially with Brothers Marius-Léon and Victor-Camille, assisted by other Brothers on a voluntary basis. However, time passed and Brother Victor-Camille died in February 1968. Brother Marius-Léon's age affected him and he could not work alone. The question then arose as to whether the magazine should be shut down due to lack of new personnel.

5. FROM VOYAGES ET MISSIONS TO PRÉSENCE MARISTE

After a time of uncertainty, the magazine was restarted. Issue No. 107 gave us the composition of its administrative and publishing teams. In charge of the magazine was Brother Pierre Zind, a teacher at Mâcon and a historian, who, in No. 105 (April 1970), had begun to

serialise In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat, a biography of the Founder which was a landmark for the Institute. The editor-in-chief was Brother Paul Boyat, assisted by about ten Brothers and some lay people who, among other things, took on the collective pages of the Former Pupils' Associations. More than previously, the magazine took an interest in education and teaching with articles on modern mathematics and great teachers of the past. It also had more of an identity that was concerned with Marian spirituality. However, it no longer addressed itself much to young people. Brother Paul Boyat officially took charge with No. 111 in September 1971.

The period of his management was a particularly fertile one, given



both external and internal events. It was a time of intense secularisation and the theme of vocations was rarely top of the list. On the educational level, the question arose of the possible inclusion of Catholic schools into a large, unified public system (1981), an proposal which would ultimately be abandoned. In the schools, the main question more and more concerned the relations between Brothers and laity, who had become numerically very large and were rapidly gaining posts of responsibility. For its part, the Institute was no longer much interested in organisations of former pupils and preferred to develop the concept of the "Marist Family", bringing Brothers and lay people together in a more clearly Marist group. The magazine reflected all of this, but seemed to remain somewhat on the defensive.

All these changes contributed to a reduction in the readership of Voyages et Missions. Additionally, the imbalance between the costs of production and the insufficient number of subscriptions led again to an enquiry supported by the Provincials that asked readers what they thought of the magazine. This document informs us that, of 30,000 copies sent out, there were 3,000 individual subscriptions, 12,000 went to parents of pupils, 14,000 to former pupils and 1,000 to various foreign subscriptions. We do not know the contents of the responses to this enquiry, but the new title Présence Mariste in the fourth quarter of 1978 (No. 137) was certainly a response

to readers' suggestions. However, there was no question of a reprieve; in No. 156 in the third quarter of 1983 a short message signed by the Provincials appeared: "You are reading the final pages of a magazine which we hope has been of interest to you". There followed an acknowledgement of all those who had devoted themselves to the work.

Nevertheless, in the fourth quarter of 1983, No. 157 appeared with Brother Jean Dumortier in charge, assisted by an editorial board of four Brothers and part-time helpers. His editorial did not give any explanation of the apparent about-face of the Province policies, but expressed the hope that the Brothers would take off their "cloak of indifference" in order to ensure the "survival" of Présence Mariste. It seems to me that the magazine's content brought some order to an already apparent tendency: the development of reflections on the contemporary world in parallel with more-specifically Marist issues. Although the Brothers were somewhat indifferent to the magazine, this choice gave rise to a few reservations and a little more interest.

6. A REDEFINITION OF THE ROLE OF THE MAGAZINE (1988-2017)

The management of Présence Mariste was in the hands of Brother Jean Dumortier until the third quarter of 1988 (No. 176). Brother Antoine Vallet succeeded him.

He had the technical assistance of Brother Jean Gonod and Brother Elie Devémy. Printing of the magazine had always been undertaken at the printing-press at Le Montet, managed by a printer, M. Rossillol. The magazine's contents had become a little more classic. Various issues described the Marist presence in other countries, for example Hungary (No.186), Algeria (No.189), Argentina (No 187).

In No. 190 (fourth quarter of 1991) there was a short message to say that from then on the editing and administration of the magazine would be undertaken at Notre-Dame de L'Hermitage, with the printing remaining at Saint-Genis-Laval until Delta Printers of Chassieu took that over (No. 195). Brother Maurice Bergeret, the former Provincial of l'Hermitage, was then in charge, supported by a board of around ten editors and administrators, two of whom were lay people. Mme Isabelle Herche was taken on to manage the magazine's administrative office. The Provincial, Brother Henri Vignau, remembered partly redefining the magazine's objectives:

- - information on the Marist situation around the world;
- a means of communication for the network of Marist schools of the Province of l'Hermitage. (the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval having decided not to set up a schools' network);
- a means of exchange and sharing for educational communities and their friends on

education, the Christian life of young people, and major contemporary issues.

If the first element of the editorial policy was traditional, the second took account of the increase in the numbers of lay people in schools and the need to form them into an educational community. The third objective, which affirmed an openness to basic issues, can be seen as a complement of the previous one insofar as the magazine was no longer concerned only with the Brothers, but with the educational teams connected to them. In terms of teaching, the magazine became quite broadly the magazine of the Marist educational community and, spiritually, the magazine of the Marist Family. Brother Maurice Bergeret directed it for 11 years (1991-2002). No. 235 of the magazine reproduced the message of appreciation of Brother Maurice Goutagny, the Provincial, which named a number of themes that had been treated, for example "Healthy body, healthy life", "Which school for Europe?", "The Marist educational project", "Teaching a new trade?", "Partners for mission", "Inter-religious dialogue". We should note a not insignificant technical change: from No. 200 (third quarter of 1994) the photos on the inside pages were in colour.

Brother Michel Morel took charge of the magazine with No. 234 (first quarter of 2003). The editorial approach was now well established: a director, an editorial team, and some more or less part-time assistants prepared the four issues per year which were always based on a general theme which was current or was more specifically Marist. For some time, the printing was done by the Touron firm in La Ricamerie, near Saint Etienne.

In July 2011 (No. 268) Brother Michel warned the readers of "a passing of the baton" and took stock of his activity: 31 issues had appeared since January 2003. In addition to thanking the assistants and the subscribers, he recalled the aims of the magazine: "Making links between the different parts of the network" and "enabling families to discover or get to know better the reality of Marist life in France or around the world". He took the opportunity to express "some regret": few readers reacted to the articles or inserts. Several of his predecessors had emphasised this chronic shortage of readers' letters. Of course, Brother Michel took care to wish good luck to his replacement, Brother Jean Ronzon, a former Secretary General, who briefly introduced himself in No. 269 (October 2011).

Brother Jean took responsibility for the editing of the magazine until No. 312 of July 2022. There was no number 313 as the Provincial Council had decided that, in view of the weakness of our human means to continue this journalistic adventure, it would be better to timetable an end to the activity than for it to be abruptly shut down. With this in mind, the quality of the magazine remained at a very high level until the end, as the contents of numerous issues indicate: "Does politics appeal to you?" (No. 291, April 2017), or even the following number with "Christianity between disgrace and a new confidence". On occasion, the issue's focus was clearly Marist, as in No. 295 of April 2018 on the General Chapter. It might also have been educational, as in No. 307 (April 2021): "Tomorrow's school. Issues and challenges." However, the title in No. 306 of January 2021: "The emergence of a new world" seems to me to encapsulate the journey of this magazine from its birth to its demise, having undergone many changes. All of its directors and editors sought in their own way to enliven it, or at least to accompany it into a new world.

7. A PROVISIONAL EVALUATION

Taking stock of a journalistic venture of almost one hundred years (1921-2019), in addition to the *Bulletin* de L'Oeuvre des Juvenats of almost 500 issues (160+22+300), would necessitate a more in-depth study. This would be quite possi-

³ https://maristes

my.sharepoint.com/:f:/g/personal/secretariat_maristes_org/EqVfYV4kwg1lrdxEy8 A36vcBVOgPnLQiiQVzrF4pkYL7Fg?e=mVmCtK

ble since *Voyages et Missions* like Présence Mariste exist in digital versions³ I will content myself with several brief and rather subjective comments.

The most consistent and unsurprising element was the care the magazine took in to providing information on Marist educational works at national and international levels. I would hesitate to affirm that its presentation of the Marist spirit was another constant because it seems to me that over the course of the years and its different directors, there was quite a variable way of thinking. In any case, this was subject to events and commemorations.

It is clear that over time the main focus of the magazine was transformed, amended, or even disappeared. Times changed, and the focus of the magazine with them. The clearest theme at the start, that of vocations, reduced to very little following the closure of juniorates around 1970. In contrast, other topics became important, such as the Marist Family, and l'Hermitage as a place of pilgrimage.

It is perhaps in the target readership that changes were greatest, if less clear. At the beginning the *Bulletin* de L'Oeuvre des Juvenats was addressed to benefactors, then *Le Petit Juvéniste* promoted the Marist vocation among Brothers, parents, and boys in the schools. Around 1950, with Jeunesse et Amitié there was a brief movement towards a magazine for

young people. However, with Voyages et Missions there was a quick return to former targets. When the magazine became the organ of the Former Pupils' Federation it opted for an adult readership: former pupils, of course, but also parents and teachers. Young people and benefactors were marginalised. In short. from 1879 to 1950 the aim was clear: support vocations. It seems that the opportunity of creating a magazine for young people was missed during the years 1950 to 1970. Finally, Voyages et Missions and then Présence Mariste remained as magazines of general information, with their reflective aspect becoming deeper.

A technical change in the magazine should also be highlighted, and I unhesitatingly place it in Brother Paul Boyat's time as director in the 1970s. The management had previously been somewhat amateurish: a small number of often elderly Brothers, for whom the magazine was not their sole activity. Fundamentally, it only existed thanks to their relentless work and limitless devotion. It did not seem to have had a management committee that was very organised nor which could be clear about the sharing out of the tasks of editing, administration, or even the printing. Between 1970 and 1980, there was a transition to a genuine professionalism: editing, administration and printing were clearly distinguished, and topics were defined in advance by editorial boards. Nevertheless, in spite of the quality of the publication, the fact remained that the magazine was having a hard time as it suffered from a reduced readership and particularly from a fairly general indifference of the Brothers themselves, as if the magazine was a mere addition on the margins of Marist works⁴

⁴ An initial history of the magazine was written by Brother Paul Boyat in 1970 in *Voyages et Missions* no. 106 under the title, "50 Years of *Présence Mariste Serving* Vocations, the Cause of Father Champagnat, and Friends".



FIFTY YEARS OF MARIST HISTORY IN KOREA



Juan Castro, fms

INTRODUCTION

Following the election of Brother Basilio Rueda as Superior General at the 1967-68 General Chapter, the Marist Brothers Institute found itself at the beginning of a new era and at the end of an older way of understanding its place in the world. Brother Basilio invited all the Provinces of the Institute to open themselves to the needs of the world.

In the fourth section of his first Circular in 1968 - entitled "A Chapter for the World of Today" - Brother Basilio wrote about the need for the Institute to commit itself to missions in new countries. The Province of Central Mexico - Basilio's own Province - accepted this challenge, and all the consequences that came with it. The main idea in the Superior General's invitation was to open new ministries that would call on Brothers to leave behind familiar shores and to be prepared to embrace their new mission country as their own country, without going back. They were to stay for life. The primary goal in these new foundations was to "lead youth towards God through education". It is in this spirit that the Institute approached its mission to the poor young people of Korea.

The Provincial Chapter in Central Mexico united around this call, with the Province committing to send eight Brothers to the missions - four in 1971 and another four the following year. The choice of the mission country was influenced by circumstances outside the Brothers. India had been favoured, but its doors were not readily open to foreign missionaries. The Guadalupe Fathers (a Mexican missionary congregation with whom the Brothers had a relationship) proved to be helpful in the selection of a country. They suggested Korea, a developing country at that time, and one that had suffered from the impact of the war. They offered to welcome and guide the missionary Brothers.

1. THE BEGINNINGS

The Provincial of the time, Brother Arturo Chavez, and his Council announced the first group of four

Juan Castro, fms 29

Brothers for the mission. They were Brothers Jesus Rodriguez (former Provincial), Enrique Ruiz (leader of the group who was the key animator in the early years), Sergio Gutierrez (specialist in technical matters) and Manuale Villareal (the youngest of the four who was a scholastic in temporary vows).

The missioning day was 4 September 1971. The missionaries' trip to Korea was planned in different stages. From Mexico they flew to San Francisco, from there to Tokyo, Kobe and Kumamoto, and then to Pusan, the second city of the Korean peninsula. They arrived in Seoul on 13 September 1971. During their first year, the Brothers occupied themselves with studying the language and becoming familiar with the new culture in which they found themselves. Soon they started to look for vocations and through the Catholic newspaper they were able to advertise their way of life. This promotion generated the interest of the first young man to come knocking on their door.

The arrival of the second group of Brothers took place the following year, in May 1972. Among them were another two Brothers in temporary vows. They were Brothers Hector Villareal, Eduardo Ramirez, Ricardo Piña and Juan Castro. With the arrival of this second group of Brothers, the need to procure a house that they could call home became more urgent. Joining the eight Brothers in the house would be the young men interested in the Marist way of life.

At the beginning, the first Korean candidates to join the Brothers faced a difficult situation. They arrived in a community where the foreign Brothers did not have any authority or status. The Brothers were a group of lay men living together in a rented house, with no language proficiency, no property, no private car, and no connections with rich or influential people. The only friends of the Brothers were the people with whom they lived, their neighbours, and some other foreign missionaries.

Another difficulty in the discernment process for the first Korean candidates was that military service was a duty for all young Korean men. At that time, this lasted for a period of three years. Only the sick or young men with particular disabilities were exempt from it. Among our first Brothers, there were some who were exempted for those reasons.

At the end of 1972, the Provincial visited the community, saw the situation first-hand, and understood the need for them to have their own house. On 15 February 1974, the Brothers moved into a new house, the former Maryknoll convent in Seoul. The same year, the Superior General visited the new community with Brother Paul Ambrose. Brother Basilio received the perpetual vows of Brothers Manuel Villareal and Juan Castro. In order to place the formation of the new Korean recruits on a firm footing, there was a need to establish a novitiate. Special authorisation was requested for Brother Manuel Villareal, only just perpetually professed and below the minimum age for a Master of Novices, to take on this role. An indult was granted for this to occur.

During this year, the first local candidates arrived: the future Brother Carlo Kim and two other companions, Irenaeus Yan and Raphael Kim.

In March 1975, a second Brothers' community was established in the city of Andong. The Brothers lived in a rented house and began to discern the apostolate that that would be best for them in that city. After several months of discernment, a decision was taken. It was not an easy one to make, and the Brothers knew that financial assistance from overseas would be needed to realise their dream. The decision was to build an educational centre that offered a range of different activities. These would include a boarding house for secondary and tertiary students, a library with a quiet study space for boys and girls, some classes in mathematics and English and, significantly, a lower-ground floor where the Brothers started a night school for young men and women who did not have opportunity to go to school during the day due to their work commitments.

In 1977, the second group of postulants took the habit. Five of them made their first vows the following year: Joseph Kim, Joseph Ahn, Gabriel Cho, Thomas Chong and Bartolomeo Kim.

In 1979, Bishop Dupon of Andong invited us to assist in the care of people of the region who were suffering from leprosy. The idea was to work with the sons and daughters of these lepers. He then asked us to take responsibility for a dermatological hospital that the diocese was running. From March 1981 until September 1996, the "Damian Hospital" for lepers, in Yeong-ju city within this diocese, was under the Brothers' direction.

During this year, the third profession ceremony was held. Brother Dominique Ryu and Brother Alexander Shin made their first vows. It was a difficult year from a political perspective since 26 October saw the violent death of the President Park Chong Hee. Meanwhile, vocations continued to arrive: in 1982 Andrew Hyong and Simon Ho, in 1985 Simon Moon and Gabriel Paek.

In 1985 the Marist community decided to start a new project for girls who worked on the city buses. The idea was to provide shelter for these girls working for various bus companies. The project was approved but when the place was ready for the girls, the city of Seoul changed its policy and removed these girls from the public transport system. So, Brothers decided to use the building as a retreat centre.

During the same year, 1985, the Diocese of Won Ju invited the Marist

Juan Castro, fms 31

Brothers to collaborate in its diocesan youth ministry programme. Four Brothers were appointed to this new ministry. The diocese offered them a retreat house located at Bong San Dong as a centre for their work, and invited them to develop different ministries for children and youth. One of these was youth ministry at the Catholic middle and high school Chin Koan. Other ministries included involvement with the Catholic High School Students Association and the Catholic University Students Association. There were also activities undertaken with youth groups and with parish catechists across the diocese.

The construction of the new novitiate was also completed in 1985. In 1983, Bishop Kim Nam Soo of the Diocese of Suwon had signed an agreement with the Provincial of Central Mexico that allowed us to have a formation house (both postulancy and novitiate) in his diocese. During that year, five novices made their vows: David Hong, Vianney Kim, Raphael Kim, Michael Park and Gregory Moon.

In February 1986, a new apostolate started when the Brothers accepted responsibility for the "loan Bosco" Technical School for orphans in Seoul. The Government soon ordered the relocation of it to Chung Ju, in Diocese of Chong Ju. The new facilities were prepared for them during the Olympic year of 1988. Once completed, the boys and Brothers moved to the new site. In this year, the novitiate saw

the profession of three Brothers: Stephano Chang, Domingo Lee, and Jacobo Song.

On 12 December the same year, the Korean sector was upgraded to be a District. Vocations continued to arrive. In 1989, three new brothers made their vows: Andrea Ahn, Damiano Song, Leo Lee.

2. OUR APOSTOLIC OPTIONS

During the first 35 years of the District, before it became part of the new province of East Asia, ten foundations were made. Some of these had a quite short life; others continued throughout these years. There were others again where the Brothers had a particular task to fulfil and. once it was achieved, the Brothers moved on. In other establishments, difficulties with a diocese or difficulties in being able to pursue a suitable community lifestyle led to the Marist Brothers leaving some situations. Up to the present time, ministries have been undertaken in six dioceses: Seoul, Andong, Chong-ju, Wong ju, Suwon and Incheon.

Seoul, the capital, is the first place where the Brothers started a community, and was later the site of the Central House and the scholasticate.

Andong Diocese is a poor rural diocese. The Brothers went there by invitation of the Bishop and they worked in the Youth Centre and the Dermatological Hospital. The latter allowed them to be in contact with the sons of the lepers and to accompany those young people.

The Dioceses of Chong-ju accepted the presence of the Brothers when the technical boarding school for orphans was moved from the capital, Seoul. Now this establishment is a boarding facility for mentally disabled children.

In the Won-ju Diocese, the Brothers worked for five years in youth ministry. At the present time, they have a retreat house offering ecological awareness to students. It is located in the countryside, offering possibilities to work with young people in a youth camp milieu.

The Diocese of Suwon accepted the presence of the Brothers for a formation house, the site of the first novitiate until 2001. The first property came to be sold and a small novitiate was built in the city of Ansan in the same Diocese.

In the Diocese of Incheon, for two years the Brothers have had a small project in a group home facility.

The most recent two new apostolic initiatives are located in Seoul. One is a small night school for poor children, the other a new building attached to the Retreat House with a view to developing more youth activities there.

3. 2007: A NEW STEP IN THE LIFE OF THE DISTRICT

After considerable discernment and planning, a new configuration for Marists in Asia was launched in 2007. Two new Provinces were born out of the six former administrative units of the region: the Province of South Asia, comprising the former Province of Sri Lanka and the sectors of Pakistan and India: and the Province of East Asia, comprising the former Provinces of the Philippines and China and the District of Korea. The first Provincial of South Asia was Brother Sunanda Alwis and the first Provincial of East Asia was Brother Manuel de Leon. These Provinces celebrated their first Provincial Chapters respectively in August and December 2007, and immediately set to work as new administrative units.

The four missionary Brothers who were still in Korea had to make a new decision. Their three options were to be part of the new Province of East Asia, to join the project "Mission Ad Gentes", or to return to their home Province. Brother Alfredo Herrera decided to continue as a member of this new Province and was appointed as Master of Novices in the novitiate in Cotabato, The Philippines. Brother Enrique Ruiz and Brother Eduardo Ramirez opted for returning to Mexico, and Brother Juan Castro decided to join the new Mission Ad Gentes. At this point, the Province of Central Mex-

Juan Castro, fms 33

ico, after extensive consultation, took the decision to end its contract with the District of Korea so that the District could be part of the new administrative unit, the Province of East Asia.

The Provincial of Central Mexico at that time, Brother Fernando Mejia, confirmed this formally in a letter dated 28 September 2007. This was another major step in the development of the Marist life in Asia. Here is the main section of the letter:

Conclusion of the contract between the Province of Central Mexico and the District of Korea

From a sincere desire to see the new administrative unit — the "Province of East Asia" — help the Institute to grow in vitality and fruitfulness, Brother Fernando Mejia, on behalf of the Province of Central Mexico, hereby confirms the decision, made after a process of discernment on the part of all parties, that the District of Korea shall become part of the Province of East Asia.

Pursuant to this decision, the Province of Central Mexico, through its representative, officially hands over to the Province of East Asia all its works and properties in the District of Korea that previously depended on the Province of Central Mexico. The current works and properties comprise: 1. Boarding School (Chong-ju) 2. Retreat House (Chae-chon) 3. Educational Centre (Seoul) 4. Youth Centre (Seoul) 5. Local Children's Centre (Seoul) 6. Novitiate house (Ansan) 7. Apartment (Seoul) 8. Apartment (Incheon) 9. Community house (Seoul) 10. Postulancy house (Ansan). The current communities comprise: Youth Centre + Educational Centre (5 Brothers); Local Children's Centre (3 Brothers); Novitiate (1 Brother, 3 Novices); Postulancy (2 Brothers 1 candidate); Boarding school (5 Brothers); Retirement house (2 Brothers); Brothers studying abroad (2 Brothers at MAPAC); Brothers studying in Australia (2 Brothers); the Mexican Brothers who have worked until now (3 Brothers); a Brother sent to help in formation MAG (1 Brother). Total Brothers: Korean Brothers in perpetual vows 14; Korean Brothers in temporary vows 7; Novices 3; Postulants 1; American Brother of MAG on a 3 year contract (1 Brother), Mexican Brothers transferred to MAG (2 Brothers); Mexican Brother on 3 years contract to AG (1 Brother).

In 2005, two years prior to this decision, the General Council decided to create a new Marist project known originally as the Marist "Mission Ad Gentes". Originally a sector of the Institute, MAG comprised Brothers sent to new mission countries in Asia. It was later reconstituted as the "Marist District of Asia". Brothers from Korea par-

ticipated in this initiative from the outset, first as part of the orientation team. Brother Alfredo Herrera assisted in Davao, The Philippines, to organise the first six orientation programmes for the missionaries to the six new Asian countries. Brother Ignacio In and Brother Anselmo Kim also joined the project. Brother Ignacio, who had first been part of an

international missionary community in China, moved to Cambodia, and Brother Anselmo joined the mission in Vietnam.

During the fifty years of Marist life and mission in Korea there also have been

Brothers from other countries who have spent time in Korea and who have enriched the Marist charism there. Sincere gratitude is offered to Brothers Gerard Brereton, Hugo Rivera, Wency Calimpon, Briccio Baynosa, José Torrecampo, and Rommel Occasione.

Juan Castro, fms 35



MARIST ARDÈCHE: ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WIDER MARIST WORLD



Georges Cellier, fms

"One by one they leave the land /And go off to earn their living /Far from the land where they were born".

Par With these simple words, as in a nutshell, Jean Ferrat, in La Montagne¹, laments the rural exodus that has been affecting the countryside of our native Viviers. Over the course of the last two hundred years, for reasons political, economic, social, cultural or religious, young women and men from Ardèche have crossed frontiers, or travelled over the seas and oceans, in search of employment in the "colonies" or in foreign lands. Let us leave it to the historians and demographers to concern themselves with analysing these waves of migration; there are, however, among all these natives of Viviers who left their land, some four hundred attracting our attention. Who were they? What motivated them to go on such an adventure? With our starting point the archives based at Le Montet, Saint-Genis-Laval, and in Rome, what salient facts can we glean from the often picturesque biographies of these men?

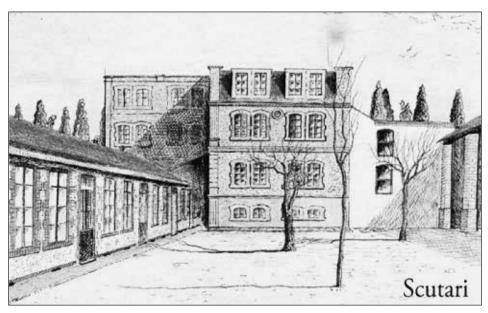
They were all religious, "Little Brothers of Mary", or "Marists", a congregation already well established in the Diocese of Viviers. This Institute had come to birth on 2nd January 1987 at Lavalla-en-Gier (Loire). Marcellin Champagnat, recently appointed assistant priest there, and deeply distressed by the moral, spiritual and intellectual poverty of the children in this vast parish, called on two young men to become the foundation stones of the future congregation. Its aim would be

"to make Jesus known and loved ... and to form good Christians and good citizens".

He wasted no time and in 1824-25, working with his Brothers, built the house of the Hermitage at Izieux. It would serve as a centre for their religious and intellectual formation.

¹ Jean Ferrat was a popular singer in the years 1960-1990, who was very critical of the consumer society. This song was one of the main ones in his repertoire.

Similarly, elsewhere, in a French Church that has been so sorely tried by the Revolution, there were priests setting about promoting a new evangelisation through the establishment of teaching congregations. Their aim was to halt the dechristianising processes that had begun during the XVIIIth Century and been accentuated by the ten years of subsequent troubles. Thus, in Drôme, François Mazelier had gathered the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux: in Ardèche, the Abbés Richard and Boisson had founded the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Viviers. But a shortage of vocations and failures in perseverance meant that these two little congregations were not growing. Strength comes through unity, and in 1842 the Brothers of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux agreed to combine with the Marists: two years later, the Brothers of Viviers followed their example. It was a happy fusion: the thirty six Brothers of Viviers had at their disposal thirteen establishments and legal recognition; the Marist Brothers brought not only their dynamism, but also well established structures and a body of trained men. On 8th December 1878, the novitiate, established first at Labéqude from 1844 to 1878, was transferred to the newly completed Provincial House of the Immaculate Conception at Aubenas. The region of Viviers was to become a veritable nursery for vocations. In order to facilitate the administration of this rapidly expanding congregation, the Brothers were divided up into provinces: Hermitage, Saint-Paul, Aubenas, etc.

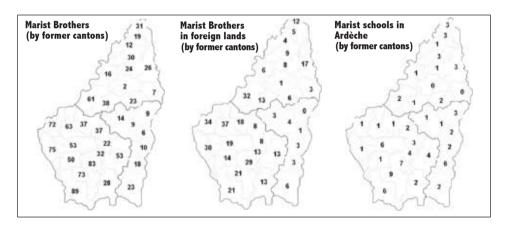


Immaculate Conception Provincial House, known as Immaculate Conception Boarding School, and today as the schools complex of Saint Francis of Assisi

With the Guizot Law (1833) requiring communes to equip themselves with a primary school, many municipalities or parishes appealed to the religious congregations to take charge of existing establishments or to open new ones. Thus, by the end of the XIXth century the Marist Brothers were running eighty five houses in the department of Ardèche; a good sixty in the south belonged to the Province of Aubenas. others in the Haut-Vivarais were attached to the Province of the Hermitage. The young recruits being formed in the scholasticates at Aubenas, Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, or the Hermitage, although numerous, were not enough to

meet the requests coming from the various parishes.

A new impetus now seemed to be urging the young to look towards other horizons. Coming as they did from a rural world, our Brothers of the Province of Aubenas might have remained attached to their native soil. But like the fast flowing rivers (les eaux vives), from which the department (Viviers) takes its name, more than four hundred of them had no time to stay where they were. Called to the foreign missions, forced into exile, or undertaking their formation outside their own land, there were many reasons which account for their departure.



1. SENT ON MISSION, OR "THE CALL OF THE OPEN SEA"

For Marcellin Champagnat, the mission was at first local but he did not limit himself to the foothills of the Massif Central: as he often said to his disciples,

"All the dioceses of the world enter into our plans."

He himself had wanted to go to Oceania, the apostolic field confided to the Marist Fathers. Our Viviers Brothers, to a greater or lesser degree, also became part of that thrust.

2. OCEANIA

The Society of Mary, officially approved in 1836, had been given responsibility for the territories of Western Oceania. How courageous of these young men, so attached to the bell towers of their own villages, to risk those long sea voyages of four to six months. In 1845 Jean-François Manhaudier (Brother Lucien), from Saint-Martin-de-Valamas. embarked on the ship prophetically named "L'Arche de l'Alliance" (The Ark of the Covenant). After seven years on Rotuma, to the north of the Fiji Islands, he gave himself totally for twenty seven years to the mission at Lealatele on the island of Savai'i (one of the islands of Samoa in the south of the Pacific Ocean). And what about Henri Imbert (Brother Constantien) from Saint-Serin, who died on board the ship taking him to New Caledonia? Before 1900 eighteen men from our area had landed from the "Caillou" (Pebble)! Once in these southern lands, there were difficulties to overcome both financial and administrative. On that subject the experience of Jean Guibourdenche (Brother Philotère) has much to tell us: appointed first to an orphanage close to Nouméa, this Brother had to leave after it was placed under secular administration: he went to Paita and founded a similar work, and for twenty five years fulfilled the functions of mayor of that town!

3. AMERICA

During the generalate of Brother Théophane, (Louis Durand, from Saint-Priest), the Institute took on a particular orientation towards the New World.

3.1. Canada - USA

On 15th August 1885, six Brothers from the Hermitage embarked at Le Havre for Canada. Antoine Usclard (Brother Stratonique), from Vion, at that time Assistant for the Province of the Hermitage, had grasped the importance of that mission. A man of realism, Brother Stratonique had foreseen the difficulties that would result from the secularist policies of the Republic: Canada and the USA could serve as a "refuge" or as a new apostolic field for our French Brothers. With the Haut-Vivarais dependant on the Hermitage, these Ardèche Brothers would not hesitate to cross the Atlantic. So. before 1903 nineteen Brothers from Viviers were at work in this North American arena. Henri Lapierre (Brother Marie Sylvestre), from Prunet, was running Saint-Hyacinth, Lévis; Jean-Louis Riboulet (Brother Pierre Gonzales). from Saint-Alban-d'Ay, became Prefect of Studies at Iberville.

There much less of a push into Latin America: only four of our men went to Mexico before 1903; it is true that the foundation there only went back to 1899. On the other hand, nine Ardéchois from the Province of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux chose Colombia. Among them was Pierre Pagès (Brother Candidien) from

Cros-de-Géorand, one of the seven founders of the mission in Popayán in 1899; he was appointed Vice-Provincial of the District. Victorin Cellier (Brother Jovita), from Ailhon, devoted thirty six years of his life to teaching there.

4. OTHER HORIZONS: CHINA AND THE SEYCHELLES

Linking up with the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval, which had created an outpost in the Middle Empire, Henri Dubois (Brother Camille), from Largentière, spent forty nine years among the young people of Shanghai, totally immersed in their culture. Only the events of 1951 obliged him to return home. The missions were not reserved just to those who were teachers, but open to all community members, and so Henri Chalancon (Brother Jean-Maurice), from Saint-Clément, went to China and rendered excellent service as a tailor in that District

And should we not recall the noble figure of Henri Boutière (Brother Cyrus), from Aubenas, who in 1894 on Mahé, principal island of the Seychelles, took charge of a primary school and transformed it into a College. On his departure, after forty years of service, the authorities could not speak highly enough of him:

"The people of the Seychelles cannot forget the debt of gratitude they owe to this Brother, who has so devotedly and so indefatigably laboured to create the Collège Saint Louis ... He has been not only a pioneer of education but he allowed pupils of all religions to have access to the College."

5.EUROPE

In 1887 it had been intended that Four Brothers from Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux would go to Argentina to begin our first foundation there. Jean Moulin (Brother Hilarius), from Orgnac, had been named Director of this little community. To familiarise themselves with the language of Cervantes, the group went to stay in Catalonia in the city of Girona. When the Argentine mission was postponed, the community opened a school in that city dedicated to the Sacred Heart. In 1890, a second establishment, La Immaculada, was opened: Brother Hilarius was in charge there for twenty years. From 1887 to 1894, nine Marists from Ardèche, still connected with the Province of Saint-Paul, came to complete the number of Brothers. For the sake of efficiency, the Brothers lost no time in opening a printing works to produce the textbooks they needed. This unplanned implantation in Catalonian soil became the cradle of our work in Sain; and this Province of Catalonia has been of great use to Brothers from our area.

What emerges from this brief survey is that, in the XIXth Century, what motivated these Brothers to depart for foreign lands was their apostolic zeal and their desire to realise the Founder's dream. Six hundred and forty six Brothers from France, among them sixty four from Ardèche, travelled abroad encountering new peoples and new cultures, and prophetically witnessing to brotherhood and to life shared together. In France, however, the progressive secularisation of the schools, and the laws forbidding religious orders to teach, were going to compel the Brothers to make choices, and often to force them into exile. And from these seeds buried in the humus of other lands, new works would spring up.

6. THE BLOW COMES: 1903

The law of 7th July 1904 declared in its article 1:

Teaching at every level and of every nature is forbidden in France to the religious congregations. Congregations authorised as exclusively teaching congregations will be suppressed within a maximum period of ten years."

This was the final act in an offensive being conducted against the religious congregations. The target of this law was those congregations that had not already been destroyed by the government, i.e., those which had been recognised in law*, as was the case with the Brothers of the Christian Schools and numerous women's congregations. The Marist Brothers, who only had simple recognition by decree* granted in 1851, had already been the victims of the Waldeck Rousseau Law of 1st July

1901. This law granted authorisation to all associations, except those religious associations not recognised in law. Those not enjoying legal status had to apply for legal authorisation within three months. It was a declaration of hostility aimed at the Church, but could be interpreted with varying degrees of severity. The fact was, however, that the government presided over by Emile Combes, chose in 1903 to refuse the decree of authorisation to all congregations engaged in teaching or preaching. And so, in April 1903, the Marist Brothers received the order to dissolve their congregation within three months. (*Translator's note: see footnote 2 further on for the distinction between law and decree).

In the face of this oppressive edict what was to be done? True, there were some Brothers who. sensing a change in the direction of the wind, had already moved to other sectors of the Institute. The Province of Aubenas did not have any houses in foreign countries, and so there was an urgent need to find solutions. Eighty young men, who could not be employed in other tasks, returned to their families. At the Provincial House of Aubenas, Brothers who were elderly, ill or infirm were waiting for somewhere else to live. Several Brothers opted for secularisation, in order to keep some of the schools open despite difficulties of all sorts. Their perseverance would allow some hope of a more fruitful future. But, in 1920, the District of Aubenas counted no more than twenty houses and one

hundred and sixty Brothers employed in the classroom. Others, refusing secularisation, took the road to exile!

7. IN THE LAND OF THE SPRINGBOKS

In 1903 thirty Brothers embarked for South Africa, where three confreres from our Province had already gone ahead of them to this mission which went back to 1867. The majority of them were in possession of their Brevet Elémentaire (Primary Teaching Certificate), others the Brevet Supérieur (Higher Teaching Certificate). After time given to mastering the language of Shakespeare, although in some cases with the accents of the Cévennes Mountains, they were ready for the classroom. We can admire Camille Pigeyre (Brother Probe), from Ailhon, who at fifty years of age dared to take on this venture. Others, like Germain Rousset (Brother Joseph Samuel), from Aubenas, or Alfred Aureille (Brother Maurice Vital), from Meysse, were in charge of several establishments. The latter even became the Provincial. Every community is enriched by the diversity of its members' varying talents: while some were initiating the children into the basics of reading or arithmetic, others saw to the material side of things, like Adrien Dallard (Brother Louis Adrien), from Saint-Andéolde-Fourchades, who spent years making soutanes for his confreres.

8. THE FOUNDATION OF THE PROVINCE OF BRAZIL NORTH

The Bishop of Para, Bishop Maia, had offered our Superiors the direction of the college-seminary of Carmo in Belém. On 19th March 1903 four Brothers: Louis Chabroulin (Brother Auxent), from Lavilledieu, Gustave Oddes (Brother Paul-Dominique) from Coucouron, Ludovic Jallat (Brother Aldérade), from Lachapelle-Graillouse, and Jean-Pierre Robert (Brother Claude-Régis), from Saint Cirgues-en-Montagne, boarded the "Jérome" at Le Havre destination Belém.

They had thought they would find a fully functioning college. In fact, it had been closed for six months. With the reopening of the establishment being eagerly awaited, everything was put into good order, although at the cost of days of hard work. In addition, there was the matter of mastering the language. Thanks to the energetic spirit and the initiative of our Brothers, the college gradually recovered its former prosperity. In the same buildings, twenty seven Brothers from France, coming in two waves, were introduced to the language and the customs of the country: the college had now become a formation centre for young Brothers.

With finances in short supply at the start, the Brothers opened parish schools in several quarters of the city, where they taught catechism, while also providing a grounding in the secular subjects. One group, not afraid of a challenge, under the leadership of Albert Chamontin (Brother Réginald), from Saint-Alban-Auriolles, crossed the River Tocatins, and travelled more than 700 km to Conceiçao, where they began work among the young native Indians. This was at the invitation of Dominican Fathers.

Illness and death added their weight to the trials and difficulties already encountered: in less than a year, five or six of the newly arrived Brothers were carried off by yellow fever or other illnesses more or less endemic in the area: Jean-Louis Bacconnier (Brother Fulbertus), from Lachamp-Raphaël, and Louis Courtial (Brother Audry), from Coucouron, to mention just those two.

Work opportunities had to be found for the young Brothers still doing their studies in the buildings of the college at Carmo. With this in mind, Brother Auxent undertook a long journey towards the south (it is more than 1,600 km from Belém to Recife), in the course of which he visited the main cities dotted along the coast, and on the way set things up for a good number of establishments: Carmaragibe, Bahia and Alagoinhas, founded in 1905 by Louis Ozil (Brother Marie-Amadeus), from Villeneuve-de-Berg, who in 1908 would then go on to found San Luis de Marahao, Macéio, Recife. In the beginning the enrolments in these schools and colleges were only in the tens, but their numbers grew rapidly to 300 or 400, if not more.

The Brothers from France constituted the nucleus of the Province of Brazil North (officially erected in 1908); but it was important to invite young Brazilians to walk in the footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat: accordingly, the Provincial House at Apipucos, besides housing the administrative services, was home also to the juniorate, the novitiate and the scholasticate.

Forty eight Brothers came from the Viviers region between 1904 and 1907. We have already mentioned the unstinting devotion of Brother Auxent; another whose talents deserve recogniton is Brother Claude-Régis, truly a self-educated man: a teacher of Latin, Greek and Philosophy, and author of teaching programmes in Portuguese and English. Then there was Brother Aldérad, who could turn his hand to anything. Another was Albert Chamontin (Brother Réginald), who through persistent hard work acquired a solid knowledge of science, literature and art. In the case of Henri Bourret (Brother Jovite), from Largentière, manual work went hand in hand with intellectual work. The work of Henri Jouve (Brother Marie Alypius), from Dompnac, is noteworthy: he founded and directed the college at Bahia, served twice as Provincial, and in 1916 created the college at Fortaleza. Marius Thibon (Brother Conon), from Saint-Alban-Auriolles, was much appreciated for his work in formation. Twice serving as Provincial, he drew up the plans for and directed the construction of several establishments.

9. SPAIN: A PIED-À-TERRE OR A FIELD TO BE CULTIVATED?

The maintenance of existing works or the creation of new ones could only be carried out by a dynamic personnel either recruited on the spot, or coming from other countries and formed for that specific purpose. Mention has already been made of the four Brothers who on 1st July 1887, arrived in the Catalan city of Girona, in Spain. On 8th February 1888, a Royal Decree granted legal recognition to the Congregation for the whole country. Reinforcements from Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and young Catalan or Spanish Brothers coming out of the local novitiate after 1892 allowed several schools to be opened: Mataró, Vich, Torello and Canet. Spain, a new arena for the Marist mission, saw vocations flourish. The harvest was abundant.

Between 1903 and 1906, because of the Combes decrees², sixty six Ardéchois joined the sector of Girona, at first taking refuge there before going on to participate in the expansion of Marist works already under way. From 26th March 1903, three Brothers came to get established in a dilapidated old stately home, part of the ancient castle of the Marquises de la Quadra at Pontós. Starting

in 1904, in buildings attached to the house, a school welcomed its first pupils. These Brothers emigrating from Viviers were the origin of the District of Pontós, while the Brothers who had accepted secularisation, and who had remained at their posts in the former Province of Aubenas, constituted another District on the French side.

workforce from France quickly moved back into teaching: after time to acclimatise and gain sufficient mastery of a language completely new to them, we see them sent off to the children in Besalu, Borrassa and La Bisbal (1905), Figueras (1906), before moving further out towards Galicia at Lugo, Orense and Carballino (1907), or into the Asturias at Orviedo (1908). Between 1903 and 1908, twenty two schools were founded in Spain. These successive foundations had exhausted the small reserve of personnel, so in order to maintain the works in the two Districts, it became important to propose the Marist life to young men in Spain or France, and to provide for their formation by setting up the juniorate, novitiate and scholasticate.

Thus, from 1903 to 1907, Brothers from Viviers, who had already completed their formation and had been teaching in the schools of the Province of Aubenas, and who

² The religious congregations were not suppressed by a law (passed by the parliament), as is stated almost everywhere, but by decrees issued by an anti-clerical government.

had then found themselves on the road to exile, were now committing themselves to the children in Spain. Such were the three Duny 'brothers' (Brother Adolphe Eloi, Brother Ernest Paul and Brother Isaac), from Issanlas; Joseph Deldon (Brother Lysimaque), from Coucouran, Louis Chabanis (Brother Tempier), from Cros-en-Géorand, and Pierre Assénat (Brother Dizier), from Loubaresse.

Others such as Louis Chanut Joseph Amarin), (Brother Montpezat, and Mathieu Saladin (Brother Alexius), from Saint-Marcel-d'Ardèche, took on the role of Director. Pierre Plantevin (Brother Prior José), from the commune of Roux, worked for a time in the Editorial (the publishing house printing textbooks for our schools). Joseph Montet (Brother Sévérino), from Saint-Pierre-le-Déchausselat. placed himself at the service of the very smallest children as Director of the orphanage at Orviedo. Baptiste Fargier (Brother Bertuald), from Cros-de-Géorand, saw himself confided with responsibility for the District before being appointed Provincial. But many others, like Auguste Payre (Brother Solon), from Lachamp-Raphaël, Urbain (Brother Vincence), from Rocles), Moulin (Brother Adolphe Etienne), from Béage, quietly ensured the good functioning of the establishments by their attention to the material side of things.

10. ITALY, MOSTLY JUST PASSING THROUGH

Twenty seven Brothers from our département crossed the Alps between 1903 and 1904, but as the Provinces of Aubenas and Saint-Paul were oriented towards Spain and the Americas, they did not remain there long. Nevertheless, in 1886 Arsène Filiol (Brother Marie Urbain), from Vallon, incidentally an excellent teacher, was chosen to be in charge of a small community called on to take on the Italian way of life at San Remo, before laving the foundations of the school in Rome which would eventually develop into the Collegio San Leone Magno. Italv's main role, however, would be as the refuge for the General Administration which on 4th July 1903 was installed at Grugliasco, in the suburbs of Turin, while the elderly and the infirm remained in France, being cared for in the former Provincial Houses. The famous distillery at Saint-Genis-Laval, where l'Arquebuse de l'Hermitage was produced, closed its doors in Lyon only to reopen at Carmagnola. The novitiates, too, from the different Provinces were re-established not far from these places: the Saint-Genis-Laval novitiate at San Maurizio, that of the Hermitage in the villa Santa Maria at San Mauro, and that of Saint-Paul at Mondovi.

11.SOME NOTABLE FIGURES FROM ARDÈCHE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATION

First and foremost. Louis Durand (Brother Théophane), from Saint-Priest, formed by the years he spent in the major seminary of Viviers, before reorienting himself towards Marist life, showed his capacities first as a teacher then as director of the boarding school of Valbenoîte in Saint-Etienne. Appointed Assistant General in 1860, he then became Superior General in 1883. During his generalate the Institute underwent extraordinary development in other parts of the world: Canada, USA, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Colombia, Turkey, Switzerland, Brazil, Egypt and Mexico. His farsightedness led him to stress to the Brothers the necessity of pursuing their education:

"Be men of study and learning if you love the Institute ..." he said. He promoted the publication of textbooks more in line with Christian thinking: this was the origin of F.T.D. Publications (from the initials of his name: Frère Théophane Durand). It was at Mataró in Catalonia, that he died aged 83 in 1907.

Then there was Antoine Usclard (Brother Stratonique), a native of Vion, for a time a teacher at Valbenoîte, who was elected Assistant to Brother Théophane and in charge of the Province of l'Hermitage. As we have said, he developed the Institute in North America before being elected Superior General in 1907. He was able to manage the interna-

tionalisation of the Institute and the difficulties created by the Great War, which saw more than 1000 Brothers from different countries called up for military service.

And finally, Jean-Louis Laurans (Brother Dalmace), from Sagnes-en-Goudoulet, the soul of humility and discretion, who taught Literature and Geography at the senior levels at Saint-Genis-Laval before becoming Secretary General of the Institute for twenty two years. A capable linguist (he knew Spanish, English and Italian), he saw to the publication and often the editing of *The Bulletin of the Institute*, such a rich source of information on the life of the Brothers all over the world.

12. REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE MISSIONS ALREADY IN EXISTENCE

Between 1903 and 1908 ten Brothers from the arrondissement of Tournon arrived in Canada. All went into teaching: Lucien Caillet (Brother Marie Feliciani), from Saint-Félicien; Régis Faucon (Brother Etienne-Régis), from Borée, given various postings in the USA; Pierre Déshières (Brother Camille Ernest). from Colombier-le-Jeune, a born educator and a man of great refinement. Four from the arrondissement of L'Argentière went to Argentina: Alphonse Chazalon (Brother Loger), from Cros-de-Géorand, spent forty five years moving about in Argentina, Chile and Peru. Joseph Borne (Brother Siméon), from Malbosc, gave sixty two years of devoted service as a teacher and Master of Novices, etc. Between 1903 and 1906 Colombia welcomed five Brothers from the Province of Aubenas. Joseph Coste (Brother Hermeland), from Montpezat, spent more than fifty years in that country, thirty of which were spent in the mission of Putumayo, which he had founded.

Finally, Mexico benefited from the arrival of eleven Brothers from 1903 to 1908. Many exercised their functions as teachers; others like Jean-Pierre Teyssier (Brother Anthelmus), from Coucouron, were in charge of various establishments; on the other hand, Cyprien Faure (Brother Maximène), from Lavillatte, was responsible for the material side of things in Mexico, Cuba and El Salvador; and as for Emmanuel Amblard (Brother Euphrosin), from Darbes, in no time at all he was appointed Provincial of Cuba-Mexico; and then opened a printery for the publication of school textbooks.

If we look now at our total numbers (some Brothers crossed into neighbouring countries like Belgium, England or Switzerland): one hundred and fifty three departed in 1903, followed by thirty three in 1904 and twelve in 1905, a total of one hundred and ninety eight in two years, with another forty eight added to their number between 1905 and 1910: it was a veritable haemorrhage for the Province of Aubenas, but also life-giving supply of new blood for

the recently founded missions and for the new foundations!

13. A LOW WATER MARK IS REACHED

From 1910 to 1940 it was aspirants to Marist life who were crossing our frontiers to undertake their initiation into the religious life. The flow was towards two poles closely linked with the former Province of Aubenas, namely the Provinces of Brazil North and Spain.

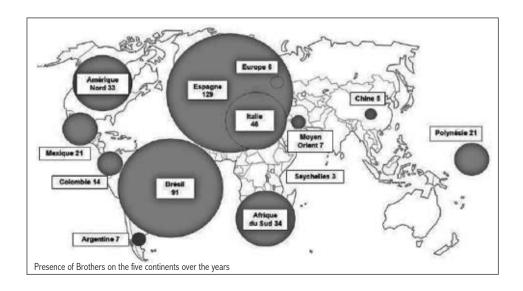
The young Province of Brazil had works to maintain or develop. The houses of formation were operational but reinforcements from outside remained necessary before the local Brothers could take up the baton. Let us find out about some of these Brothers: Régis Krasousky (Brother Abdon), from Burzet, spent forty years among the young people of Recife, Fortaleza and Ceara. Henri Luquet (Brother Henri Dorothée), from Saint-Julien-La-Brousse, might have boasted of the forty four years of his life given in the service of this sector. Louis Fayolle (Brother Paul Feliciano), from Sablières, was highly esteemed by those close to him, even giving courses at the Faculty of Fortaleza; our dear René Brunel (Brother Louis Cyprien), from Borne, may be described as "an outstanding teacher and educator". Jean-Baptiste Chasson (Brother Herman Joseph), from Thueyts, was admired for his lively intelligence and his prodigious memory. Léon Ollier (Brother Léon Corsini), not content with being an excellent teacher of Physics and Chemistry, used his manual skills to busy himself with the installation of electricity in the houses. Elie Thomas (Brother Elie Norbert), from Saint-André-de Cruzières, gave evidence of an erudition that was out of the ordinary: not only did he have degrees in Engineering and Architecture. he was also a source of wise advice. Two men from Chevlaroi stand out: Maurice Teisseire (Brother Guy Maurice), who headed the Faculty of Philosophy at Ceara and who, from 1954 to 1962, was given the position of Provincial, and Armand Brugière (Brother Vérand), who saw to the programmes of instruction at the Faculty.

Thus between 1910 and 1940 some forty young people from our region braved the voyage across the Atlantic; formed at Apipucos (Brazil) for the most part, they were more easily able to integrate. The length of their overseas stay varied, and some did come

back to end their career in France; others remained in this country that had welcomed them; all gave themselves totally to their mission as educators. Certainly we can speak of self-taught teachers, but in the cities access to university studies was possible. Along with the schools, the colleges multiplied and acquired a certain renown.

In the same way thirty five adolescents chose to cross the Pyrenees in order to follow their vocation. In a country where the Marist works were enjoying very real success, they had no difficulty in being employed. In 1920 the house at Pontós was sold, and the Province of Leon erected, with Brother Bertuald as its Provincial.

Only three of ours went to Mexico. Léon Roux (Brother Luigi Calliste), from Cros-du-Géorand, was there for forty seven years. Henri Ducros (Brother Henri Justin), from



Alboussière, after a period in Turkey sought refuge in Greece³, and there from 1921 to 1962 he devoted himself to teaching and to the running of the Lycée. This latter period, so different from the others in regard to the nature of its displacements, nevertheless involved ninety two young men from our Viviers villages!

The former Province of Aubenas no longer had its own novitiate, and the young men who had done their formation in Spain were not returning in sufficient numbers to fill the gaps left in our French schools by age, infirmity or death. This was of a nature to create difficulties. All the same there were some Brothers who took the road home towards Toulouse or Ruoms. And so we have Robert Rieu (Brother Fabien), from Rocles, who notched up sixty vears teaching and also working in the printing house at Zaragoza; Jules Enjolras (Brother Marie Didier), from Coucouran, who counted no fewer than thirty years of service to the young people of Oviedo, Madrid, and la Corunna; and let's not forget Marius Dumarchier (Brother Philomène), from Gras, who completed a term of twenty seven years as a teacher, headmaster and Provincial of Leon-Argentina.

Between 1914 and 1918, young Brothers already at work in the schools in Spain were called back to France to serve under their country's flag: Aimé Chareyre (Brother Adelaido), was to die on the battle fields of the North East on 20th August 1914; Edmond Teyssier (Brother (Brother Gabriel José), from Vals, would fall in l'Aisne on 25th July 1918 and Emile Brugier (Brother François Xavier), from Orgnac, would die later as a result of his war injuries. In the same way, Léon Bille (Brother Joannès Louis), from Sarras, returned from Italy only to spill is blood for France on 21st June 1918. These four religious formed part of the fifteen Brothers from Ardèche who died on the field of honour⁴!

In summary then, from 1817 to the present day, the Little Brothers of Mary have been enriched with one thousand and forty five members from the Diocese of Viviers. The departures for the missions. plus the exodus of 1903, and finally the outflows between 1910 and 1940, amount to a total of more than four hundred and ten movements. Thus 36% of our Brothers of Viviers crossed frontiers or sailed across the oceans! But each of the three "waves" was very different. In the first stage, full of courage and zeal, pioneering the way, and missionaries at heart, their desire was to bring about Marcellin's project for a universal mission.

Then, starting in 1903, there were more than two hundred religious

³ With Turkey opting to join the Central Empires, our schools there were closed.

⁴ Just over 100 French Marist Brothers were killed during the war.

who, deeply wounded by so much hostility shown in their regard, sought refuge in neighbouring countries; others, perhaps a bit more adventurous, laid the foundations of a new province in Brazil. In spite of themselves, the émigrés across the Pyrenees took with them habits that were difficult to let go of, and so came to constitute an "ardéchois district" on the other side of the frontier. But how seasoned and energised they now were with a new spirit! Those who disembarked at Belém were overwhelmed with astonishment, but, once their surprise had subsided, the urgency of the mission released new energy and initiatives; accordinaly, they threw themselves into the creation of truly admirable works.

Finally, it was not "fully formed" religious, but just simple young men

aspiring to become Marist Brothers, who walked in the footsteps of their elders; their enculturation was more profound and their diversity all the richer.

These three generations, shaped by their zeal and strong in the dynamic energy of their young communities, were able to inculcate in their pupils, and in the local aspirants, that family spirit powerfully marked by simplicity, which is so characteristic of our Institute.

Thanks to them, thousands of children from all sorts of conditions in life have had access to education. From the Cordilleras of the Andes to the islands of Oceania, from Fortaleza to Shanghai, from Iberville to Capetown, they witnessed to their religious and community spirit, and over a long period of time even spread abroad a French culture that scarcely deserved such fidelity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A list of all French Marist Brothers (deceased) or Brothers who belonged to the Provinces of France, compiled by Br Jean Rousson. This document may be consulted in the archives of the Marist Brothers of Saint-Genis-Laval (Le Montet). Br Georges Cellier, in his contribution to the preparation of this article, has drawn heavily on the list established by Br Jean Rousson.

Archives of the Marist Brothers, General House, Rome (Champagnat.org).

Research by Br Noël Bourret: Frères Maristes Ardéchois décédés de 1829 à 2005. This research is in the process of being digitised: the four notebooks, along with the data capture of the essential content of this research, will be deposited in the archives of the Marist Brothers at Saint-Genis-Laval.



ANNALS OF THE PROVINCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE 1892 TO 1942



Gérard Cuinet, fms

Having lived in Greece for some vears. I became interested in the archives kept in the Athens' communities and particularly in the Annals of the Province of which Greece was once a part. The file passed on to me contains 13 fascicules covering the period from 1892 to 1942 which I have combined into a digital format. Other documents of the Province related to this period have been added: the commemorative book for the first ten years of Lycée Léonin "St-Denis", a book produced by the French Institute in Athens offering historical descriptions, the civil status cards of the Brothers, and photos of the Brothers, among other things. Since the Province of Constantinople was a foundation of the French Province of St Genis-Laval, most of the documents are in French.

1. THE THIRTEEN FASCICULES

The format of the booklets is roughly A5 (19.5 cm by 14.5 cm) and the writing is in dark blue typeface.

C.F. Provincial ajoute: "Du moment qu'il y a à payer de sa personne, le C.F. harie-mateur se présente toujours le premier. qu'ilsédagisseddessurer les cours d'anglais dans trois maisons à la fois, de d'fricher un terrain inculte mais susceptible de rapporte quelque chose, d'entreprendre des démarches d'où peut résulter le bien commun, d'affronter la maûvaise humeur de certaines autorités, le C.F. Parie-Amateur est toujours là..."
L'appel du C.F. Provincial fut entendu et le cher jubilaire eut toute la Province à ses côtés en cette journ e du 3 fevrier.

Here is an extract (Fascicule V, p. 30) to give you an idea (photo).

According to Brother Georges Vidos, a former teacher at the Lycée Léonin, they were duplicated by hectography. They used a copying paste or a gelatinous surface, then later paraffin sheets. This process did not allow for more than about 50 copies of acceptable quality. Particularly in the early fascicules, the paper used was patched to make a booklet. The number of pages in each ranges between 39 and 61. The total number of pages is 611.

As we have seen in the excerpt above, many of the pages are difficult to read, due to faint type or erasures. There are often typos due to reversed characters. Further, as the sheets are written on both sides, reading each page is tricky because the writing on one side appears on the other.

2. THE AUTHOR OR AUTHORS OF THESE FASCICULES

Brother Jean-Emile, who was Provincial of Constantinople, and whose style is distinctive, certainly began these annals. However, I have noticed a change of style in the last fascicules - a less poetic but direct style, the evocation of events without detailed comments, the reproduction of speeches. All this suggests another phase of writing and therefore a second author. Moreover, in this period, Brother Jean-Emile was Assistant General. (He was Secretary General from 1930 and Assistant from 1939. He was therefore no longer in Greece from about 1930).

In any case, the major dating is not a problem. In Fascicule I, the date of 25 September 1919 appears followed by this introduction:

It is an act of piety to collect with care the beautiful deeds of our predecessors and not to let oblivion devour even the memory of their works. That is why the beginnings of our Institute in the East will be recounted here. If ever, as the narrator hopes, these lands give a good harvest to the workers of the future, it will be difficult to imagine then the aridity of the beginnings; and if these pages can give an idea of it, a lesson of courage will come out of them for future trials. September 1919.

3. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT ON COMPUTER

In order to carry out this work in the most accurate way possible, I imposed the following rules on myself:

- **1.** The transcription respects the text and its style as it was written.
- 2. Where proper names have been written in different ways, I have respected the differences.
- **3.** I have corrected obvious spelling mistakes.

4. The few additions I have made, for better understanding, are written in italics and a note accompanies them.

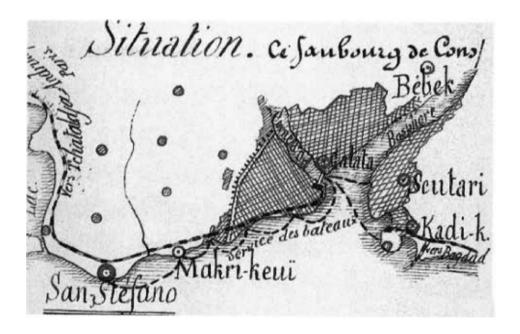
Each booklet has been copied in WORD format, with:

- 1. The addition of a table of contents
- 2. An introduction to the document.
- 3. Explanatory notes in italics and referenced notes to allow a better understanding of history, the geography of places and Marist life for a Greek who does not know Brittany or for a Frenchman who knows nothing of the East.

All this work has been finalised in a document of 440 pages, in WORD and PDF formats.

4. OVERVIEW OF THE CONTENTS OF THE ANNALS

In 1891 the Marist Brothers made their first foundation in China. By this time, they had already entered the Ottoman Empire, notably in Syria. On 3 September 1892, at the request of the Vincentian Fathers, Brothers Acyndinus (the Director of the small group), Emile-Etienne, Marie-Agilbert and Louis-Rupert embarked from Marseille for Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire. They landed on the shores of the Bosporus on 11 September. This new foundation allowed voung Brothers to benefit from the article of the military law, then in force, which gave exemption from military service to young Frenchmen established outside Europe.



5. FIRST STEPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Brothers will begin as teachers in support of clerical congregations or of bishops. Here is a brief list of these establishments.

1. Collège Saint-Benoît. 1892. Father Lobry, Visitor of the Vincentians, requested Brothers so as to assure the introduction of modern teaching techniques. Brother Acyndinus was appointed Director of the Community and with Brother Emile-Etienne, Brother Louis-Rupert and Brother Marie-Agilbert they began classes on 14 September. The Annals state that

"the work of our pioneers was quickly appreciated. Their modesty pleased everyone; their devotion, in a lowly role, where one always works away without any reward, won them the admiration of Father Lobry who, quite soon, in the course of the same year, asked for three more Brothers."

In 1897, the small Collège Saint-Benoît moved into the building of the Jesuit Fathers in Pera. The Brothers followed their students and thus a new Marist community was created.

2. Scutari. Less than a year after the arrival of these first Brothers, a second foundation began on the Asian side of Constantinople. The Brothers came to support a school for girls run by the Sisters of Charity. They opened a new school for the 30 boys already enrolled in the Sisters' school. Its establishment was fraught in the face of administrative hassles and the reluctance of local businessmen. This is how the beginning is described:

After five long months of waiting, on 27 November 1894, the founders of Scutari set off, not with their banners flying and their bugles blowing, but with infinite caution, at dusk, in a car with the blinds down. Soon they entered furtively into their lodgings, the miserable state of which they were to see only the next day, at dawn. Four nasty shacks and a small stone house, here and there on vacant lots, at all levels, such was our acquisition. There was no reason to sing victory; but as our elders had not come there to moan, they set to work at once.

At about 9 a.m., the little boys, led by one of the Sisters, came to move into two rooms, furnished to suit their new purpose as best as could be managed. This was a moment of surprise for the children, but it was of no significance and passed quickly. The class began; the school at Scutari was founded.

¹Fascicule I, pages 5 and 6

- 3. Markri-Keuï. At the request of the Dominican friars, this third house was opened in the Asian suburb of Constantinople with Brother Germain. It started in the parish church with seven pupils and the school year ended with 55 pupils divided into two classes under the direction of Brother Marie-Agilbert (Montibert Cl.). Despite the harassment of the local police, and with the help of the French Embassy, the school moved and expanded, reaching baccalaureate level in 1905, under the leadership of Brother Marie-Amateur and Marie-Clémentin. In 1910. a boarding school was opened. A commercial section was started and acquired a solid reputation. By 1914 it had 270 students.
- 4. Samsoun. In November 1895. two days by boat from Constantinople on the Black Sea, the school at Samsoun was founded at the request of the French Consul and Father André, Superior of the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers in Anatolia. Little by little, success came. By 1914, the school had 240 students, including 75 boarders, from the major cities of the Black Sea: Batoum, Novorossisk, Kerch, Theodosia, Rostoff-s/Don, Kherson, Odessa, Soulina, etc. Today, these names are coming back to our television screens and into our consciousness because of the war in Ukraine.
- Bebek. In the same year, a fourth school, quite modest, was started in Bebek, on the Asian side of

the Bosporus. In 1908, a boarding residence, with 50 boarders, was annexed to the school, which by 1914 had a student body of 150.

6. THE YEAR 1903

Everything seemed to be going along calmly and well. France supported these new openings and was pleased to see its influence maintained. Back in France, though, the Combes decrees suppressed the Institute and, in that year, some thirty young Brothers came to help the older ones! New schools were created in a number of places:

- With the Vincentian Fathers at Saint Georges, Constantinople and in Galata
 - The Armenian Catholic College of St Gregory the Illuminator in Pera
 - With the Mekhitarist Fathers in Pangalti
 - A house of studies was opened in Bebek for the young Brothers and a central house was established in Galata. The latter would serve both as a residence for the Brother Visitor and a Procure for the District.

Other schools were started to assist priests in various places:

- at Adana in Cilicia (for the Jesuits)
- in Caragatch (for the Conventual Franciscans)

- in Adrianople (for the Resurrectionist Fathers)
- in Tarsus and Mersin (for the Capuchin Fathers)
- In Macedonia (for the supervision of the Vincentian parish schools in Monastir)
- In Routchouk (at the request of Mgr Doulcet) etc.

Opened in the excitement from the arrival of numerous young Brothers, these schools did not stand the test of time. They were hardly, it seems, anything more than a means of temporarily accommodating Brothers who were refugees from France. At the time of the outbreak of war in 1914, only the parish schools of Monastir and Routchouk in Macedonia still existed.

Finally, we should mention the foundation of the school in Metelin (today the Greek island of $M \nu \tau \iota \lambda \eta \nu \eta$, the island of $\Lambda \eta \sigma \beta \sigma \varsigma$), requested by the French Embassy to the Sublime-Porte. Despite an effort by the Turkish administration to thwart its foundation and opening, 25 pupils were enrolled at the end of the first year of operation.

7.THE YEARS BEFORE WORLD WAR 1

The ten years before the war were peaceful. The number of Brothers reached one hundred, in about fifteen

establishments nearly two thou sand students Some of the important events for the Province included a foundation in Hungary, at Orsova, with a view to Hungarian cruitment, and then the arrival the Brothers at Lycée



Br. C. Aeyndinus Provincial 1908-1914

Léonin «St-Denis» in Athens in 1907. In 1910, the Province founded an establishment at San-Stefano, on the European side of Constantinople, a charming parish school which, after four years of existence, had nearly 100 pupils.

On the eve of the 1914-1918 War. the atmosphere was one of optimism: the Brothers, who had come young, were in the prime of their lives and full of experience. The formation in the schools was of a high level: up to the baccalaureate. A group of Brothers composed classical works, adapted to the East, which met with great success in Egypt, Romania, and Persia. Ambitious plans for the future were discussed. Brother Acvndinus was appointed Visitor in 1896 and became the first Brother Provincial from 1908 to 1914. He passed the baton to Brother Jean-Emile. At that time, there were 104 Brothers.

8. LYCÉE LÉONIN "SAINT-DENIS", ATHENS

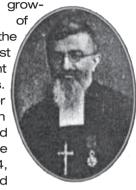
Let us pause for a moment to consider the arrival of the Brothers at Lycée Léonin in Athens. This school and its future subsidiary, Lycee Leonin «Sacre Coeur», would become the backbone of this Province. The Brothers there would be the non-French survivors of this Province during the First and Second World Wars.

Lycee Leonin was founded in 1888 and owes its name to Pope Leo XIII who recognised it as a «Pontifical High School». Around 1906, the Bishop Delenda became worried about the decline of the school, which had just 90 pupils. On the advice of the Visitor of the Vincentians, who was in Athens, he contacted the Marist Brothers.

From the moment they arrived, word spread, say the Annals in Fascicule XIII, that "a group of religious, respectful of the government and the local authorities, as well as of the customs and religion of the country, had just arrived at Lycée "Saint-Denis", and were devoting themselves body and soul to the instruction and education of the children entrusted to them".

From the following year, the Lycee experienced a surprising increase of 100 pupils. And the arrival of a fifth Brother made it possible to lay the foundations for a commercial school, which was to be a great success in

the future. The growreputation ina the school led the Bishop to entrust its management to the Brothers. And so Brother Marie-Brunon was appointed Director of Lycée Léonin. In 1914. the school had 400 students.



Br. C. F. Marié-Bruno

9. THE WAR OF 1914-1918

The winds of optimism did not last.

War broke out in August 1914 and the communities were depleted by the departure of the many Brothers called up for military service. Moreover, Türkiye became one of the belligerents; the Brothers only had a few days to leave. The war caused the suspension of all the schools in the Province except those in Greece, in Athens and Patras (founded in 1915). By 1917, after 25 years of presence in the Middle East, there were no longer any schools in operation, because the political events of 1916 in Greece had caused them also to close. Brother Jean Emile, Provincial, was forced into exile with all the Brothers. Only Brothers Reginald and Michel Antoine, of Swiss and Greek nationality respectively, stayed to devote themselves to preserving the establishment in Athens. Brother Raphael remained in Patras.

10. THE POILUS OF THE GREAT WAR

Fascicule III devotes three pages to the memory of those who paid a heavy price during the First World War. We discover their mobilisation.

the illnesses that struck them, the deaths in battle, the imprisonment they suffered, the 14 War Crosses, and other details. Also mentioned is their perseverance in the spiritual life. We can cite an extract from Fascicule III, pages 12-15:

The poor Marist soldier lives something of a double life, a brave soldier on the one hand and a good religious on the other. And neither is easy. The heat, the cold, the rain, the snow, the gear to be carried in all weathers, at all hours, in all sectors, all the jobs to be done, often with nothing, the belt to be tightened from time to time, that is the general picture of the five years of war. We must add the perils of war itself, the bullets, the marmites (large calibre shells), the torpedoes, the shells that rain down like hail in the midst of a din in comparison to which thunder is nothing but a chirp. In the end, gas became involved, wounds were uncountable, deaths followed one another, and illnesses appeared.

It is impossible to mention them all: Br Frument-Jérôme lost half his thigh; Br Marie-Jubin, a piece of the shoulder; Br Marie-Frédéric, both legs perforated; Br Léonce, both arms; Br Rodriguez has a piece of shrapnel in his calf; Br Marie-Flavien, a piece of shrapnel in his shoulder and arm; Br François-Philogone, a piece of stone in his head; Br Joseph, a hand riddled with small pieces of shrapnel; Br Marc, a broken leg; Br Paul Philomène, his jaw; Br Louis-Prosper, a heel; Br Paul-Justin, an arm.

11. AFTER THE WAR, A RESURRECTION

After twenty-five years of Marist presence, the Province was on the verge of disappearing. Yet, at the end of the war, it was reborn. It is worth commenting on four of the countries involved at this point in history: Türkiye, Greece, Hungary and France.

11.1. Türkiye in 1918

As soon as the Armistice of 1918 was signed, the Brothers returned – to a field of ruins. The country was in a miserable state. The condition of the establishments at San Stefano and Samsoun was lamentable.

Everything had to be re-equipped. From 1919, the French Army demobilised the Brothers who had previously been involved in the works of the Province, in Scutari for example. Under the impetus of Brother Jean-Emile, Provincial, the schools of Scutari, Bebek, Makri Keui, San Stefano (suburb of Constantinople), Samsoun (Black Sea) and Monastir (Yugoslavia), were refurbished. Even a new school, that of Yedi Kule (Constantinople), was opened in 1921, in a former German school. But this positive period did not last! Disagreements between the victors combined with the discovery of oil in Mosul allowed Mustafa Kemal to free Türkiye from the yoke of the Allies and to create a secular state. Thus, little by little, the schools would close.

The Treaty of Sevres was followed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. As a consequence, the Turks, left to their own devices by a divided Europe, obtained from the League of Nations the expulsion of all Christians from Asia Minor, with a commitment to take back any Muslims sent to them from Greece. A deplorable exodus in the middle of winter caused more than 100,000 deaths. Even today, it still deeply marks the collective Greek memory.

New regulations aoverned teaching in foreign schools: Turkish language, Turkish teachers, prohibition of religious signs, prohibition of primary school children, etc. Brothers of the Constantinople reaion would find themselves out on the street overnight, but "without too many concerns", say the Annals, because the construction of Lycee Leonin "Sacre Coeur" in the suburbs of Athens was about to open and was calling for reinforcements!

11.2. Greece Lycee Leonin 'Sacre Coeur' in Athens - 1923

The Brothers arrived in Athens and discovered the old Lycee Leonin "St Denis", on Sina Street near the Catholic Cathedral in the centre of Athens, full to bursting with pupils: nearly 900 in 1923. Fortunately, the Brothers had anticipated this by buying a piece of land in the suburbs of Athens, in Patissia, in 1914.

On 25 November 1923, Mgr Louis Petit, Archbishop of Athens, solemnly laid the first stone of this future Lycee (principally, a boarding school) for which Brother Marie-Florentien had drawn up the plans, under the technical direction of a Mr Pascalides, architect. The foundations and masonry work were proceeding:

Doors, windows, shutters, class tables, all the woodwork, and more again, all passed through the hands of the valiant and venerated Br Marie-Agilbert.² It has been estimated that there are more than 20,000 panes of glass or small tiles in this College; not one of them has not been cut and installed by the Brothers.

In short, ten months after the blessing of the foundation stone, in



Athens - Lycée Léonin (section Sacré Coeur)

² Brother Marie-Agilbert (Claude Montibert) was born on 15 May 1872 in La Chapelle-de-Mardore (Rhône). He left for Constantinople in September 1892 and was a teacher at Saint Benoît from 1892 to 1895. He was founder of the school at Makri Keui, 1895 to 1910, then founder of the school at San Stefano, 1910 to 1914. After the First World War, he was in Athens to supervise the technical works. He died in Varennes-sur-Allier on 20 August 1961.

a building that had barely been completed, a large community was established under the direction of Br Marie-Damien. While the building was still incomplete, 360 pupils arrived, including 160 boarders. To crown the construction of this work, the Superior General, Brother Diogène, accompanied by the Econome General, Brother Louis-Marie, former director of the Lycee Leonin "St-Denis", officially opened Lycee "Sacre-Coeur" in the presence of French and Greek civil, military and religious authorities on 17 October 1924

In 1925, a second construction was completed. The boarding school acquired a great reputation throughout Greece and beyond, with pupils coming from Albania, Yugoslavia, Romania, Türkiye, Egypt and Abyssinia. Both schools would be places of academic and sporting excellence. A renowned commercial section would also be developed.

The situation remained uneventful until 1930 when, suddenly, the situation changed. The Papandreou Law forbade pupils of Greek nationality to attend foreign schools before the age of 15. The two Leonin lycées could no longer open primary classes. Happily, by 1937 the situation had improved: there were more than 1000 pupils.

11.3. 1930-1942 : Opening of works in central Europe and France

The great challenge for the Province, which no longer received signif-

icant help from France, was the recruitment of new Brothers. Openings were therefore made in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania and France (Brittany) with the aim of finding and forming vocations, as well as teaching in these places.

In 1922, a second school opened in Hungary, in Budapest itself, with the name "Ecole Champagnat". A boarding section was added to it. In 1930, a school was opened in Béograd (Belgrade) Yugoslavia, as an annex to the "Collége Jeanne d'Arc" run by the Oblate Sisters of the Assumption. This foundation has an unusual history associated with it: Serbian officers serving in Paris in 1914-18, begged the Sisters to follow them to Serbia and continue to take care of their children (girls)! But the parents also wanted a school for their boys and the Marist Brothers were called in - 10 boys in the first year, then 20 in the second! Growth continued until the school was closed in 1941-42 because of the war.

11.4 Brittany, France

In 1931, in very Catholic Brittany, a first field of apostolate was opened at the request of the parish priest of Pipriac (Ille et Vilaine) with 200 pupils. For the Brothers, the initial objective was

"to penetrate this Breton territory, to make known the name of the Marist Brothers, their teaching and their system of education in order to awaken Marist vocations".

Four parish schools were opened in the wake of this: Montauban-de-

Bretagne, Bains-sur-Oust and Langon, in Ille et Vilaine. In Tregunc, in Finistere, a boarding school for about sixty boarders was in operation from the very beginning. This school was so successful in the end-of-year examinations that it was acclaimed in high places to be the model school of Finistere. Finally, two foundations would take place in Saint-Nazaire and Gorges, in Loire Atlantic. A total of 1200 pupils were enrolled in primary classes. As well, we should remember Juniorates created in Langon (France), Kispest (Hungary) and Athens (Greece), which began to bear fruit in 1938.

But there was no shortage of difficulties. In 1936, the house of formation in Heraclea was closed because it had no more novices. The taking of the habit resumed on 8 September 1937 at ND de Lacabane and at San Maurizio (Italy), and from 1938 onwards, the juniorates of Langon, Kispest and Athens, produced vocations.

12. END OF THE ANNALS IN 1943

By 1942, the economic situation in Athens was far from healthy! Poverty was widespread. The vegetable garden which occupied all the arable land in Patissia was carefully tended by the community and greatly enhanced their diet.

Classes functioned irregularly and the two Leonin lycées, working alongside the organisation "The Charitable Collegian" which had the support of Greek Catholics of the Byzantine rite, distribute up to 4,000 food rations each day to needy families.

On 27 December, at the end of the year, the communities of the two lycées met to celebrate the feast of St John the Evangelist in a modest way. The mood was serene among the Brothers for the coming year 1943. Only the theft of three cows on the night of 26-27 December cast a veil over the end of the year. They were never found despite a police investigation!

13. 1942 - 50 YEARS OF THE PROVINCE: WHAT WOULD BE ITS FUTURE?

Brother Damascene (Marcel Jaunay) formulated this question during his conference tracing the history of the Province. We know that after the Second World War, a new Province named «Varennes-Orient» was created, bringing together three weakened former Provinces: Varennes; Syria-Lebanon; Constantinople. That begins another story which merits another historical exploration.

14. WHAT ARE LESSONS FOR US TODAY?

Opening the Marist archives and delving into them is a moving ex-

perience. This region of the world, straddling Europe and the Middle East, was a field of heroic action and apostolate for the Marist Brothers and should be remembered because of its exemplary and even prophetic dimension.

I dare to write "prophetic", because, without intending it, these Brothers opened new paths with the strong convictions that have motivated us since the Second Vatican Council. For example:

 The importance attached to the professional preparation of young Brothers, by their obtaining suitable diplomas of a high level and in all disciplines. We read in Fascicule XI, p.31 (1940):

"In order to encourage as much as possible the love of serious studies and the attainment of official diplomas, the Provincial Council decides that the young Hellenic Brothers will follow regular courses in Greek, under the direction of a secular teacher, and that the Brothers enrolled at the university will be relieved of teaching as much as possible, reserving for them above all supervision of schoolwork."

- The option for the poorest and weakest, evidenced by: the reception of orphans; the support of families in difficulty during the wars; the rescue of more than 2,000 Armenians by Br Dioscore, aided by the Jesuits. (He would be the first death in the Province during the 1914-18 war.)
- Ecclesial openness in a spirit of mutual welcome with congrega-

tions of different rites. An example was the work of the Brothers with the Greek Catholics of Byzantine rite, supporting practically and financially the work of Mgr Calavassy's

"Home of Divine Providence" which «multiplies the homes it can serve and increases the rations it distributes. Each of our two Colleges distributes 1,500 rations to the elderly every day." (Fascicule XIII, p.32, 1942)

We can also mention: unfailing support for the Carmelites, through the supply of furniture, windows, etc. made in the workshops of the Leonin lycées; great collaboration with the Vincentian Fathers who had always proposed to the bishops that they choose the Marist Brothers for the apostolate to youth; and also closeness to the Capuchin Fathers, the Assumptionists, and the Jesuits. And even the unusual collaboration with the Oblate Sisters of the Assumption in Béograd (Belgrade) to open a school.

As for a greater closeness to Orthodoxy, this took time and patience. Indeed, in 1914, the Annals (Fascicule II, p. 11) tell us:

As to the religious effect on the pupils, God alone knows.

The Catholics are certainly as well cared for as in France and rather better.

The schismatics, who make up the majority of our classes, have participated, except for the reception of the Sacraments.

The language was less tolerant concerning non-Christians, but this

was consistent with the mentality of the time:

The Turkish and Jewish students in turn had to undergo Christian teaching through moral classes in the last years, but even they were brought timidly or rather cautiously to the catechism in recent times. The number of conversions, half a dozen, is infinitesimal, but it is certainly secondary in the work of (1) bringing the separated Churches closer together and (2) destroying Islamism."

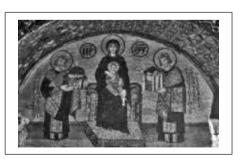
When Brother Damascene (Marcel Jaunay), in a conference he gave in 1942 during the events marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Province, spoke of the final departure of the Brothers from Türkiye, San Stefano and Scutari, the language had changed a great deal:

Farewell, pretty Bosporus, with your blue waves that two lines of halcyons travel endlessly; farewell, books, which have seen the hard work of ardent youth! Ah, shall we never again see the marvellous silhouette of Constantinople, bristling with slender minarets, to charm us at the end of our journey? But to know that the image of Jesus Christ, which they wanted to banish from our schools, shines again under the dome of Hagia Sophia, is for us an indication or, rather, a symbol that the efforts of our elders have not been in vain. It is a pledge that our successors — or we ourselves, who knows? will one day accomplish there in joy what our elders began in tears. For, in the face of the preaching of hatred and the increase of brute force, the spiritual principle represented by the Cross of Christ, the principle of peace and love, undoubtedly always seems the weakest. But it remains, in the final analysis, always victorious." (Fascicule XIII, p.11)

These words seem to us to be marked by an ecumenical openness, perhaps more felt than thought, but in any case, moving, as it links the succession of Brothers to the Icon of the venerable Church of Hagia Sophia.

Over the years, we perceived a shift of attitude and more openness to other cultures. The political conditions, the cultural environment, and the fact of being in a minority as Catholics, contributed indirectly to this process. For example, in 1938, there were no difficulties in celebrating the great feast of the Three Hierarchs and also in translating foreign plays into Greek for the pupils:

In Athens, the feast of the Three Hierarchs³ is celebrated in all the schools, just like St Nicholas' Day in the West. The feast was marked on 30 January by a eucharistic celebration and the inauguration of the Catholic Boy Scouts' Hostel at the Lycée. H.E. Archbishop Filippuci, Archbishop of Athens, blessed the building and presided over the various religious ceremonies of the day. The day ended with a beautiful artistic performance: "Les Martyrs", a drama in three acts, by Lebardin, translated into modern Greek, and performed by



³ The Greek state gave them the status of patron saints of National Education. This is why this day has been made a public holiday for schools until this day.

the students of the Gymnase. The large audience responded with all its soul to the beauty of the feelings expressed so admirably. (Fascicule IX, p.58)

Thus, little by little, the Brothers' schools were no longer bastions of French culture, but put themselves at the service promoting national cultural identities, for example, celebration of the Greek national day, saluting the Greek flag, and the introduction of the Greek, Turkish or Hungarian languages according to the place. It is also true that more and more Greek Brothers were taking on school responsibilities.

Furthermore, from the beginning of the Province, there was a concern to find local vocations! Reading the individual files of the Brothers allows us to discover the origin of the Juniors and of the Brothers: Hungary, Bulgaria, Türkiye, Armenia, Greece, etc. Their objective was to build a mature and independent Province with all the necessary elements, including a Juniorate, a Postulancy, a Novitiate, and a Scholasticate.

Unfortunately, the Annals are rather patchy in their description of community life at that time. For the community at Patissia, which had more than twenty-five Brothers before 1939, we have few details other than about a few Brothers, feasts, anniversaries, and receptions. In Patras, a community of four brothers, we know a little more. The

Brother Provincial, in a letter sent to the Communities (Circular 27, 8 February 1938), wrote:

... In Patras, so much has changed: small community, small number of students; but what a warm family spirit, piety, and regularity. Always the good Lord first, even if recreation has to be cut short once in a while. How I appreciated the prayers that follow the subject of meditation, and that bring to mind the devotion of the day: on Monday, the souls in purgatory; on Tuesday, the guardian angels, etc. How this reminds us of the spirit the novitiate." (Fascicule IX, p. 57).

Was the atmosphere in the larger communities of Athens close to this description or far from it? The Annals do not say!

The Annals end in 1942. The World War caused the closure of all the establishments of the Province except for the two Leonin lycées in Athens – but only just! – and the schools in Brittany. The Province was fifty years old and its future would soon entail incorporation into the new Province of "Varennes-Orient".

It is important, nevertheless, to not forget this Province of Constantinople with its history so full of difficulties, especially for the sake of our Greek Brothers who today are its proud and hard-working heirs. Planted at the foot of the Acropolis and under the protection of the Panagia – $\Pi \alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \eta \alpha$ – they invite us to "look beyond" any border.



The Province of Santa María de los Andes TWENTY YEARS OF BRINGING MARCELLIN'S DREAM

ALIVE IN PERU, CHILE AND BOLIVIA 2002-2022



Francisco J. Fores Sánchez ²

"All the dioceses of the world enter into our designs"3

This phrase of Marcellin Champagnat is clearly a yearning, but it is also a prediction that, over time and with a careful reading of the signs of the times, his successors would be able to fulfil. It is worth recalling that his plan to reach "the whole world" with his mission of evangelisation through education began in 1836 when the Founder sent Marist Brothers to the mission of Oceania. Thanks to this decision, in 1837, the first contact between the Institute and the American continent

took place, when a group of Brothers made a stopover of almost forty days in the port of Valparaiso (Chile), and then set sail for Polynesia⁴

However, this policy of foundations outside France was mainly led by Brother Théophane who, as Superior General between 1883 and 1907, had to face the havoc caused by an anti-clerical government and a series of secularisation laws. Finally, in 1903, the Prime Minister, Émile Combes, refused all authori-

¹ This article is a group effort, since it has its origins in discussions of the Marist Patrimony Group of the Province Santa María de los Andes during 2021, intended to add some depth to the virtual exhibition "Look how they love each other... Province of Santa María de los Andes (1909-2021)" [Miren cómo se aman, Provincia Santa María de los Andes (1909-2021) (office.com).].

² Masters in History from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Master's in Archival Studies from the Carlos III University of Spain. Master's in Museology and Museum Management from the Ibero-American Institute of Museology of Spain. Coordinator of the Marist Archives and Patrimony Team of the Chile Sector. Coordinator of the Patrimony Group of the Province Santa María de los Andes. Member of the Research, Communication and Technical Reference Groups, and of the Management Committee of the Network of Marist Memory Centres of the South America Region.

³ Letter of Marcellin Champagnat to Mgr Philibert De Bruillard (Bishop of Grenoble). 15 February, 1837. Letter 93. AFM, RCLA, 1, p. 31, n° 6. Edited in CGS, 1, p. 219 and AAA p. 208.

⁴ Cf. DI GIUSTO, L. (2004). *Historia del Instituto de los Hermanos Maristas*. Province of Cruz del Sur: Rosario, Argentina, p. 39.

sation to the teaching and preaching congregations, forcing their members to choose between exile or secularisation. The coup de grâce to these restrictions was contained in the law of 5 July 1904, which prohibited all religious congregations from teaching.5 Following the Combes decree (1903), the Institute adopted two courses of action: going abroad to found new schools, or Brothers choosing to remove their soutanes and cease all visible links with the Institute, working as independent teachers, not belonging to any congregation. On the other hand, the Provinces and Districts, who were used to receiving the personnel they needed from France, found it necessary to recruit in their own areas by opening new houses of formation.6

In the following pages, we will retrace the history of three requests that met with a favourable response from the Institute. Three countries that, after having welcomed the Marist Brothers and generated abundant fruits over many years, decided to combine forces at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Our story will give an account of the path that led Peru, Chile and Bolivia to unite to form

the Province of Santa María de los Andes and how this search for unity in diversity reinvigorated and breathed new life into the Marist charism in the Americas.

1. THE FIRST MARIST ARRIVALS AND ESTABLISHMENTS: PERU (1909), CHILE (1911) AND BOLIVIA (1956)

One of the many countries that requested the presence of the Marist Brothers was Peru. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the local Church there had very little influence over the population and even less in the field of education, so the foundation of a Catholic school was badly needed.⁷ That is why, at the beginning of 1907, the English Commercial School was created in Callao⁸ (in 1913 it changed its name to Saint Joseph's College and later became known in Spanish as Colegio Marista San José). The Marist Brothers were invited on two occasions to support the Catholic character of the education of this new college.9 The first ap-

⁵ Cf LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (2015). History of the Institute... Volume 1. FMS STUDIA N° 3. Rome, Italy: General House Congregation of the Marist Brothers, pp. 290-291.

⁶ Cf. GAJARDO, J. - LOYOLA, C. (2012). Cien años de Presencia Marista en Chile. Santiago, Chile: Hermanos Maristas de Chile, p. 31.

⁷ Cf. BOLDÚ, A. (F.M.S.) (2009). Historia de la Obra Marista en el Perú, pp. 3-4. (Unpublished research and compilation carried out in view of the centenary of the Marist presence in Peru, 1909-2009). [www.cepam.maristas.cl: in844203].]

⁸ Cf. BOLDÚ, A. (F.M.S.) (2009) Historia..., op. cit., pp. 7-8

⁹ "Much earlier, in a letter in 1882, Fray Bernardino González of the Franciscan Order had requested Marist Brothers to take over a college founded by the Third Order of St. Francis, without success" [BOLDÚ, A. (op. cit., pp. 8-8). [BOLDÚ, A. (F.M.S.) (2009) Historia..., op. cit., p. 9]

proach was made by Father Cipriani Casimir, parish priest of the mother church of Callao, and taken up by the Catholic Youth Centre. The request did not succeed, mainly because of the shortage of personnel experienced by the Institute following the closure of the houses of formation in France. A second request was addressed to the Superior General of the Institute, Brother Stratonique, at the beginning of 1908.10 This resulted in the sending of four Brothers: Marie-Charles, Modeste, Arthur, Gédéon and Placido Luis, The Brothers stayed in New York for about five months and then, on 15 January 1909, left for Callao. Finally, on 15 March 1909, classes began at the English Commercial School, "with about a hundred pupils."11 Thus began the work of the Marists in Peru, the spearhead of what is now the Province of Santa María de los Andes.

Just two years later, the Marist Brothers arrived in Chile. 12 The pro-

cess began in 1910, when Monsignor Martín Rücker was appointed Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Santiago by Archbishop Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre. Invested with this responsibility, he undertook some trips to Europe where he met with Brother Adventinus in Valencia (Spain) and with the Superiors in Grugliasco (Italy). On his return he took steps to bring this teaching congregation to Chile.¹³

To lay the ground, the Christian Centre¹⁴ was entrusted by Father Joseph Moubon (Visitor of the Assumptionists), to draw up an agreement on the educational, administrative and financial arrangements between the Archdiocese of Santiago and the Institute of the Marist Brothers. With an agreement in place and after consulting the General Council, Brother Michaelis, Assistant General¹⁵ sent a letter to Fr Maubon, dated 15 November 1910, in which he "promised Brothers for a first foundation in the diocese of

¹⁰ This request had the support of the President of Peru (José Pardo), the Archbishop of Lima (Mgr Pedro García Naranjo), the Apostolic Nuncio (Mgr Dolci) and the Pope's Secretary of State (Merry del Val). [BOLDÚ, A. (F.M.S.) (2009) Historia..., op. cit., pp. 9-10]]

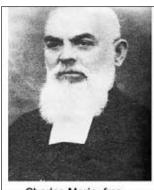
¹¹ Annals of Callao 1° Tomo 1909-1941, pp. 1. [www.cepam.maristas.cl: in844199].

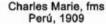
¹² Before 1911, there had been three attempts that failed to bring the Marist Brothers to Chile. Cfr. LEÓN, R. (2011). Historia del Instituto Chacabuco de los Hermanos Maristas. Instituto Chacabuco – Congregation of the Marist Brothers: Los Andes, Chile, pp. 18-25.

¹³ Cf. GAJARDO, J. - LOYOLA, C. (2012). *Cien años...*, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁴ A lay Catholic society which, at the beginning of the 20th century, was involved in the education and moral formation of working and middle-class families. It became an official body of the Chilean Catholic Church, through which everything related to education was channelled. The Christian Centre was responsible for the first four Marist schools in Chile. [Cfr. GAJARDO, J. – LOYOLA, C. (2012). *Cien años...*, op. cit., pp. 34-36].

¹⁵ He was responsible for the Marist zone of America and was Assistant General from 1909 to 1945.







Adventinus, fms Chile, 1911



Pedro Lacunza, fms Bolivia, 1956

Founders of the Marist presence in Peru, Chile and Bolivia

Santiago at the start of the new school year¹⁶" Finally, on 27 February 1911, the first four Brothers arrived in the city of Santa Rosa de Los Andes: Adventinus, Adulfo, Jacinto and José Andrónico. They founded the first Chilean Marist school, the Instituto Chacabuco, which opened its doors on 13 March 1911.¹⁷

After these first arrivals, almost forty-five years had to pass before Bolivia could count on a Marist presence. This time the negotiations were carried out directly by the Vicar Apostolic of Chiquitos (Bolivia), Mgr José Rosenhammer, who arrived at the General House at Saint-Genis-Laval in 1954 in the hope of obtain-

ing Brothers for his poor Vicariate. He did not embellish the situation: it was a region that was poor in resources, in religious educators, as well as in Christian life. Without giving him a final answer, the Superiors gave him to understand that his request would be examined favourably.19 Brother Leonidas, Superior General of the Marists (1946-1958), during a retreat for Superiors, extended the invitation made by Bishop Rosenhammer to the four Brother Provincials of Spain, and Brother Ramón Sebastián (Demetrio Alzaga), Provincial of Betica, accepted this «Mission».20 Finally, on 8 December 1956, Brother Pedro Lacunza arrived in Roboré from

¹⁶ Cf. GAJARDO, J. - LOYOLA, C. (2012). Cien años..., op. cit., pp. 47-48.

¹⁷ Cf. LEÓN, R. (2011). Historia del Instituto Chacabuco..., op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁸ Cf. "Historia del Instituto II, Bolivia. Los Inicios de la Obra Marista en Bolivia" (Taken from Bulletin of the Institute, Vol. XXII nº 167, July 1957), pp. 3-4. [www.cepam. maristas.cl : in846511].

¹⁹ Cf. "The Province of Betica begins a new mission in Bolivia", p. 1. Historia del Instituto II, Bolivia. Taken from: *Bulletin of the Institute*, Vol. XXII, n° 165, January, 1957. www.cepam.maristas.cl : in846511.

²⁰ Cf. LACUNZA, P. (F.M.S.). "Colegio Marista de Roboré 1956-1997", p. 2. [www. cepam.maristas.cl : in846509 / Cfr. "La Provincia de Bética...", op. cit., p. 1].

Madrid to pave the way for the first Marist foundation in Bolivia. Thus it was that, in February 1957, the Marist College of the Sacred Hearts opened its doors.²¹ Subsequently, on 22 March 1957, Brothers Agustín (Ángel Redondo Mariscal) and Apolinar (Pedro Alegre Puente) arrived, and the first Marist community in Bolivia was in place.²² The first stone of the present college was laid in 1959.²³

2. GROWING THROUGH CHANGES: DISTRICTS AND PROVINCES

Having reviewed our origins, with the arrival of the first contingents of Marist Brothers in Peru, Chile and Bolivia, we can turn to look at how they went about organising their life and mission. Chronologically, much the same happened in both Peru and Chile, even in tandem. At the time of their foundation, both countries depended administratively on the large Province of Spain, a situation that would continue until 1920. In that year, there were eight schools across the two countries -six in Chile²⁴ and two in Peru²⁵— and, with a view to increasing the number of personnel, the Superiors decided to create an administrative unit to be interdependent with the Province of Spain: the District of Chile-Peru.26 In terms of finances and administration, the situation was not much different from what was happening before in that, although there was a degree of autonomy from being called a District,27 nothing could happen without authorisation coming from Spain.28 This continued until 1934, when the General Council of the Institute considered it appropriate to grant the Chile-Peru District legal autonomy from the Province of Spain. Although this decision did not mean any substantive change in administration and management

²¹ This school was approved by the Provincial Council of Bertica in January, 1957, and by the Bolivian Government on 22 February 1957. [Cfr. MÉRIDA, P. (Dir.). (2007). *Educando para la vida, Maristas 50 años de historia*. Former Students of the Marist College of Roboré: Santa Cruz, Bolivia, p. 29].

²²¹Cf. LACUNZA, P. (F.M.S.). "Colegio Marista...", op. cit., p. 2.

²³ PERALTA, A. (F.M.S.) (2002). *Obra Marista en el Distrito de Bolivia* (1956-2002). Province of Santa María de los Andes – Sector Bolivia: Santa Cruz, Bolivia, p. 3.

²⁴The Chacabuco Institute in Los Andes (1911), San Martín Institute in Curicó (1912), Rafael Ariztía Institute in Quillota (1914), O'Higgins Institute in Rancagua (1915), Arturo Prat College in Rengo (1915-1921), "San José" Novitiate in Santiago (1918-1972).

²⁵ "San José" College in Callao (1909) and "San Teodoro" School in Huánuco (1913-1917).

²⁶Cf. "Provincials and leadership in Marist Peru — 1909-2002", p. 4 (Text taken from Notes of Brother Pedro Martínez). [www.cepam.maristas.cl : in844146].

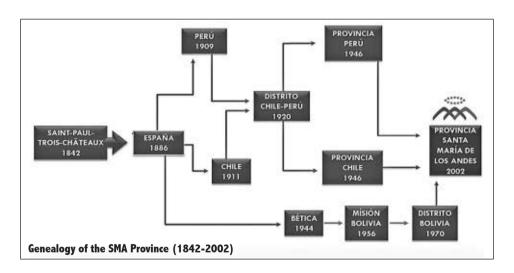
²⁷The District was led by a Brother Visitor, had its headquarters in Santiago (Chile) and was organised on the basis of a District Council which met once a month and dealt with all matters relating to each of the houses. This aspect must have been somewhat cumbersome for Peru, considering the distances involved.

²⁸ Cf. GAJARDO, J. - LOYOLA, C. (2012). Čien años..., op. cit., p. 97.

- in practice the District had functioned with a certain degree of independence from Spain - it did allow Chile and Peru more freedom in financial matters. The District remained in place until 1946, when the General Council, in order to improve the government of some administrative divisions, created new Provinces and restructured others. This led to the division of the two countries, giving rise to the Provinces of Chile and Peru. In Bolivia, matters were handled in much the same way. From the time of its commencement, the Province of Betica had described its presence as the Bolivian Mission.²⁹ This continued until 1970 when it adopted a more formal structure for its work in education and evangelisation by creating the District of Bolivia.³⁰ However, the financial and administrative arrangements were similar to those of the previous period, with a maintenance of interdependence» with the founding Province.

3. A CALL TO DISCERN OUR FUTURE DIRECTION: REFOUXNDING AND RESTRUCTURING THE INSTITUTE

In the early 1990s, the Institute began a profound process of discernment, which had been strong-



²⁹ During this first period, Bolivia had three schools: the Marist College of the "Sagrados Corazones" in Roboré (1957), the "Maristas San José" College in San José de Chiquitos (1965) and the Marist College in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (1968).

³⁰ In 1969, Brother Javier García Terradillos, Provincial of Betica, sent a circular to the Brothers of Bolivia inviting them to elect a Brother Visitor. In the middle of the year, the District of Bolivia was constituted as such, with Brother Agustín Llanillo as its first Visitor. The District Chapter was convoked every three years and eleven were held during the years that this administrative unit lasted. [Cf. DELGADO, J. (2003). The Marist District of Bolivia. Santa Rita: Granada, Spain, pp. 51-52].

ly encouraged by the XIX General Chapter (1993). In this instance, a radical conversion of mentality and behaviour was proposed, focusing on solidarity as a commitment to the transformation, renewal and revitalisation of the Institute and society. In this sense, the new General Council called for a genuine "refounding" of the Institute,31 and a concomitant "restructuring" of mentality, as regards both mission and the way of being a Marist Brother in today's world. Added to this was the need for a series of organisational changes in the administrative units, focusing on the principles of vitality (greater life and renewal of the Institute) and viability (realistic and less costly options).32

Brother Benito Arbués, as Superior General (1993-2001), formally launched the theme of restructuring in 1996, asking the Provinces to carry out their own "study of vitality and viability", in his Communication to Provincials, District Superiors and their Councils (8 July 1996):

The fundamental principle that must guide us in this whole process is the relationship between mission, resources and structures. The starting point is our mission as Brothers and apostles of the Church, and our capacity to respond to new needs in the evangelisation of today's young people³³

In order to carry out the refounding and the accompanying restructuring, it was very important for the Superior General and his Council that all decisions be based on a holistic process of discernment and that the proposals come from the Provinces themselves.34 In our case, the Latin American Provinces of Cono Sur had some differences, especially in the history of their foundations, the (sometimes ongoing) links with Spain, and in the influence exercised by the Spanish Brothers in these administrative units. It became clear, however, that geographic proximity was to be the most influential criterion in the final organisation of the Provinces.35

4. A NEW COMMUNION: THE CREATION OF THE PROVINCE OF SANTA MARÍA DE LOS ANDES (2002)

In order to begin the process of restructuring that would eventually give birth to the Province of Santa María de los Andes, Brother Superior General and his Council held some meetings with the Provincials and some Councillors of the Provinces and Districts of Cono Sur.³⁶

³¹ Cf. "Message of the XIX General Chapter to all the Brothers". (23 October, 1993), p. 4 XIX Chapter – 1993, Roma – Champagnat

³² Cf. GAJARDO, J. - LOYOLA, C. (2012). Cien años..., op. cit., p. 298.

 $^{^{33}}$ Cf. GREEN, M. (F.M.S.) (2017). History of the Institute. Dawn's Uncertain Light (1985-2016). Vol. 3. FMS STUDIA N° 3. Rome, Italy: General House of the Marist Brothers, p. 306.

³⁴ Cf. GREEN, M. (F.M.S.) (2017). History of the Institute..., op. cit., p. 306.

³⁵ Cf. GREEN, M. (F.M.S.) (2017). History of the Institute..., op. cit., p. 309.

³⁶January 1997 in Santiago (Chile). July 1998 in Luján (Argentina). 30 March to 4 April1999 in Asunción (Paraguay).

At a meeting in Chosica (Peru), the possible structure of the new Province was already apparent, since only the Provincial and District Councils of Bolivia, Chile and Peru were convened to set the date for the restructuring and establish working commissions (23-27 October 2000). The meeting in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia) completed the process for Bolivia, Chile and Peru, determining the name of the new Province of Santa María de los Andes and setting 15 August 2002 as the starting date for the new administrative unit (3 to 7 July 2001). The final point of this journey was set by Brother Seán Sammon, Superior General (2001-2009), with his letter to the Brothers of the Province of Santa María de los Andes. in which he appointed Brother Pedro Marcos as the new Provincial (25 May 2002)37

As already mentioned, the official opening of the new Province was scheduled for 15 August 2002, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the patronal feast of the Institute. With the closing of the First Provincial Chapter³⁸ which took place between 12 and 17 August 2002 in the Centre of Marist Spirituality (CEM) in Santiago de Chile,

the life of this new Province began. On the same day, the first Provincial, Brother Pedro Marcos, took office and his Council was made up of the following Brothers: Antonio Peralta³⁹ (Vice Povincial) and Saturnino Alonso⁴⁰ (representing Bolivia), Maríano Varona and Isidro Azpeleta (representing Chile) and, Pablo González41 and Barsén García (representing Peru).



America (Peru, Chile y Bolivia in darker colours)

³⁷ Cf. AZPELETA, I. (F.M.S.), "Reestructuración Provincial, Nueva Provincia Santa María de los Andes". Revista Presencia. Publicación de la Provincia Marista de Chile. N° 10, July 2002. Santiago, Chile: Holanda Comunicaciones, pp. 5-6.

³⁸ In attendance at this first Provincial Chapter: 46 Brothers (12 from Peru, 8 from Bolivia and 20 from Chile) and 6 laypeople.

³⁹ Provincial of Santa María de los Andes 2009-2014.

⁴⁰ Provincial of Santa María de los Andes 2014-2021.

⁴¹ Provincial of Santa María de los Andes 2021-2024.

This First Provincial Chapter of SMA,⁴² established four priorities (each with its own emphasis), which were retained for two three-year terms (2002-2008):

Brothers and Laypeople ...

- centred on Jesus Christ, in the style of Mary and Marcellin, cultivating Marist apostolic spirituality;
- who accentuate their community dimension according to their own vocation in terms of home, simplicity, openness and as a school of faith.;
- committed to the same evangelising mission of being present among the young in schools and other educational settings, giving preference to the poorest in a spirit of ongoing discernment and committed to awakening new vocations;
- promoting the integration of the three Sectors and growing in communion, as a prophetic sign, seeking unity in diversity⁴³.

The first Provincial Council decided to have three Sectors centred on the countries making up the new administrative unit: Peru, Chile and Bolivia. At the head of each of these divisions, there would be a Delegate⁴⁴ of the Brother Provincial and a "Sector Council". ⁴⁵ This last aspect is a clear example that allows us to take up the Province Priorities, with "Brothers and lay people" in charge of carrying out the mission in each of the Sectors, thus ensuring the sustainability of Marist charismatic leadership.

5. A SUSTAINABLE, COMMITTED AND CONTEMPORARY FUTURE AT THE SERVICE OF EVANGELISATION THROUGH EDUCATION

Taking Marcellin's words as pivotal – "Our work is entirely for the benefit of the poor children of the countryside and of the small towns" 46 – the first Provincial Coun-

⁴² Abbreviation of Santa María de los Andes.

⁴³ "Sector Chile. Provincia Santa María de los Andes". Revista Presencia. Publicación de la Provincia Marista de Chile. N° 13, April-May 2003. Santiago, Chile: Holanda Comunicaciones, p.5.

⁴⁴Cf. "Acts N° 1. Provincial Council. Province of Santa María de los Andes". Meeting of 18, 19 and 20 August 2002. Santiago – CEM". A collection of reports from the Council of the Province of Santa María de los Andes. Since its foundation (15 August 2002), pp. 1-2. [www.cepam.maristas.cl : in844135].

⁴⁵ Its function was "to collaborate with the Brother Vicar in the animation of the Sector, to incorporate more Brothers and lay people into leadership and governance, to promote co-responsibility and subsidiarity, to favour better discernment, and to be an intermediate body between the Sectors and the Provincial Council". [Santa María de los Andes Province. Report of the 17th. Session of the Provincial Council. Los Andes, Chile, 23-27 October 2005". Set of Reports..., op. cit., p. 44].

⁴⁶ Letter of Marcellin Champagnat to Cardinal Hugues Robert Jean Charles de Latour d'Auvergne (Bishop of Arras, Somme). 11 February 1840. Letter 319. Copied from AFM, RCLA 1, pp. 172-173, n° 216. [www.cepam.maristas.cl : ch110319.]

cil of SMA wanted to open, in each Sector, a new work at the service of the poorest and, with the close collaboration of the laypeople, to enable more needy young people to benefit from a Marist education. This plan began to be realised just before the end of the first triennium,



The 52 participants at the First Provincial Chapter of Santa María de los Andes (CEM, 2002)

with the foundation of the *Unidad Educativa "Santiago"* in 2005, in the Ticti Norte barrio of Cochabamba, Bolivia. In Chile, in 2007, the Colegio Hermano Fernando was created in the La Negra district of Alto Hospicio. And finally, in Peru, in 2008, the *Colegio Santa María de los Andes* was established in Villa María del Triunfo, Lima.

During his first term as Provincial (2009-2011), Brother Antonio Peralta and his Council spent almost two years drawing up the first strategic plan for Santa María de los Andes. It was approved by the Fourth Provin-

cial Chapter (11-15 July 2011, in Santiago de Chile), and the «Provincial Project 2011-2017» was launched. It set out the Mission and Vision (along with 6 Strategies) to guide the work of the 12 strategic objectives of the various Provincial Commissions and Sectorial Teams, until we held the XXII General Chapter, within the context of the bicentenary of the Institute.⁴⁷

During 2017, in the Province, and in particular in the Chile Sector, «we became aware of the many allegations of sexual abuse that some members of the Marist education-

⁴⁷ PERALTA, A. (F.M.S.) (2011). Proyecto Provincial 2011-2017. Hermanos Maristas - Provincia Santa María de los Andes / Bolivia, Chile, Perú.

al community (Brothers, lay people and priests) had committed against boys and girls who were in our institutional care in recent decades». As Brother Saturnino Alonso, Provincial of Santa María de los Andes (2014-2021) said: "the abuse of minors by Brothers is a painful reality, for which we must ask forgiveness and thank those in charge who are taking action to ensure that it never happens again. Forgiveness must also be asked for the insufficient visibility of the Provincial and the Provincial Council during this first stage of the crisis."48 From the time the allegations of abuse were made until the present (2022), numerous civil and canonical trials have been initiated and carried out (none of which to date have been conclusive). Internally, however, the Institute is taking steps to provide reparation and support to the victims,49 along with fostering a "culture of safeguarding and good conduct towards children

and adolescents in our schools, through the implementation of a safeguarding policy and the training of school teams, to prevent these crimes from happening again and, if they do, to ensure a timely and appropriate response⁵⁰"

Obviously, the situation of sexual abuse of minors in Marist schools – in the context of the Bicentenary of the founding of the Institute – was completely at odds with the fundamental principles of the Marist charism and poses new challenges for the future. These were taken up by the Province of Santa María de los Andes in its three "Action Guidelines 2017-2021": the evangelisation of youth; training and mentoring of Brothers and laypeople; Province structures.⁵¹

The COVID pandemic disrupted our lives and made us vulnerable, distanced us from our loved ones

⁴⁸ Cf. SATURNINO, A. (F.M.S.) – GONZALEZ, P. (F.M.S.). (5 December 2017). "Provincia Santa María de los Andes. Report of the VI Provincial Chapter. Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 1 to 5 December 2017". Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁹ "[...] the Provincial Council decided to initiate ... a Process of Support and Redress for people who suffered sexual abuse in past decades when they were in the care of a Marist school. In October 2021, we set up a Commission for Support and Contribution to Redress which, over a period of six months and in an autonomous and independent manner, examined and studied the available background information... Simultaneously with the work of this Commission, an ad hoc Province team was formed, whose mission ... was to prepare and lead the subsequent sensitive stage of approaching each of the persons accepted as plausible victims, to offer them our apologies, to ask their forgiveness individually for not having cared for them in a timely manner and for the damage caused, and to proceed with all that is contemplated in the Redress Scheme". [Brother Pablo González Franco (Provincial). Comunicado a los hermanos y laicos maristas de Chile. Santiago, 26 July 2022].

⁵⁰ Brother Pablo González Franco (Provincial). *Public Declaration- Marist Congregation of Chile*. Chile, 28 July 2022.

⁵¹We are moving towards greater Province integration based on local realities, through flexible, participative and humanising structures that facilitate personal development, the monitoring of procedures and the achievement of Province objectives.

and took away our freedom to be with our peers. The Sectors of Bolivia, Chile and Peru were no strangers to this reality. All of us, students, Brothers, Laymen and Laywomen of each country, tried to continue our mission by all possible means and we continued to gather virtually, with the support of technology. This was indeed how the context for the VII Provincial Chapter (2021).

The "Action Guidelines of the Province 2021-2024', currently in place, have emerged from the discussions and learnings of the Brothers and Laypeople of Bolivia, Chile and Peru. The history of previous discernments and strategic views is embedded in these guidelines so as to give continuity to our ongoing efforts to improve the life of Brothers and Laypeople through charismatic sustainability, vocational animation and the ongoing formation of our teachers and youth leaders. We are pursuing our Marist Mission from different perspectives, striving for quality education and evangelisation, promoting, safeguarding and defending Child Rights, and cultivating Marist charismatic leadership. We are also advancing towards greater Province unity and communion as an Administrative Unit , creating more synergy through networking. 52

We want our present perspectives to be in dialogue with our history. To remember responsibly is to want to be faithful to our past, but to go beyond what was not possible back then. In other words, to remember is to strive to live the present with passion and to look to the future with hope; it is to embrace the past with an eye to the future.53 For this reason, when we celebrated on 15 August 2022, the Feast of the Assumption, as Santa María de los Andes Province, we were not only grateful and able to celebrate twenty vears of walking together, embracing and sharing our diversity and unique features, for the sake of a dream that is more than two hundred years old. We also looked forward to continuing to bring all this to fruition in Bolivia, Chile and Peru.54

These were the beginnings of the Marist presence in Peru, Chile and Bolivia, that is to say, the foundations on which the Province of Santa María de los Andes is built and stands to-day. ⁵⁵ These have been twenty years of re-incarnating the charism in this part of the world, twenty years of rec-

⁵² "Province Action Guidelines 2021-2024". [Found in :http://www.maristas-smla.org/downloads/Lineas_Maestras_Actuacion_Provincia2021-2024.pdf]

⁵³ GONZÁLEZ, P. (F.M.S.). (7 August 2022). "Algunas reflexiones con motivo de nuestros 20 años de vida provincial", p. 2.

⁵⁴ Video of the virtual celebration of the Province of Santa María de los Andes (15 August 2022). "Celebrating 20 years of journeying together". [In: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuQ-3TKrcVg]

⁵⁵ For an overall vision of the origins of this administrative unit, we recommend the video "20 años del caminar como Provincia Santa María de los Andes". [En: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1JNj1et2Fc]







Antonio Peralta, fms (2009-2014)



Saturnino Alonso, fms (2014-2021)



Pablo González, fms (2021-2024)

Brother Provincials of Santa María de los Andes (2002-2024)

ognising the contributions of a past that makes renewal possible, twenty years of seeking and fostering brotherhood in each of our communities, where we share life, faith and the mission of evangelising children, adolescents and young people through education, giving priority to those who are poor and vulnerable. But it has also been twenty years of omissions and mistakes that we acknowledge with a prayerful attitude of forgiveness, accountability and commitment to the promotion, safeguarding and steadfast defence of child rights.

This history, like life itself, continues to be built and renewed with each thought, dream, project and action that we carry out in the following of Christ in the manner of Mary. We are continuing, with viability, vitality and hope, to give new life to the union of the three countries that decided in 2002 to journey together to better fulfil Marcellin's dream in today's world and that constitute the Province of Santa María de los Andes from this day forward.



THE HERBARIUM OF THE COLLEGE OF PAMPLONA

Science and art at the time of school museumss





André Lanfrey, fms

Victor Pastor, fms

Brother Victor Pastor of the Sarriguren community, which is close to Pamplona in Navarre, informed me about the existence, in the library of the college, of a herbarium that won a prize at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Its dimensions are impressive: 42 cm high by 31 cm wide. It has a hundred plants that have been dissected and pasted on the right hand sheet with a carefully drawn scientific commentary on the opposite side (see below). Two tables complete the herbarium. The first gives the botanical name of the plants as well as their everyday ones; the second table describes the diseases and disorders that they could treat. The display had both a scientific and pharmaceutical purpose. The title tells us, moreover, the name of the author and the place where he did his research: J. B. Decultieux, private teacher in Allevard (Department of Isère).

We know that he is a Marist Brother because, on the first page of the interior of the book (see opposite) someone has pasted under his name a little piece of paper bearing the words "Frére Mariste". Also, Allevard, from where the plants that are studied came, is a little town at the foot of the Alps where the Marist Brothers had a school since 1845.





PARIS-1900
Union des Prères enseignants
MEDAILLE D'OR

At the bottom right of the page, someone has added further detail, by means of a stamp. An enlargement is reproduced below. It reveals that the herbarium was on display at the 1900 Paris Exposition and that it received a gold medal.

Biographical sketch of Brother Antoine Marius Decultieux, based on his administrative file

Insofar as I can ascertain, Brother Antoine Marius (1864-1946) was never given a death notice. I take the liberty of proposing a date based on the file card that outlines the major stages of his life as a Marist Brother.

Jean-Benoît Decultieux was born at Meys, in the Monts du Lyonnais, in the town of St Symphorien-sur-Coise. This was a very Catholic region, with many Marist schools and the source of a great number of priestly and religious vocations. His file does not mention that he spent time in a juniorate. That type of formation house had just begun to exist. So, he entered directly into the novitiate of Saint-Genis-Laval on 1 January 1878, aged about 14, and took the habit on 8 September the same year. He came out of the novitiate in September 1880, but in 1879 he had done an internship as cook at the school in Charnècles, a municipality of the Department of Isère, which is about 100 km to the south east of Saint-Genis-Laval. After his novitiate, he returned there until the end of 1882. It was a small school with two classes, founded in 1858. It first Director was Brother Candide

... who was replaced in September (1861) by Brother Faustinien, a well-known herbalist. During his time here he was nominated as a member of the Grenoble Society of natural sciences. Several botanists came to draw inspiration from his knowledge. His holidays and every Thursday were given over to trips into the mountains to discover new plants.

He would leave on Wednesday after class with his two assistants. He would travel overnight and arrive at the Grande Chartreuse (French Prealps) on the Thursday at daybreak. Leaving his Brothers at the monastery, he would go about all day on the mountains before returning to collect them in the evening and then travel back to Charnècles with them during the night in the pouring rain. Listing his foraging trips would be too long. ¹

The Brother Visitor found that Brother Faustinien neglected his school "to chase after plants". So, he was replaced in 1867. Obviously, Brother Antoine Marius was at Charnècles much later than this, but the school certainly had maintained its botantical tradition in one way or

¹ Annals of Charnècles. The verb *fourrager* (to forage) is used here pejoratively, with the sense of "useless rummaging".

another. It was an interest that was fairly widespread among the Brothers. After a period of scholasticate at Saint-Genis-Laval (1882-84), certainly to earn his brevet for primary teaching, Brother Antoine Marius returned to Charnècles for a further two years as an assistant teacher, in charge of the petite classe. He fulfilled the same roles at Foissiat, by the River Ain, a little further north, and at Apprieu (Department of Isère) apparently from February till August.

The start of his teaching career coincided with the promulgation of the secularisation laws of 1881-86, which were aimed at excluding the Brothers from public schools. The Brothers were obliged to create "ecoles libres" [private schools]. When Brother Antoine Marius was described as a "private teacher" at Foissiat in 1887, it was because the public school had been laicised and that he was the director at the parish school. In 1892, he spent a year at Saint-Genis-Laval, certainly to prepare for the brevet supérieur which was offered to Brothers judged capable of higher studies.

He then became Director at the Brothers' private school in Allevard, a small spa and industrial centre for metallurgy, on the edge of the Grésivaudan valley, not far from Grenoble. Between 1893 and 1900 he had time to wander the mountains

to discover its flora, and to develop the herbarium which would be displayed at the 1900 Paris Exposition, and is now conserved in Pamplona. It is clear that a herbarium of such quality came from a long experience in botany and that Brother Antoine Marius must have begun to collect specimens well before his time in Allevard. Hence, the presence of a second herbarium, to which Brother Victor Pastor alludes, which had plants from more diverse places.

The suppression of the Institute by the French government in 1903 forced Brother Antoine Marius to move. The government systematically began to pursue legally any religious who tried to become secular without moving schools. Therefore, he worked as a "secularised Brother" at Maîche, in the Department of Doubs, in the heart of the Jura mountains. However, as happened with many of the secularised Brothers, his new situation as a clandestine religious was soon uncovered. So, in 1904 he was moved to Italy, to the new mother house near Turin, at San Maurizio Canavese, where the novitiate of the Province of St-Genis-Laval had been re-located. It was there that he made the vow of stability on 18 September 1906.

After 1909 he began to move from teaching to more administrative work,³ as he was getting on in

²See particularly the Annals of the schools at Aveize, Jonzieux, St Médard.

³ In the registers of the General Council deliberations, his name can be found when they were discussing the situation to do with Arquebuse.

years. His appointment to Carmagnola in 1918 was unsurprising for a botanical specialist, since the Marist Brothers produced a liqueur there, Arguebuse, which was made from around thirty herbs. A part of the production was brought back to St Genis-Laval after the re-purchasing of the mother house in 1926. It was also logical that Brother Antoine Marius would go there to participate in this work, at least in the measure he was able because he was 71 years of age when he returned to France in 1935. How much time did he have to work actively in the distilling of Arguebuse? When he died in 1946, it is probable that he had been in the infirmary of the house for some time.

2. A DOCUMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND AESTHETIC INTEREST

Let us return now to look at the herbarium itself. The fact that it won a gold medal suggests that it had some scientific value. However, the opinion of a specialist on this topic would be required. We are more interested in its aesthetic and historical value. The few points that we present here, are quite convincing, it seems to us. The texts themselves, beautifully written and so elegantly framed, give the impression that we are looking at a work of art. That was the intended goal. Unfortunately, today the document is very

fragile and must be treated as if one were dealing with an Egyptian papyrus. Therefore, it is timely to describe it so that something remains in the memory of the Institute.

3. AN INITIATIVE OF BROTHER VICTOR PASTOR

The initial idea for this article came from Brother Victor Pastor who, at the time of writing, is in his 90th year. He informed me about the existence of this herbarium in the teachers' library at Pamplona. Given its fragility, he put it in a safe place, alert to its significance in the patrimony of an Institute with a teaching vocation.

Brother Victor Pastor has strong background in botany. He has recently published a book on the subject, Una botica en Los Arcos (Navarra) en los siglos XVII y XVIII, in which he describes precisely 573 pharmaceutical products. He gives the scientific name of each, a description, its active ingredients, and its pharmaceutical applications throughout history. He is well placed to assess the herbarium of Pamplona which, although limited to plants and flowers, is an exceptional work, both elegant as well as scientific. It certainly is worthy not only its gold medal in 1900, but also of a modern, good quality, presentation, and perhaps also a facsimile reproduction.



4. THE REMAINS OF A SECOND HERBARIUM BY THE SAME PERSON

Brother Victor Pastor is also concerned with another herbarium. It is anonymous but the arrangement of the plants and the calligraphy clearly indicate that it also comes from Brother Antoine Marius. Its loose leaves were damaged. He collected 49 specimens and he had them bound by the Carmelites in Donamaría, which saved this second collection. A professor at the University of Navarre pointed out that that the plants fell into three categories: "ptéridofitas" (pteridophytes or vascular cryptogams in English)," helechos" (ferns), "falsos helechos" (faux ferns)

These pages do not say whether the plants have medicinal properties but they do indicate where they grow. At least twenty-two of them come from the region of Allevard, but we can discover other places of origin, almost always close to Marist establishments, for example: Ardèche; Romans (in the Rhone valley); Pilat; l'Hermitage; Haute Saône; Toulon; St. Etienne de Crosset (Department of Isère, at the foot of the Chartreuse mountains); banks of the Gier at l'Hermitage; Bevenais (Department of Isère) (5 examples); Lauteret (perhaps Col du Lautaret); Saint-Genis-Laval; Les Sept Laux (Department of Isère, to the south of Grenoble); Switzerland; Pierre-sur-Haute (Massif du Forez). These places where plants were collected for scientific study by Brother Antoine Marius, or his confreres with a botanical interest, are mostly in the south-east of France, except for some plants from the Plougastel region in Brittany. It is likely that Brother Antoine Marius drew on this older and more eclectic herbarium to put together the display in 1900. Let us look now at the context in which the herbarium was put together.

5. THE PARIS EXPOSITION AND THE CONGREGATIONS OF BROTHERS IN 1900

I have found in the deliberations of the General Council for 14 June 1898, the decision regarding this matter:

Meeting of the Superiors General of eight Communities in Paris, Rue Pernety, 48, with Rev. Brother Théophane presiding . . . It was decided, among other things, that the Brothers' schools would participate in the Exposition of 1900. The Brother Directors of our schools are to be advised as soon as possible to have [student] exercise books etc prepared ... which might help to develop a model exercise book for all our schools.

This decision should be seen within the challenging context in which the congregations of Brothers found themselves. They wanted to work together in order to offer better resistance to the aggressions of the anti-religious Republic, albeit that this meeting, led by Brother Théophane in a Marist house, would have been without the presence of the De La Salle Brothers.4 In deciding to take part in the upcoming Paris Exposition, the Brothers' congregations wanted to show the public that the quality of education they provided had no reason to envy the education in public schools. The Marists also wanted to show that the De La Salle Brothers did not have a monopoly in representing Brothers' congregations.

Volume 9 of the Circulars (1896-1900) gives numerous details concerning the organisation of this participation. On 12 November 1898 (C.9 p.341), there was a reminder that from July 1898, the Brothers were invited to prepare some of their students' work and to bring it to the Provincial Houses. The appropriate time would be at the annual retreats, when it could be examined by a Province commission. Then, after further examination by a central commission at the Mother House, "the necessary instructions would be worked out for the school work that would have to be done during 1898-1899, to be ready to be exhibited in 1900". The Circular of Tuesday 10 January 1899 completed the list of the student projects that had been planned.

⁴ If they had been present, they would have presided.

After this very detailed description, there follows a reference to the "teachers' work" which "may relate to the various issues raised by the programmes. The initiative is left to each teacher." The Circular suggests a few possibilities, such as: maps for the teaching of geography: collections of models from nature for the teaching of art; collections of insects, both those that are harmful as well as those that are useful for agriculture; samples of wood, minerals and fossils, etc., etc." From all these directives, it seems that priority was given to students' projects and that those from the teachers were not encouraged as much.

Some deadlines were given:

"All the work that has been requested from the students should be prepared during the course of 1898-1899 ... The teachers' submissions, as well as those from schools situated in remote areas, are to be sent to the Mother House towards the beginning of December 1899".

A final recommendation is particularly important: the albums of drawings would be collected by the individual schools; they were to bear on the cover the name of the school. This is why the herbarium in Pamplona bears the name of the school in Allevard. It is there that it must

have been put together in 1898-1900. Then it was sent to the Mother House before taking its place in the Paris Exposition, and labelled as a work of the *Union des Frères enseignants* [Teaching Brothers Union].

On 27 December (C.9 p.540), the Superior General sent out a reminder! The books with student work should be sent before 20 January, so that they could be compiled into albums. For work that had already been compiled, the final deadline was the end of February. The Circular of 17 May 1900 (C.9 p.567), a little before the opening of the Exposition, was astonishing because it forbade the Brothers from attending it:

"they would not be in their proper environment in the middle of such crowds of people, avid for curiosities and pleasure, and ... they would step away from the vow of obedience".

It is true that in 1900 religious congregations needed to be quite cautious, but the measure is still quite harsh.

On 21 December 1900 (C.9 p.596), the Exposition came to an end. This Circular included a "retrospective look over the year 1900" and contained these notable words:

It gives me great pleasure to express my satisfaction for the good will with which many of you responded to our appeal on the occasion of the Paris Exposition. The work sent to us, both from teachers as well as students, went beyond what we had hoped. Added to the collection of our classic works, they occupied an honourable place in the Education section, with those, no less commendable, from the Congregations with which ours was associated. Taken as a whole, they were very much appreciated by the visitors and by the jury.

This Circular explains why M. Decultieux is not given the title of Marist Brother but rather that of a

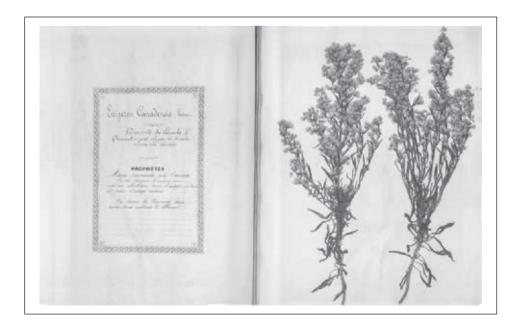
freelance teacher and also why his herbarium is sponsored by a *Union des Frères enseignants:*

I have to tell you that when the Superiors General of the Congregations joined together to participate in the Paris Exposition, they agreed among themselves only to accept awards given to the united group and not to any particular Institute. It had to be so in order to avoid, in public, any comparison between one Institute and another, regarding any awards received. As a consequence, the Union des Frères enseignants had to refuse any individual awards that the jury was disposed to grant to the authors of the best pieces of work in addition to those it awarded to the association.

Ultimately, the Brothers Union received two gold medals (one of which was certainly that of M. Decultieux) and two silver medals for primary education, one bronze medal for modern education, two silver medals for agricultural teaching, one silver and one bronze medal for professional education.

6. POSSIBLE JOURNEY OF THE HERBARIUM

We more or less know, therefore, the conditions under which the herbarium was created. However, how do we explain that while it was constructed by a Brother in the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval, which did



not have a house in Spain, it ended up at the College of San Luis in the city of Pamplona?

Brother Victor Pastor reminds us that the Marist Brothers first arrived in the little town of Sangüesa, Navarre, in 1902, and that they remained there for ten years. The area remembered these educators well and in 2002 wanted to celebrate the centenary of their arrival. There was an exhibition and conference at the Palace of Culture (*Palacio Valle Santoro*), a lovely baroque building that had been the site of the school. It is easy to understand that Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, had replaced this first Marist school there. The Bulletin of the Institute (N.43, March 1916), relates, in a rather long-winded way, the school's initial difficulties.

On 15 May 1903, three Brothers, under the leadership of Brother Théodore-Joseph, the Visitor for Spain, came to settle there, in the midst of such destitution that can scarcely be compared, except to that of Nazareth or La Valla; and, on 1 June of the same year, after receiving the authorisation of the Civil Government, courses were begun with two students and eight individual lessons. During the retreat, Brother Basilice was named as Director, but he stayed there only for a short time. He left for France and was replaced by Brother Mélasius.⁵ When the classes reopened, there were twelve children.

Brother Victor Pastor confirms the poverty of the first Brothers and he rightly considers that in 1903 the herbarium could not have been part of its meagre possessions. On the other hand, I have discovered in the collection of deliberations of the General Council of the Marist Brothers the following passage:

12 February 1908. Spain. – on the recommendation of the Provincial Council of Spain, the General Council accepts the resignation of Brother Mélasius as Director of Cabezón de la Sal. We nominate as his successor Brother Alberto; and we

authorise the Brothers of the Province to participate in the Exhibition of Zaragoza.

This refers to a Hispano-French Exhibition from May to December 1908 that commemorated the centenary of the bloody siege of Zaragoza. This was celebrated certainly in a spirit of reconciliation. Therefore, it is possible that the Spanish Province, which comprised both Spanish and French Brothers, had been interested in this project, and got hold of some work that had been prepared for the recent Paris Exposition, including the herbaria of Broth-

⁵ According to the official personnel files: Joseph Fabien Colombin, born on August 4, 1875 at Bagnes in Valais (Switzerland). From 1891, he was at Mataro as the cook, then he taught in various places in Spain. In 1903-1905, he was appointed administrator at Pamplona before taking over in 1905 as administrator (director) at Carrión de los Condes in March, then in Cabezón de la Sal in August.

er Antoine-Marius Decultieux. This hypothesis would explain why the herbarium bears the mention of the gold medal received in Paris, whereas there is no mention of it on original cover from 1900 as it had not yet been awarded. The use of this work in this new context, and because it had received a flattering distinction, could explain why M. Decultieux was named as a Marist Brother.

However, if the herbaria were intended for the Zaragoza exhibition, this does not explain why they are now in Pamplona. Brother Victor Pastor suggests that they could have been brought from Mataro-Valdemia by Brother Ramón Nonato, a Catalan, who arrived in Pamplona in 1914.6 It might also have been Brother Licarion.7 However, these hypotheses are flimsy. Personally, I prefer the Gruigliasco-Mataro exhibition of Zaragoza explanation, but nothing more. We have to content ourselves with only one certainty: the College

PARIS-1900
Union des Frères enseignants
MÉDAILLE D'OR

at Pamplona has two herbaria of which we know the creator and the origin, without really knowing when and how they got there.

7. SCHOOL MUSEUMS

These herbaria are not only interesting in themselves but they need to be seen as part of what used to be called school museums, set out in boarding schools and Provincial Houses, containing a variety of collections, such as minerals, shells, stuffed animals,8 herbaria, and archaeological objects. Even some primary schools had cupboards that served as a "cabinet of curiosities". as it was often called in the eighteenth century. These could help to teach the children, but they were also a source of prestige for the establishment and for the teacher who looked after them. Numerous studies of these museums exist. They were widely used before 1914,in both public and private institutions. Moreover. Brother Victor Pastor tells us that around 1917 the College in Pamplona had a little museum of natural history, comprising a skeleton, shells, minerals, jars of small

⁶ Born in 1895 at Castellón de Farfaña, in the Province of Lerida, he lived in Las Avellanas from 1943 to 1965 where he did a lot of work in the civil archives to recover land belonging to the monastery of *Santa María de Les Avellanes*, (See, Bulletin of the Institute, January 1966, N.201). According to his personnel file, he lived in Pamplona in 1912-16 and from 1918 to 1937.

⁷This was not the Brother who was assassinated in Barcelona in 1909. According to his file, his name was Angel Roba Osorno, born in Sasamon Castrojeriz, in the Province of Burgos, in 1895. He lived in Pamplona from 1914 to 1918.

⁸ Brother Victor Pastor pointed out that one of the Brothers who arrived at Pamplona in 1903 practised taxidermy.

invertebrates preserved in formal-dehyde,⁹ and some rocks (quartz, calamine, etc). As time went on, the museum was expanded with collections of butterflies, birds, and mammals of the region, and even from Venezuela. We do not hear about a herbarium but perhaps it was in the library rather than the museum.

8. THE SCHOOL MUSEUM OF THE MOTHER HOUSE AT GRUGLIASCO

Brother Stratonique also established at Grugliasco

... a type of school museum, where samples collected by our Brothers would be brought together and methodically classified. These samples would come from the various countries where they had gone, and be the best and most suitable for the teaching and good education of children.

This "permanent school exhibition" which occupied a floor above the dormitory of the Second Novitiate, was described for us in the Bulletin of the Institute (July 1912, p.655). There were to be found the projects of the Juniors from St. Francis Xavier, from the Novitiate and the Juniorate of San Maurizio and de Bairo, the Novitiate of Pommerœul in Belgium, and from the students of the teacher training college in Arlon, as well as the boarding school of Péruwelz.¹⁰ The Province of Central Brazil sent about thirty books in Portuquese from an FTD collection. The Province of China did the same with some books in Chinese. From Colombia and Mexico, and particularly from the Juniorates of Popayán and Jacona, Brother Michaelis brought examples of work. "This will be like a

synthesis, a summary or brief image of the activity of the Institute" wrote the author of the article.

The creation of this museum is clearly connected to the celebration of the centenary of the Institute, which was approaching (1817-1917). This was the reason that the Circular of 2 February 1913 (C.13, p.234) reminded the Provincials and Directors from all the Provinces that they should send completed work for this "permanent school exhibition" which should include the plans of the establishments of the Institute. A new article in the Bulletin (N. 29, September 1913) entitled, "Towards the permanent school exhibition" emphasised the progress over the past year to expand the exhibition and to establish a tradition:

⁹ Some came from France.

¹⁰ Also, to be seen is some work of the same type sent in by the Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepció, Calle Lauria, Barcelona.

First, from the two points of entry ... we can see the happy inspiration of bringing together the most beautiful pieces of the ethnological museum, which had formerly been established at Saint-Genis by Brother Euthyme, 11 and which had been mostly rescued from the disaster of 1903. At the foot of the windows ... one can see many fine examples of arms, utensils, ornaments, things used in worship. All these things constitute a kind of synthesis of customs, religion and primitive industry of the peoples of Oceania. There were many other similar objects from China, Indochina, Colombia, Mexico and other countries where we have schools.

There followed the work of Juniors from St Francis Xavier, an album made by the College of San José in Figueras, containing "a summary of work from the first classes of the College". There were other examples of work from the Colleges in Alagoïnhas, Maceió, Bahia and Bélem, which belonged to the Province of Northern Brazil, and from the Juniorate in Popayán (Colombia).

It is a little surprising that the article does not mention any works from the Brothers, apart from the collections of Brother Euthyme who was considered as the great intellectual of the Institute. In the preparatory texts for the Paris Exposition between 1898 and 1900, the work of the Brothers was barely mentioned. There is a treatise from the monastic tradition and one on Marist humility. The Superiors remained cautious about some of the strong interests that the Brothers had in the sciences. They felt that these might risk the Brothers failing in the duties of their state by giving them the occasion to leave the community too often and to form close relationships with the lay world. We read about the work of the Brothers more often in their death notices.

9. SOME NOTES ON BROTHERS WITH BOTANICAL INTERESTS

In the Bulletin of the Institute, (N.6, November 1909), there is a brief eulogy of Brother Anthelme, born on 2 September 1840. He entered the novitiate at Saint-Genis-Laval in 1860, was a teacher, then director, in a number of primary schools:

He had a passion for botany and the other branches of natural history, which brought him into relationship with many people from the academic world, by whom he was held in high esteem.

Bulletin, N. 82 (October 1930), in a lengthier fashion, described Brother Carolus, (1848-1930):

¹¹ See the death notice for Brother Euthyme, who is described as a geologist, botanist and archeologist. In 1903, a part of his collections were given to Catholic faculties.

After a year as the cook at Anse, we find him as a teacher in Oyonnax, a little industrial town situated on the slopes of the Jura mountains, in the Department of Ain. While there, Providence led him to meet a confrere who was passionate about botany and this Brother taught him the elements of the science. Their weekly walks were devoted to wandering about the mountains looking for good examples of the flora of the area.

This passion aroused some reservations in the Superiors which his eulogy made clear: "... he knew that the school was there for the pupils and not the pupils for the school, and he also excluded from his teaching all that did not have a practical application for the people of the countryside". Botany did not harm his religious life: at Cailloux, a village on the banks of the Saône, the population considered him to be a saint.

10. THE END OF SCHOOL MUSEUMS

At the General Chapter of 1946, we discover a reference to the end of school museums in the report of the commission for "training the intelligence of our pupils and teaching methods". The authors wanted to increase the number of school libraries but they were more reserved about pedagogical museums:

From the topic of libraries, it is natural to pass to the question of school museums, cabinets for physics and natural history, and of laboratories. The report recognised that, "school museums have had their moment, at least in France". Also they can become the work of a single Brother, and when he is no longer around

... school museums and collections take the path to the attic, when they are not thrown out. The work of years can be obliterated by recklessness and ignorance. This seems to be something that is fairly common.

Certainly, the report recommended that school museums and various collections (of birds, insects, and minerals and so on) are encouraged but for superficial reasons: "they always make a good impression in the parlour,12 not to mention their usefulness for teaching". In fact, for the authors of the report, the time of the school museum had passed, just as the art of calligraphy "was in decline in most of our schools" due to the typewriter. Also, science and the art of calligraphy are strongly connected to the school museum - and particularly in the herbarium that we are looking at here - they experience together a certain marginalisation.

¹² The parlours of the provincial houses of St Genis-Laval and Varennes-sur-Allier in particular, had museums up to very recently.

Table I. des noms techniques et des noms vulgaires des plantes de cet Herbier.					
Nomo techniques	Nomo vulgaires	Jugo			
Achillaa millefolium Alehemilla Alpina Alehemilla vulgaris Agrimoma bupatoria Althaa officinalis Angelica sylvestris Anthyllis vulneraria Arnica montana Artemisia abrotanum id absinthium id vulgaris Asplenium trichomanes Astronica major Asperula odorata Avena sativa Betonica officinalis Bidens tripartitus Brunella vulgaris Brunella vulgaris	Millipuilles; Suigne nez. Blehimille des Alnes; Satinde. Rantau de Notre Dame, Bigremeine. Guimauve biglique sauvage. Valneraire; Buthyllide. Arnica des montagnes. Citronnelle. Grande Absinthe. Semoise. Doradelle, Terus Capillaire Grande Astrance. Remedes bois; top oderante; Looine; Sovine noire. Biloine officinale. Bilant. Brundle commune. Navet du dichte, Bessone	1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18			

The report recommended the prudent installation of "cabinets for physics, natural history, and a laboratory", even though these are expensive. However, an establishment might possess, "over a period of some years, well-appointed showcases of devices for physics, chemical products, and various collections". The Institute, therefore,

emerged, not without some reluctance, from a concept of science that was largely based on observation and cataloguing the elements of nature. The laboratory replaced the museum. Nevertheless:

It is indispensable that the science teacher has a background in philosophy and a knowledge of Apologetics so that he might give to his students sufficient light to clarify religious doubt that could emerge within their spirit when they study physics and the natural sciences.

This old fear of the opposition between science and faith is there, even though the Brothers had displayed for a long time a thirst for scientific knowledge appropriate to their profession as educators. They did not see any contradiction with their state as religious.

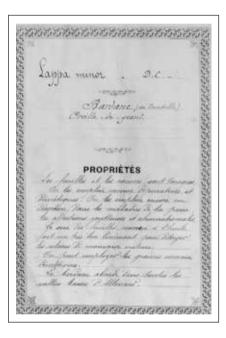
CONCLUSION

Our article is based on two complementary pillars: there is the study of a herbarium, and its high value historically and aesthetically, which attests the scientific and pedagogical goals of the Institute. The second pillar is the opportunity to explore the place of school museums in Marist schools, ranging from the modest cupboards of village schools, to prestigious exhibitions with sophisticated projects. We have seen that this pedagogi-

Table II Maladies et indispositions trailées par l'emploi des plantes de cet Herbier .						
Maladies	Florintes	Maladies	Slantes			
Apoplacie	92-91	Engelines	71.			
Asthma	26 - 71-51	burouements	78.			
Atomie	70-51-36-25-10-5-90-18-		25-10.			
	15-27-85-71-60-40-47-21		49.50			
(0)	6-16-14-11-55-86-81-2-72-12	brysipile	71-			
191	50-19-42-25-24-41-	Esquinemeic	72-			
Describe which	40	beconstion	93.			
Sandomement Touth	73	Filores	21-24-40-33-86-87.			
Bronefule	31-23-26	France intermittente	10-56-42-85.			
Builmer	89	Hugion depositione	82.			
Catariches	85-45-44-73-71-23-	Fore (matatics de)	The state of the s			
Cholina morelus	26	Tolie	26.			
Freue (malatice In)	50	Foulives _	3-4 .			
Guenlation loute	11-14-4-12-21-40-29-10-20-	Fractives	82_			
A	7 5 - 83 - 87 - 85 - 88 - 30	Gastralogie	19.9.			
Coliques	18-2-12-13-35-37-42-45-	CARL CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR	90.			
	47-66-67-72-81-88-93	Gorege (Bernade)	5-4-41-70-75.			

cal world has been largely in decline since the Second World War.

What remains for us today of all these notebooks, herbaria, and varied collections? Many of these works, now considered to be just "old stuff" have been destroyed or neglected. It is important in our days to give to the works that remain from that period some status as testimony to the intellectual tradition of the Institute, and sometimes as educational works of art. This is what we have attempted to do in these few pages.







THE LONG JOURNEY FOR LEGAL RECOGNITION

OF THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF MARY (1822-1851)

Tensions between the founding vision and the political-religious reality



André Lanfrey, fms

Brother Gabriel Michel (1921-2008), well-known historian of the Institute, dedicated a long study to the steps towards obtaining a decree from the French government that recognised the Little Brothers of Mary as a charitable teaching association. This was a problem that impacted negatively on the health of Marcellin Champagnat and contributed to his premature death. It was his successor, Brother François, who obtained the official decree in 1851, though not without difficulty.

A study entitled, Marcellin Champagnat et la reconnaissance légale des Frères Maristes [Marcellin Champagnat and the Legal Recognition of the Marist Brothers], was published in 1986, as an A4 booklet of 301 pages. In the introduction, Brother Gabriel Michel affirmed his intention to treat the question of the legal recognition in its totality.

The Marist Brothers know that their Founder, Fr Champagnat, repeatedly made extraordinary efforts to have his congregation legally recognised by the French government but he did not succeed. It has sometimes been asked: is it possible to know the real reason? ... Another volume could outline the history of the second stage (1840-1851) which, as we know, happily succeeded.

I personally received the first work, accompanied by a letter, dated 17 September 1986, which placed its writing well before the publication, probably in the years 1970-80.

Brother Gabriel Michel (printed name) wishes you to find enclosed a study which was (word underlined) completed quite some time ago but which has just been printed by the Carmelite Publications. This print has 200 copies.

Fraternally . . .

Brother Gabriel Michel had his second volume printed,² entitled

¹ Despite its unusual format, it is listed as a book by the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*.

² By Imprimerie St Chamond in the first trimester of 1991.

Frère François et la reconnaissance légale des Frères Maristes (1840-1851). It was smaller than the first (112 pages) and written in the years 1987-1990. Perhaps because the two volumes printed at Saint-Chamond had a small distribution, the General House in Rome republished them around the year 2000 as an A4 notebook³

1. INTEREST AND LIMITS OF THE TWO WORKS

I have been very interested in the issue raised by Brother Gabriel Michel as to why the Institute tried for such a long time to obtain a civilly recognised status. It seems to me that his text does not explain the failures in the time of the Founder very well, nor the success of Brother François. The author appears to have been concerned to present the numerous documents that had a bearing on this issue,4 from the Archives of the Loire Department, from the Archdiocese of Lyon, as well as from the National Archives. But he was more descriptive than explanatory. It would be opportune, then, to evaluate the fruit of his research in a more systematic way. I decided therefore to recast his work into a single volume, and to be open to reinterpreting this complex history, notably in the light of the work of Brother Pierre Zind, the author of a thesis Les nouvelles congrégations de Frères enseignants en France de 1800 à 1830, published in 1969.

Brother Gabriel Michel failed to make clear that until 1832 it was Archbishop de Pins who tried several times to obtain a royal decree without success. Fr Champagnat did not become involved directly in the matter until after the Guizot Law (1833) concerning primary teaching. In addition, Gabriel Michel was too faithful to the historical tradition of the Institute which unfairly disparaged Vicar General Bochard, and gave too much praise to Archbishop de Pins who was rather clumsy in conducting business. He also underestimated the importance of the Revolution of 1830, which brought in a liberal regime antagonistic towards religious congregations and associations, until its collapse in 1848. Under this regime, it was practically impossible for a congregation to be recognised, even as a simple charitable association. This under-playing of the 1830 Revolution was also influenced by a narrative in the Institute which presented the Revolution as something gloriously overcome when, in reality, there was a failure to re-Christianise the nation and the beginning of the full state control of schooling. The Guizot Law real-

 $^{^{\}rm 3}$ But without the thematic indices, of names, places, or times. It did not even have a table of contents.

⁴ About 140 documents, some of which had never before been published.

ly began the marginalisation of the teaching congregations. The failures of Marcellin after 1830 need to be interpreted in the context of this first manifestation of state's seeking to monopolise and secularise schooling, which was firmly established by the 1880s, and culminated in the demise of the congregations in 1903.

2. TWO MAJOR POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS: ASSOCIATION AND EDUCATION

Brother Pierre Zind (Louis-Laurent), in his last work,5 gives a wider historical context to the Marist problem. First, even if the Ancient Régime had been suspicious of associations, it authorised numerous intermediate bodies such as religious orders and trade associations. The Revolution (1789-1799) broke all these solidarity networks in order to have to deal only with individuals. This is the ambivalence in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. On this tabula rasa, the revolutionaries would seek to remodel a whole nation according to their views, notably in educational matters.

Between 1799 and 1814, Napoleon attempted to follow a middle course. He restored the Church but he did not reverse the suppression of those religious orders that were

judged to offer no utility (e.g. monks) or were dangerous (e.g. the Jesuits). However, he willingly accepted the female congregations that were socially useful and widespread but posed no political threat. In order to establish a state educational system, in 1808 he created the Imperial University, and tried to control all male education, other than seminaries. As the De La Salle Brothers (a religious association) were looked upon favourably by society, the regime integrated them within the new University, which was severely lacking in capable personnel. This integration was more not problematic since the De La Salle Brothers were not perceived to be a religious order but rather a simple lay association. They were seen as religious laymen, competent, but with no political focus. They depended both on Church and the State, and so they constituted a mixed model of an association. They would soon be imitated by others, but more controversially so. Among other issues, the guestion emerged as to whether these imitators were religious congregations or not.

The Restoration in 1814-15 inherited Napoleon's University. The episcopate wanted to re-establish its traditional monopoly over education but the new royal government, in Gallican spirit, in insisted on its being a shared responsibility. One of

⁵ Bx *M. Champagnat. Son œuvre scolaire dans son contexte historique*, Frères Maristes, Rome, 1991.

⁶ Anxious to defend the rights of the State against the clergy and Rome.

the founding acts of this collaboration was the decree of 29 February 29 1816 which authorised charitable associations like the De La Salle Brothers. After the 1820s, a dozen decrees authorised associations of Brothers. Pierre Zind wrote a history of their development up to 1830. We will see why the Little Brothers of Mary did not benefit from these favourable circumstances.

Very quickly the relationship between the Church and the State became rather delicate. Between 1822. and 1826, the episcopate managed to dominate the University which had taken responsibility for the Ministry of Public Instruction. Even though there were numerous priests involved, the University personnel sought to free themselves from episcopal control. Very quickly, the associations of male religious involved in teaching attracted the mistrust of the government and the liberals who saw them as extensions of the plotting Jesuits. From 1825 there were hardly any new teaching associations authorised. After 1830, the episcopate would lose its tutelage over education. Nor did the new regime want to authorise any new associations. They wanted be the sole master of the educational system, without having to deal with intermediate bodies. In brief, the time that had been very favourable to obtaining a decree to recognise a teaching association was between 1820 and 1825.

3. THE MAJOR STAGES OF THIS STORY FOR THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF MARY

The title "legal recognition" that Brother Gabriel Michel gives to his texts is a little narrow as there were multiple aspects to being recognised (e.g. social, ecclesial, administrative). The Brothers needed pursue these at municipal, departmental, diocesan and regional levels, as they climbed toward winning legal identity nationally in 1851. It was like a play with several acts where there is ongoing intrigue, many actors, and plenty of twists and turns in the plot.

From 1817 to 1819, the matter of recognition was not really a question beyond parish and town boundaries. The Brothers formed a single small community of pastoral associates with catechetical and charitable objectives: "a little oratory",7 as Fr Champagnat later described it to Fr Bourdin (OM2/754). We know the parish priest at Lavalla, Fr Rebod, and a group on the town council had certain reservations about the project, but it was sufficiently supported by donations to permit it to survive and to pursue its objectives. At that early stage, this did not involve schools.

From 1819 to 1822, the community underwent a profound trans-

⁷ According to the model invented by Philip Néri in Rome in the 16th century.

formation as it took on schools and more clearly assumed the form of a religious congregation. At the local level, the group clashed with cleray claiming to support by the Diocese's Vicars General who wanted to suppress what they considered to be a clandestine college and a nascent congregation. In 1822 the University, in the person of an inspector. M. Guillard, discovered the Marist network and raised the question of a civil authorisation. However, there was no rush since the episcopate had supervision of the University at this time. Also, the Diocese of Lvon had not been raised to become an archdiocese. It was administered by the Vicars General of Cardinal Fesch who, although deprived of his right to govern the Diocese, refused to resign, and was resident in Rome. The situation generated much controversy among the clergy regarding the legitimacy of the three Vicars General. This was especially the case for Fr Bochard who was the most active and the most imperious among them, and who tried to control the whole system of formation in the diocese.

In 1822-24, the work of Fr Champagnat was at the same time protected but supervised by Fr Bochard, who was trying to establish a diocesan association called the Brothers of the Cross of Jesus. He wanted to bring together initiatives of individual priests such as Grizard in Charlieu, Rouchon in Valbenoîte, Coindre in Lyon and, of course, Champagnat in Lavalla. However, the ultra-royalist government at the time was hostile

to him, and he was not able to obtain a royal decree. Bochard knew that the *Grande Aumônerie* in Paris, serving as the Ministry of Religion, was working towards removing Fesch's Vicars General and nominating a new Apostolic Administrator. So, in these years, the Little Brothers of Mary were under the supervision of a Vicar General on borrowed time.

The next phase extended from 1824 to around 1833. Archbishop de Pins, who arrived as the Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese, was clearly someone chosen by the ultra-royalist ecclesiastics in the Grande Aumônerie, and he in turn chose Vicars General from men with a similar tendency, such as Jean Cholleton. Fr Champagnat knew how to work with the Administrator and so was able continue with his project, even though de Pins and his Council had different ideas from his about the Little Brothers of Mary. They did not want, as Marcellin did, an inter-diocesan Society of Mary based in Lyon but only a diocesan congregation of Brothers. The Prospectus of the Little Brothers of Mary, signed by Fr Cholleton VG in the summer of 1824 gave canonical recognition of the Little Brothers of Mary. This was a decisive moment in our foundation. The Marist aspirants among priests of the diocese would be invited to supervise the Brothers. This recognition of the Brothers, however, had a downside: de Pins, like Bochard before him, intended to organise them according to his own ideas and to utilise them in the interests of the Diocese.

At the beginning of 1825, the Bishop of Amasie⁸ tried to obtain a royal decree for the Little Brothers of Mary, not only as an association but as a congregation. The statutes that he presented envisaged vows and used the word "congregation". Even with the strong backing of the Minister for Religion and Public Instruction, Mar. Frayssinous, this project came up against the Council of State, which, on this occasion, established a clear legal distinction between association (without vows) and congregation (with vows). Only female congregations could be easily recognised by the law (Law of 24 May 1825). Male congregations, considered to be religious orders, were forbidden. Those running the country, who were mostly anti-Jesuit or Gallican, were not disposed to recognise new male congregations.

The plan of de Pins was all the more surprising because in 1825 the Little Brothers of Mary did not vet take vows, so were only an association. Why did the Administrator present them as a congregation? No doubt, he tried to exploit the ambiguity between associations and congregations, which were at that time poorly defined. His manoeuvre failed but it is clear that de Pins wanted the Little Brothers of Mary to become a congregation. It was at least with his encouragement that the Brothers began to make vows in 1826, creating some problems for them. Their situation became doubly delicate: they did not yet have legal status and so they were a congregation whose members made secret vows, but which was not officially recognised by the diocese, since Fesch had forbidden new congregations. They did not legally exist as a congregation until 1836, and then only as an annex of the Marist Fathers who had been recognised by Rome under the title of Society of Mary.

After his narrow failure in 1825, which was both political and religious. Archbishop de Pins did not seem make another serious attempt until 1829-1830. The new ultra-royalist government, presided over by Polignac, completely loyal to King Charles X, decided to re-establish authority over the Parliament, which for its part feared a return of the Ancien Régime. We know that having got past the Council of Public Instruction, the Marist dossier was in process of being examined in the Council of State when the conflict between the King and the Parliament became more serious. When the Revolution broke out in Paris -"the three glorious days" of 27-29 July 1830 - the belief had been at the Archbishop's office in Lyon that the decree to authorise the Little Brothers of Mary only lacked the signature of the King. But Charles X was ousted and Louis-Philippe of Orleans proclaimed as King of the

⁸ This was the official title of Mgr. de Pins, as a bishop in partibus.

French. Marist tradition has conserved this idea of a signature's being imminent, but it is more likely that the Marist file was still in the hands of the Council of State, which would have had little interest in progressing such a sensitive matter at a time of political crisis. Whatever happened, the second attempt, like the first, failed for both pollical and religious reasons.

The July Monarchy (1830-1848) was, at the start, violently anti-clerical. However, Archbishop de Pins did not really appreciate the depth of this. Again in 1832 he attempted, of course without success, to take steps in favour of the Little Brothers of Mary. However, his Vicars General understood before he did that the direct route to recognition for the Little Brothers of Mary was barred. The best way was to opt for amalgamation with a congregation that had been already recognised. The Clercs of St Viator, founded by Fr Querbes in Lyon, seemed to be the best option. However Champagnat and Querbes could not agree on mutually acceptable terms. sides, the bishops had lost their authority in the area of education, so the Archbishop's office had to leave Marcellin to act on his own, with the support of the administration of the Loire, some well-placed politicians, and Bishop Devie of Belley, who became an important councillor.

The period 1824-1833 was an ambivalent time for the Little Brothers of Mary. Their recognition by the Diocese helped them to put down

strong roots in the region, which was essentially in the Loire. However, the political and religious missteps of de Pins, as well as his bad luck, prevented them from obtaining a decree. After July 1830, the issue was how to obtain civil status under a hostile regime, especially after the 1933 Guizot Law covering all aspects of primary education. Guizot and his Council of Public Instruction accepted associations that had already been authorised, but they did not envisage any new groups.

In order to overturn the refusal of the ministry of Public Instruction, Fr Champagnat decided to write to the King. This was an audacious move because King Louis-Philippe was regarded as a usurper by the Legitimists. By writing to him, Fr Champagnat recognised his legitimacy as sovereign. It is true that this was not the first change in his political-religious allegiance since in 1824 he had switched from the supervision of Bochard to that of de Pins. After 1830, it seems that Archbishop de Pins did try to approach the new regime. His action also must have raised at least some eyebrows within Church circles. There was, nonetheless, a tangible result because in 1834 the Council of Public Instruction did recognise the statutes of the Little Brothers of Mary. For some time Fr Champagnat believed the Minister would then pass these statutes up to the Council of State. However, Guizot did nothing, firm in his understanding that the decree of February 1816 had been overridden by his law of 1833. Marcellin had obtained a recognition that had no legal standing.

From 1835, he would be forced to go down the path of amalgamation. He did this through the mediation of Bishop Devie,9 who had introduced him to Fr Mazelier and his Brothers of St Paul-Trois-Châteaux This solved the problem for Marcellin's Brothers who faced military conscription, 10 while supplying personnel to Fr Mazelier's congregation which needed members. Little by little, the idea of a closer relationship took shape in his mind, and even a fusion. However, Fr Mazelier was reticent and Fr Champagnat did not want to abandon the title of Little Brothers of Mary too easily. That name was regarded as the earliest one, and was connected to the Pledge of 1816 envisaging the Society of Mary taking the place of the Society of Jesus in post-revolutionary times. After the bull granting Papal recognition in 1836, Marcellin went to Paris for the first time to submit his dossier to the Ministry of Public Instruction. However, this seems to have been at his own initiative and, more importantly, it was opposed at the meeting of the Fathers of the Society of Mary at Belley, as well as that of the Brothers, who had just professed public vows for the first time.

Guizot left the Ministry, and Marcellin believed that the time was ripe for an assertive meeting with Salvandy, the new minister of Public Instruction. He also had the support of the Departmental authorities of the Loire, his political friends, and of de Pins and Devie. Fr Champagnat was to have two long stays in Paris during 1838.

We are lacking documentation that would allow us to know details of the discussions between Fr Champagnat and Minister Salvandy in 1838. Initially, the Minister and his Council envisaged the statutes would limit the activity of the Little Brothers of Mary to places with fewer than 1200 inhabitants, making their work auxiliary to that of the De La Salle Brothers. A decree with this clause would have aroused little opposition since the lay teachers coming out of the teacher training colleges were reluctant to work in poor areas. So, the Little Brothers of Mary would not have upset anyone and would even have been a help to the authorities. However, they would have been marginalised. Fr Champagnat refused such a civil condition. Although it aligned with the early plan for the Marists, it was soon found impracticable for supporting a community. In 1838, the Brothers were offering their services to places with at least 1500 inhabitants, capable of supporting schools with three Brothers.

⁹ The former vicar general of the diocese of Valence.

¹⁰ If they belonged to an authorised congregation they were dispensed, whether or not they had the teaching certificate. Otherwise they had to be licensed.

With the assistance of M. Delebecque, an important man from the Ministry and a politician from Pasde-Calais in the north of France, Fr Champagnat proposed an alternative plan: replace the De La Salle Brothers in the important areas when they lacked manpower. A Marist foundation was made in the little town of St Pol-sur-Ternoise (Pas-de-Calais) with the blessing of the Superior General of the De La Salle Brothers. However, to obtain a decree without restrictions, even if it had been accepted by the Minister and his Council, proved to be difficult, because the Council of State considered the Little Brothers of Mary as competitors of the De La Salle Brothers. Additionally, the liberal opposition would attack any attempt to have a congregation recognised under the disquise of an association. A malicious move further affected Fr Champagnat's affairs. Some people sought to embroil him in a guarrel between the Marist Fathers and the Archbishop's office about the management of the college of Saint-Chamond.

After the summer of 1838, the application stalled. Salvandy increased his consultations with the bishops in Lyon and Belley, and with the Prefects of the General Councils, but he could not achieve a favourable outcome. The Prefect of the Rhône and his General council were against the Little Brothers of Mary. Nor did Salvandy have much support from his own government. The abuse towards him in the opposition press, and his fear of the Council of

State, led him to decline to push the case any further. After him, during 1839 and 1840, there was much instability among Ministers, who were not inclined to re-look at the case. By the time Fr Champagnat died in June 1840, recognition of the Little Brothers of Mary had not made significant progress from where it stood in 1830. However, the prospect of union with the Brothers of St Paul-Trois-Châteaux became much clearer.

4. THE MARIST VISION AND POLITICAL REALITIES

It seems necessary, before we continue with the chronology of events, to emphasise the importance of Fr Champagnat as a political and religious figure. This is a not our usual perspective on him. Brother Gabriel Michel highlighted this without really intending to do so.

Before 1830, his profile was rather muted, even though he was talked about within the important Diocese of Lyon from 1822 and he became, by necessity more than by conviction, an important figure in the activities of Bochard, which he was able to leave with some dignity with the arrival of Archbishop de Pins. However, the Administrator and his Council had only a limited regard for Fr Champagnat since they did not want to establish a base for the Society of Mary in Lyon but a diocesan congregation of Brothers. The Arch-

bishop regarded the Little Brothers of Mary as simply that. Instead of dealing with their civil authorisation as an administrative issue, he made it political and religious. This resulted in repeated failure. On the Council, moreover, some members did not have much confidence in Fr Champagnat's capacity to lead a congregation.

While Fr Champagnat remained somewhat left out by the Archbishop's office, his profile grew across the Loire, where he increased the number of schools run by the Brothers, and the reputation of l'Hermitage was established as a teachers' training college de facto if not de iure. In Saint-Chamond, the return of Fr Dervieux, the influential parish priest of St Pierre, encouraged some important people to support the project as it would bring honour to the town and even to the wider Department. The Little Brothers of Mary were more established by 1830, and the Prefect, though he was hostile, could not seriously threaten them or replace them with écoles mutuelles, except in a single case at Feurs. The search of l'Hermitage in 1830 was a back-handed compliment to a work that was judged to be sufficiently important to attract the suspicions of the political and administrative authorities.

After 1830, the Archbishop's office lost much of its prominence. Faced with a hostile liberal government, it no longer had a way to achieve legal authorisation. Nor was it able to put pressure on Fr Champagnat, who was considered to be something of an expert in matters of education policy. Consequently, his work continued to expand beyond the diocese. After the promulgation of the Guizot Law in 1833, it was Fr Champagnat who had to take the initiative and move heaven and earth to try to get official recognition. Even though he failed in his attempt in 1838, this gave him a national stature. He had written to the King, and had had conversations with the Minister, Prefects, members of the National Assembly. bishops, and the other congregations. He had extended the activity of his congregation from south (St Paul-Trois-Châteaux) right up to the north of France with the foundation of St Pol-sur-Ternoise.

Even though he did not succeed with national authorisation. Marcellin benefitted from the solid support of the authorities in the Loire and his work was sufficiently extensive and known in the other Departments and dioceses for the clergy and the Ministry of Public Instruction to give it de facto recognition. This was also helped by the insufficient level of teacher recruitment. In the short term, the only sensitive point about his work was the threat of military conscription for the Brothers who did not have qualifications. This was remedied from 1835 through the arrangement with the Brothers of Christian Instruction of St Paul-Trois-Châteaux, thanks to the mediation of Bishop Devie of Belley.

One consequence of the lack of official status for the Little Brothers of Mary was that the Congregation could not receive donations or legacies nor own anything. Because of this, the goods of the Congregation were in the name of Fr Champagnat who paid some hefty taxes and found himself among the small number of electors (since the suffrage was based on a census of personal wealth and numbered only a few hundred thousand). Also, when Fr Champagnat was in correspondence with important men, or when he met them, people began to think that he was important too. No doubt, he was held in high esteem more by lay people than ecclesiactics who had long been astonished that a priest reputed to be without great talent had succeeded so well. Whatever the case, at his funeral in June 1840, clergy and leading citizens from Saint-Chamond were numerous. It was one of their own whom they were burying.

Another paradox is that the absence of legal authorisation for the Little Brothers of Mary did not hinder their development. Several other associations of Brothers, although duly recognised by decree, did not manage to develop, despite the significant advantages of official recognition and the consequent exemption from military service. Thus, the arrangement between Fr Champagnat and Fr Mazelier in 1842 was a real Marist takeover. It same would be the case with the Brothers of Viviers in 1844.

The advantages offered by a decree were not the deciding factor in success. The basic problem with the majority of founders was that the idea of religious vocation did not figure strongly. They were seeking school teachers, good Christians, but with no deep spiritual motivation. Marcellin envisaged founding a branch of the Society of Marv. His Brothers were an apostolic society, part of the Marist project envisioned in July 1816. He wanted disciples motivated by their apostolic vocation, which was both collective and personal, under the patronage of Marv.

5. LEGAL RECOGNITION AND AMALGAMATIONS UNDER BROTHER FRANÇOIS

After Fr Champagnat, efforts to become legally recognised were directed to Minister Villemain but these again ended in failure. On the other hand, there were large strides taken down path of amalgamation. This occured with the Brothers of St Paul in 1842, then the Brothers of Viviers in 1844. Therefore, now officially recognised in several Departments and tolerated in the Loire, the civil position of the Little Brothers of Mary was considerably stronger. Nevertheless, the overall situation was not completely settled, as the title "Little Brothers of Mary of Christian Instruction" suggests.

Final resolution of the issue would involve one more regime change. The Revolution of 1830 and the Guizot Law (1933) had thwarted all attempts to achieve civil recognition. The Revolution of 1848 and the Falloux Law (1850) had the opposite effect. Just as Marcellin had done in 1834 with King Louis-Philippe, Brothers François and Louis-Marie had no qualms in recognising a republican government, though a conservative one admittedly. Not without difficulty, they did obtain a Presidential decree that recognised them under their original name of Little Brothers of Mary, thanks to favourable legal argument based on the Falloux Law.

Finally, the two strategies that were launched around 1835 succeeded. The success of Brother François established him as the honoured heir and he achieved, so to say, the posthumous success of the Founder. The decree of legal recognition in 1851 concluded the foundational phase of the Little Brothers of Mary, who were then able to free themselves from the supervision of the Marist Fathers and establish their own Constitutions during the Chapter of 1852-54.

Having struggled at the start from complications in the diocese of Lyon, then from the oversight of the Vicars General, then the first period of Archbishop de Pins, the Institute was advantaged by the founding Marist vision of the Society of Mary.

In particular, the branch of the Brothers was defined by its spiritual aspiration as a charismatic community, rather than by its function of Christian instruction. For Marcellin, as for his immediate successor. legal recognition fulfilled the Pledge of 1816 which envisioned a congregation shaped by this Marist vision. They looked forward to the day when the Society of Mary would see the fulfilment of the prophecy of Fr Champagnat in his letter to Brother François on June 23, 1838 (No. 197) in which he wrote of the failure of his efforts:

I am wearied but not disturbed; I always have a great confidence in Jesus and Mary. We will succeed with our application, of that I have no doubt, only the timing is unknown to me. What is very important for us is ... that we do what is in our power and leave the rest to Providence. God knows better than we do what is right for us ... I am very sure that a little delay will not work against us.

For the Marist Fathers, public birth came in 1836 with the approval by Rome of the Society of Mary. Marcellin recognised that in 1838 it was not yet the same moment for the Little Brothers of Mary, but he had no doubt that their time would come. Paradoxically it would be the Revolution of 1848 and an ephemeral republic (1848-51) that allowed them to obtain what they had been obstinately denied by the Monarchy. From 1851, the Institute could proclaim their name across the whole country, as on a standard.

This was not the end of the foundational period, however, since the Institute still lacked recognition from Rome. For this reason, with a view to getting canonical authorisation, the Superiors convened a General Chapter to finalise their Constitutions. Negotiations with Rome were to become even more fraught than those for civil authorisation. By 1860, it had led to Brother François's resignation, separation of the Marist Fathers and Brothers, and a long conflict with Rome. This did not come to an end until 1903 when we were left with the canonical name, though a disappointing one, of "Marist Brothers of the Schools". Clearly, it was based on the "Brothers of the Christian Schools" [De La Salle Brothers].

It is interesting to see these two journeys for civil and canonical approval together, and how they intersected with each other. Paradoxically, it had been the civil decree that formalised the mystical name of the Institute (Little Brothers of Mary) whereas the canonical name was more functional. The story of seeking legal recognition can be encapsulated this way: the search for a civil status and a public profile of an identity that was both providential and mystical.

CONCLUSION

In these few lines I have attempted to synthesise and rework the great work to which I referred at the beginning: the two volumes of Brother Gabriel Michel, augmented by the research of Brother Pierre Zind. Though we are dealing with a rather complex topic, I believe it is helpful to have offered this brief overview. It seems to me that the Founder, viewed from a political and religious perspective, was certainly less apolitical than has been generally accepted, but he was eminently pragmatic. He was capable of making some surprising compromises with all sorts of parties, without losing sight of his fundamental vision and apostolic purpose. It is well to recall also that Brother François succeeded in amalgamating with the Brothers of St Paul and the Brothers of Viviers. Supported by Brother Louis-Marie, Brother François also knew how exploit the brief favourable time he had to achieve the long desired decree of legal recognition. The Marist tradition has too often forgotten that, before he became a retired saint in the "reliquary" of l'Hermitage, Brother François, as superior, met with some outstanding success.



BROTHER FRANÇOIS AS FORMATOR OF BROTHER DIRECTORS

An analysis of Letter 1374



Antonio Martínez Estaún, fms

Brother François' Letter 1374, addressed to the Director of the Brothers' community in Breteuil, is of particular interest because it gives us a glimpse of him as Director General of the Institute, supervisor of the Province of the North, spiritual director, and formator of Brothers.

The community in Breteuil belonged to the Province of the North, and at the time of the writing of Letter 1374, the Brothers there were running a boarding school. Brother François, besides being Director General, had had oversight of this Province since 1844.1

Brother Avit in his Annales mentions this community in twelve places² One of them mentions that "Brother François promised three Brothers to the parish priest of

Breteuil on 15 February 1842"³ Further on, he states: "Of the 55 foundations [made that year] only the following places were visited ...: Breteuil (day school)."⁴ The work at Breteuil began in unsuitable premises and survived in difficult conditions. Brother Avit himself wrote in 1845, three years after its foundation:

Despite repeated promises from the parish priest of Breteuil, the Brothers were still in a critical situation. The classrooms, very damp and built for a maximum of 100 pupils, were accommodating nearly 200. The furniture was insufficient, and the salary was such that they had had to incur debts to avoid dying of hunger.⁵

In 1849 he recorded further information about it:

¹ Avit, Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993. 1854 [46] 410.

² Avit, *Annales de l'Institut*, Rome 1993. 1842 [18]; [84]; 1845 [4]; 1846 [28]; 1849 [2]; 1856 [8]; 1860 [72]; 1873 [22]; Capítulo 3 [47]; [59] y [60].

³ Avit, Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993. 1842 [18].

⁴ Avit, Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993. 1842 [84].

⁵ Avit Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993, 1846 [28] 289.

Last year, the Duc de Montmorency offered a large property for the construction of a boarding school in Breteuil⁶

The community is mentioned twenty-eight times in Brother François' personal letters.⁷ The largest number of letters to the community of Breteuil occurred between 1852 and 1854, when he wrote eight times. What we have, then, is a selection of letters referring to a very specific situation.

1. IDENTIFICATION OF LETTER 1374

Letter 1374 is found in the Notebook of Letters No. 6 499. There is no reference to the date it was written, where it was written, from where it was sent (presumably the Hermitage). Only the addressee is specified.

The date it was written can be deduced from data provided by the lists of appointments kept in the personal file for each Brother in the archives of the General House or

appointments recorded for the deceased of the Institute.

The letter gives the names of three Brothers of the community -Gébuin, Cindée, Concorde - and a fourth, Louis-Bernardin, who had Province responsibilities. This allows us to match some dates to discover when the letter was written. We know that Brother Concorde was stationed in Breteuil in the school vears 1850-1852 as a cook.8 Brother Gébuin⁹ was assigned twice to Breteuil, the first time during the school years 1852-1854 and the second time during the school years 1862-1880. About Brother Cindée,10 we only know that he was stationed in Breteuil from the mention of his name in this letter. Brother Louis-Bernardin was the Visitor and would go on to serve as Secretary of the Second General Chapter together with Brother Avit. As for the Director, we know that he had been chosen for a special task connected with the work of the General Chapter.

As you know, you have been chosen to be a member of the commission to review the Teachers'

⁶ Avit, *Annales de l'Institut*, Rome 1993. 1849 [2]. The text of the private letter can be found in Avit, *Annales de l'Institut*, Rome 1993. 485.

⁷ Letter 1036, 1040, 1053 (3), 1054, 1960, 1962, 1211, 1293, 1370, 1374 (6), 1380, 1389, 1565, 1570, 1581, 1584, and 1671. In all, there were 17 letters sent to this house in the course of some twenty years between 1842 and 1864.

⁸ Frère Concorde (Victor Chavanne) (1827-1899). Record of Deceased Brothers, 2016 version.

⁹ Frère Gébuin (Joseph Désiré Religieux) (1833-1917). Record of Deceased Brothers, 2016 version.

¹⁰ We have only very limited information: Frère Cindée (Alexis Gautet) (1828-1854). Record of Deceased Brothers, 2016 version. When he arrived in Breteuil, he was 26 years old.

Guide as mandated by the General Chapter, I am sending you your obedience and I will also take the first opportunity to send you a copy of the Guide for you to review and make your observations.

Brother Avit, referring to the Circular of 27 April 1852, gives the list of Brothers "eligible for election to the Chapter". In it, he specifically mentions "Brother Photius, Director of the boarding school in Breteuil". Further on, he indicates the result of a vote: "Brother Photius received 8 votes" 13

Brother Photius was Director at Breteuil for the 1851-1852 and 1852-1853 school years.14 On 19 July 1853, Brother François published the usual Circular at the end of the school year, announcing that the Teacher's Guide, the revision of which had been entrusted to Brother Photius among others, was now in print.15 The letter must therefore be dated prior to the printing of the revised work. This letter addressed to the Director at Breteuil seems to be dated around September or October 1852, after the first session of the General Chapter and the beginning of the school year.

Between 1852 and 1854 the community at Breteuil was led by Broth-

er Photius (Aimé Grillet), assisted by a community of five Brothers, all of them newcomers. The average age of the Brothers of the community on their arrival there was 24

2. CONTENTS OF LETTER 1374

In this letter, Brother François sets out two major objectives in the formation of Brother Directors: personal sanctification and the efficient running of their schools.

3. PERSONALISED ATTENTION TO EACH BROTHER

The letter starts with matters on which both Brothers have previously agreed. There is a personal development plan tailored to Brother Photius, and there is an institutional plan for leading, directing and administering the educational work. This plan is built on personal relationships based on trust and on the collaboration of people who share the same ideals and whose commitment has been sealed by a vow to obey the will of God through the mediation of the Superiors:

¹¹ Avit Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993, 1852 [29]-[32] 371-373.

¹² Avit Annales de l'Institut, Rome 1993, 1852 [32] 373.

¹³ Avit *Annales de l'Institut*, Rome 1993, 1852 [42] 375.

¹⁴ Frère Photius (Aimé Grillet) (1823-1871). On his arrival at Breteuil he was 28. Record of Deceased Brothers, 2016 version.

¹⁵ Cf. *Circulars*, Vol 1 173-177.

I know that you agree with my intentions and that you want to go along with my wishes. You have already worked hard, but it is not over. There is still work to be done.¹⁶

Brother François was conscious that he was putting into effect a professional development plan for this Director, which he was following up. The boarding school at Breteuil, like all boarding schools, was far from easy. In another letter, we learn of the efforts that Brother François made to select the staff and to provide an adequate response to the problems of the school in this town through someone able to run it effectively.

Boarding schools always present great difficulties, as much for the choice of staff as for the management of the classes ...
The one in Breteuil, which seemed to be fairly well funded, is now burdened with debts, and I am still looking for people capable of supporting it and making it prosper.¹⁷

Brother François' formation plan for this Brother seems to have started some years before. Although new as Director in Breteuil, he was no novice, having had experience in Lens. Brother François' intention in placing him at the head of the new school was with an eye to his spiritual growth: "I know very well that you have more problems there, more difficulties than in Lens."

In the first lines, he begins by reviewing the objectives that have been agreed upon: "You may recall that I have recommended that you prepare yourself well to fulfil all the designs, all the plans that Divine Providence has for you". His purpose is, therefore, an objective based on a choice made in a spirit of faith, the doctrine of which was being propagated throughout the Institute by means of the first three instalments of the Circular on this topic. So François is calling for a spirituality based on trust in God and God's Providence, and not on a strategy of success or effectiveness defined by financial results or problem-solving.

The first objective that he is proposing is for the Brother to "prepare himself spiritually in both theory and practice." The goal is to be able to say like the Apostle, "Be imitators of me as I am of Christ and Mary".

This is how he orients his support for the Brother's spiritual life. Using the simile of the painter, he says to him: "The canvas is not yet finished, you have to keep working on it." The situation in Breteuil was tougher than in Lens, but "you had to get used to being holy everywhere and in everything". It was not for nothing that he reminds the Brother of the ideals of holiness that had mo-

¹⁶ Letter 1374.

¹⁷ François, *Cartes administratives* n. 1852, that of 30 April 1852 to the Bishop of Soissons (Aisne).

tivated him in his first decisions to choose Marist life:

Give yourself as much as you can to the spiritual life, both in theory and especially in practice ... Try to become a saint — a perfect, fervent religious, a faithful image of Jesus and Mary, so that you can say, in all humility and simplicity, with the Apostle: "Be imitators of me, as I myself am of Jesus and Mary."

Further, he tells him what his references should be for the practical exercise of this specifically Marist spirituality: "Above all, practise the solid virtues recommended in our Rule."

Brother François' suggestion is a grounded one that could put into practice in the face of the real-life difficulties of a school situation. As someone who understood the psychology of his Brothers well, he pointed out, from his own experience, the difficulties that new challenges could pose: "You may suggest to me that the posting I have entrusted to you and the job I have given you are not conducive to this work."

He immediately counters this by saying that the context of the Brother's work was, rather, quite suited to such purposes. As well as addressing the school's problems, he would have opportunities to demonstrate personal initiative and creativity.

The more difficult the posting and the job, the more often you will have to exercise virtue, courage, wisdom and devotion to the full ... Breteuil offers you a vast field, a wide range of

possibilities for this. It is a large establishment, your school is in debt and in need of repair but you know that necessity is the mother of invention and big wars and lengthy campaigns are what form great leaders.

Brother Francois was clearly asking the new Director to strengthen his spiritual life and holiness in and through his apostolic work, to grow in holiness through a unity of life, a harmonising of work and prayer. This is the challenge for anyone who has to lead a school as a religious and as an educator. The challenge is to adopt a spirit of emulation, rather work up a lather of vain ambition and pursuit of results. He guides the Brother along a path of humility with the thought that "you are still far from possessing the qualities and virtues that God is asking of you".

His opening remarks illustrate Brother Francois' personal attention to the formation of a director for whom he has to exercise pastoral care as both superior and formator responsible for all the Brothers of the Institute.

4. FORM ONESELF TO GOVERN, LEAD AND MANAGE

Once the foundations of spirituality have been laid, François moves on to practical applications, to the training he wants to impart: "that you learn to govern, lead and manage well."

Letter 1374 begins with words that open up the Brother Director of Breteuil to the horizon of possibilities in the human group entrusted to him. The words encourage and foster his reader's self-confidence as a father, superior, director and formator of a group of young, inexperienced Brothers whom he needs to engage in the challenge of getting the school running well.

The basis that Brother François proposes for governing, leading and managing a school is the community life of those who minister in it. With this idea in mind, he addresses primarily the Director, to make clear that the more fundamental element of the Marist educational approach is the educator rather than the student. The Marist educational approach is not so much to begin with the child, but to be teacher-centred, educator-centred, formator-centred. This is why Brother François encourages Brother Photius to build an authentic religious educational community, a community centred around a leader who needs to be a father looking out for the members of his community and who is appreciative of them: "You must consider yourself first of all as the Father, the Superior, the Director, the formator of your Brothers." This triad of names undoubtedly reflects Brother François' own experience of the Founder of whom he chose to be the "living portrait": Marcellin was for him father, superior and director.

He then adds a precious reflection on how an educational and religious

community grows. The limitations of the human group that made up the community of Breteuil reminded him of the community of La Valla where he was formed under the paternal direction of Fr Champagnat when there were only a few Brothers and they had noone else to help carry out the mission other than that small community of beginners. "Imagine that [like Marcellin at La Valla] you have no other Brothers".

Imagine that there are no other Brothers in the Society than those you have and that you are obliged to run your house with them all year round and even for several years. This thought will do you good and will be beneficial to them. You will be attached to them in a holy way, they will be attached to you in a religious way. You will form them; they will have confidence in you and they will let you lead them. We can do anything with help from above when things are like this.

He has to accomplish God's work with these specific Brothers. This is why Brother François asked him to analyse the circumstances he was facing and to be creative in trying to get the best possible outcome:

Consider your school as a community for which you are especially responsible to exercise your zeal, your talents, your industry to make good use of each of your Brothers. Study character and readiness of each, so as to know how to treat him well, to guide him, to encourage him, to correct him, to help him make progress and be ready to do his job well. You will have plenty of practice in the multiple ways of forming and reforming those on your staff.

If the proposal had been addressed to a director whose sole aim was the success and financial sustainability of the enterprise, then the recommendations would have stopped there. But Brother François was dealing with a religious who had to personify the virtues proper to his state, who had to know the keys to success without, on the one hand, renouncing the distinctive characteristics of his Institute. On the other hand, he was opening up the prospect of an ongoing process of growth and formation:

I am not saying this [that big wars and lengthy campaigns are what form great leaders] to spark ambition but rather a holy spirit of emulation and to keep you always in humility, in the knowledge that you are still far from having the qualities and virtues that the good Lord is asking of you ... In speaking to you in this way, I do not want to make you presumptuous, rash or indiscreet. On the contrary, my intention is to inspire you with great prudence, reserve and discretion.

Indicators of success in one's battle should not only be sought in academic results alone, but also in the progress and improvement experienced by the community.

We are capable of anything with help from above when things are like this. Yes, when piety, regularity, cheerfulness and charity reign in a house, wonders happen. Experience confirms this.

We can conclude by saying that Brother François is an excellent strategist as a formator of his Brothers, particularly his Brother Directors. This concern appears recurringly in his actions as leader.

5. HOW BROTHER FRANÇOIS MANAGED CONFLICT

In the community of Breteuil, there was discontent among the Brothers. In Letter 1374, Brother François told the Brother Director that he had received a letter from two Brothers in his community asking to be transferred to another place:

Just today I received a letter from Brother Cindée and Brother Concorde asking for a change of community.

The conflict in the community of Breteuil had two distinct causes, but these affected the same group of people. The first stemmed from the behaviour of the Brothers themselves, while the second originated outside the community.

The discontent of the Brothers called into question the authority of the Director, who turned to Brother François through the letter he sent him periodically to report on how things were going, as prescribed by the Rule. At the same time, Brother François also received a letter from the young Brother Gébuin expressing his dissatisfaction and asking for a new posting. Brother François did

¹⁸ This can be deduced from Letter 1565, of 24 January 1854, in which Brother François encouraged him at the age of 21 to get ready for his final profession.

not reply directly to the Director, but addressed himself first to Brother Gébuin, a young Brother preparing to make perpetual profession.18 Brother Gébuin was assigned to Carvin at the beginning anual work to recover his health.19 In October 1852, he had been in Breteuil and it seems that he had been infected with "change sickness" [maladie du changement], due to the atmosphere prevalent there. According to Brother François, Brother Gébuin's displeasure was due to disagreements with the Director over how he organised his classes:

You have three or four pupils in your class who are already good at spelling and arithmetic; so there is no reason for you to make them work on these subjects. Instead, they should be busy learning writing, drawing, geometry, bookkeeping, etc., which is something you are not doing. Brother Director tells me that the others know almost nothing, so these are the ones on whom I suggest you focus, the ones you should get working, the ones you should encourage, and you can do it without any great difficulty and without harming your health ... You say you want a change [of posting], but that would dishearten the other Brothers: you know that the others have their difficulties too, and they also want to move, and so the whole community would be upset.20

By means of this letter, Brother François intervened in solving the problem with one of the parties and maintained his authority in a paternal, calm and fraternal tone, offering solutions to the problem in a manner befitting an experienced leader. At the same time, however, he acted with determination and made a number of statements that were rather harsh and forceful:

I have no intention of killing our Brothers because of some pupils ... I would rather have a pupil leave the school than be forced to transfer a Brother ... If you become so exhausted by your efforts to get the pupils to improve, that it ruins your health to the extent that a change of community is necessary, I have to tell you that we had enough of such cases last year and I don't want to start all over again. I would rather have a student leave the school than be forced to transfer a Brother or have him burned out 21

The letter to the Director is more complex, not only because Brother François deals with all the problems then affecting the community, but also because the solutions he offers are dealt with in a broad reflection centred on the formation of someone as a leader.

The problem of "change sickness" among the Brothers of the community and the "introduction of classes at different levels" from what they were offering in the school prompted a few pieces of advice on good leadership. They reveal Brother François' maturity as a leader.

¹⁹ Cfr. François, *Lettres personnelles n. 1358*, sent to Brother Gébuin on 15 January 1852.

²⁰ François, *Lettres personnelles n. 1370,* sent to Brother Gébuin on18 October 1852..

²¹ François, *Lettres personnelles n. 1370*, sent to Brother Gébuin on 18 October 1852.

In order to succeed, you have to drop any idea of a change [of posting] and also discourage your Brothers from entertaining such thoughts, because to ask for a move is to declare yourself defeated, discouraged or incapable, and from then on, you become paralysed, dejected, a pain to live with, and your flame goes out.

François had learned from experience. At that time, he had almost 1,500 Brothers to look after, and he knew that to arrange a transfer was to give in to the problem prematurely.

Just today I received a letter from Br Cindée and Br Concorde, both of whom are asking for a change. You can see how your house would be upset if we do not stand firm and if this disease of seeking changes takes hold of your Brothers. Help us and we will cure it. Encourage them and they will think no more of it, but if we break the dam, if we remove a stone, the torrent will overflow and wreak havoc, for if we accede to one, how can we refuse the other without unsettling him? It is better to suffer a little. You know that with heart, patience and good will, you can master anything.

6. A REALISTIC ANALYST OF THE FACTS

In Breteuil, there was another matter concerning the school that was causing discontent in the wider community. There were those who wanted to abandon primary-level education, which is what the school had provided since its establishment, and to offer education at a higher level. The proposal seems to have come from some people con-

nected with the school who wanted to make it famous, and the Director was encouraging them. Brother François analysed the situation with compelling reasoning. First, it was necessary to take into account the strengths available to deal with any proposed changes:

Examine your own strengths and those of your Brothers. Do not undertake ventures or impose burdens which others cannot bear and which cause them to buckle under their weight.

Then he disarmed the Director by pointing out that the shortcomings of the reasoning in their proposal:

If you accept students who already have their brevet, who have been teachers in Colleges of Paris, who have done their Rhetoric, etc., it is not surprising that you should feel embarrassed, but do you really think that I should give you a Brother expressly to teach them? I have none, and even if there were such a Brother, would it be prudent to send him, and thus put the school at Breteuil on a footing where it would be impossible for us to support it in the future. For two or three pupils who would like to be pushed beyond their limits, you are going to ruin your health and that of Brother Gébuin, waste the time of the others, put yourself in a bind, and sow discouragement among the Brothers and the pupils. If they know four times as much as Brother Gébuin [see letter 1370 of 1852], what are they looking for in Breteuil? Try to get rid of them, if possible, and then you will be at ease with your Brothers and your other pupils. Everyone will be happy and your work will go well.

Referring to fundamental principles and corporate identity is of particular importance when confronted with a problem that affects the identity of the Institute and the school:

Always remember what the aim of our Society is, what the aim of the Breteuil boarding school is: to train children in virtue, to make them good Christians, good fathers, good teachers, etc., within the limits of primary education. Your community must preserve this character, or else it will not survive. You know well what we want our Brothers to learn and teach.

François, after presenting this solid argument, analyses his own role in the problem and seems to want to apologise for the solution he offered in selecting the staff assigned to Breteuil if they did not obtain desired results. He objectifies the argument by inviting the Director to compare the staff of his school with those of other schools:

You also know that I have done my best for you. If you look at other houses, you will be convinced that you could only lose instead of gaining from a change [of post].

He concludes his argument by professing confidence in the Brother Director based on his personal knowledge of him, on their shared history, and on the quality of the principles that guide him.

You have always known how to get the best out of the subjects entrusted to you. I hope that you will continue to do so and that at Breteuil too, in spite of any difficulties that may arise, your influence on the Brothers and on the pupils will be so great that it will hold them to their duty.

When a Brother Director makes himself loved,

respected and obeyed, he sets the tone for the whole establishment and people take care not to make a mistake in anything or in any way, because they know that he will always make them respect authority and observe the rules.

The final point of the letter is a summary of the points made throughout. First, it states that the Brothers must keep the initiative and ensure that their authority is respected.

It is necessary for the Brothers to succeed and have the upper hand, otherwise the pupils will think they are in charge and will make the Brothers twist and turn according to their whims. You would not tolerate this, and even if you only had a child to supervise and teach them, they would be obliged to fall into line and get to work.

Second, by putting his own authority into practice, he reiterates his support for the authority of the Director because of the trust he has in him.

With your character and your ascendancy over the Brothers and the pupils, I believe that you have nothing to fear but discouragement and I hope that you will never let this take hold of you. You know, moreover, that I am entirely devoted to you, and that there is nothing I am not prepared to do to be useful and supportive.

This shows a precious trait of Brother François' personality, an attitude he adopted from the example of Marcellin who said that "there is no genuine happiness which I do not ask of God for you every day, and which I would not be willing to win at the cost of greatest sacrifices"²² In François' words: "there is nothing I am not prepared to do to be useful and supportive". A profession of mutual trust underscored by shared ideals."

I also know that you want and seek only the good of the Society, of the Brothers and of the students. Write to me often, I will help you, I will support you, I will pray for you and get others to do so too.

These words with which Brother François ends his letter are not those of an executive or bureaucrat who finishes his letter with some standard formulaic expression. The farewell is an expression of an ongoing relationship, of a communion of spirit will endure through a sharing of the same ideals, by taking responsibility for a common enterprise. The promise of prayer is a concrete expression of the communion of two spirits sharing a life devoted to the same project.

CONCLUSION

The enormous amount of work that Brother François accomplished during twenty years, both in managing the Institute and caring for the spiritual life of the Brothers, is evident in the thousands of letters, both personal and administrative, that he needed to write. This facet of François, as a generator of letters that provided guidance for both the management of schools and spiritual direction, and through which he invested himself in the lives of the Brothers and of the Institute, is a field that remains unexplored. Analysing his letters, as has happened with those of Marcellin, would allow us to discover the life of a Brother whom we have come to know mainly through biographies marked by the hagiographical style that was typical of the time but which do not delve into all the human and spiritual dimensions of his personality. Brother Gabriel Michel pioneered such research by beginning to probe more deeply.

Through the letter we have analysed, we discover Marcellin's successor, as Provincial of the North and as a master of the spiritual life, addressing two aspects of his role as superior: the formation of the Brothers and the management of conflicts. The basic formation of Brothers took place in the novitiate, but it had to be completed in the schools and day-to-day life, where the local Director became the formator. As we see here, François offered Brothers the fundamental principles on which he based his own personal spirituality. The paragraphs of this letter are a heart-toheart communication of life.

²² Brother Jean-Baptiste, *Life of Joseph-Benedict Marcellin Champagnat*, Rome 1989, p.427.

The different roles occupied by the two addressees of Letters 1370 and 1374 obliged Brother François to see things from the perspective of a young Brother in the process of formation and of a Director under obligation to continue this Brother's formation on behalf of the Institute. Both were involved in a common project, but with different roles that, at this moment, had come into conflict. The fact that his letters were written to two different addressees shows Brother François's ability as a leader to harmonise spirits and to gather the forces to contribute constructively to a common endeavour.

The complexity of the work at Breteuil, which Brother François needed to oversee from the Hermitage by selecting the most suitable personnel to respond to issues, revealed the quality of the manager and director who had taken on this responsibility for the whole Institute. The disagreement he had with his Council over boarding schools did not prevent him from adopting a delicate and fraternal approach to the solution of the problems that had arisen. The enormous growth experienced by the Institute in those years exacerbated the need for formation, professional training and qualifications. Initiatives that involved novelty in structures and curricula had to be harmonised with the Institute's corporate identity and mission. The clarity with which he grasped and laid out objective facts, and the sound judgement with which he managed solutions, reveal a person of principle who exercised authority maturely. This maturity is highlighted by the clarity with which he intuited the consequences of an unwise choice, both for the pedagogical efficacy of the school and for the religious community that ran it. Brother François' approach was eminently constructive, proactive, encouraging, guided by a fraternal and paternal heart sensitive to individual situations. He was a masterful, experienced leader, with a vision of the Province's ministries as a whole.

The spiritual direction and formation of the Brothers reflects an approach in which the spiritual and religious dimension of the Brother and his fidelity to the Institute's identity and mission were paramount. This letter reveals the quality of the fraternal relationships that the Superior maintained with those he was leading. It shows the practical application of the doctrine of the Institute, especially concerning the "Spirit of Faith" which had begun to be formally disseminated through Circulars starting in 1848. The drafting of the fourth and final instalment was still in progress. The letter also gives a glimpse of Marcellin's hand and heart in the formation of Brother François. His letters may well be considered as an extension of Fr Champagnat's paternal heart.

This letter can be used as a useful guide for any leader who has to deal with the ongoing training of the people who collaborate in our mission as well as a guideline for resolving conflict.

LETTER 1374 Notebook of Letters No 6, p. 499

To Brother Director of the community at Breteuil

My dear Brother

You may recall that I have recommended that you prepare yourself well to fulfil all the designs, all the plans that Divine Providence has for you, by devoting yourself as much as you can to spirituality, both in theory and especially in practice. Above all, practise the solid virtues recommended in our Rule. Try to become a saint — a perfect, fervent religious, a faithful image of Jesus and Mary, so that you can say with the Apostle, in all humility and simplicity: "Be imitators of me as I am of Jesus and Mary."

I know that you share my intentions and that you want to follow my wishes. You have already worked hard on it, but the canvas is not yet complete. Keep on working. You may tell me that the posting I have entrusted to you and the job I have given you are not conducive to this work. I know very well that you have more problems there, more concerns than at Lens, but you have to get used to being a saint, to being a good religious everywhere and in everything. The more difficult the posting and the job, the more often you will have to exercise virtue, courage, wisdom and dedication to the full.

Second, what I want from you is that you train yourself well in how to govern, lead and manage well, and Breteuil offers you a vast field, a wide range of possibilities for this. You have a large establishment, a school that is in debt and in need of repair but you know that necessity is the mother of invention and big wars and lengthy campaigns are what form great leaders. I am not saying this to spark your ambition but rather a holy spirit of emulation, to keep you always in humility, in the knowledge that you are still far from having the qualities and virtues that the good Lord is asking of you.

First of all, you must see yourself as the Father, the Superior, the Director, the formator of your Brothers. Consider your house as a community where you have special responsibility to exercise your zeal, your talents, your energy to get the best out of each of your Brothers. Study the character and readiness of each so as to know how to treat him well, to guide him, to encourage him, to correct him, to help him make progress and be ready to do his job well. You will have plenty of practice in the multiple ways of forming and reforming those on your staff.

But in order to succeed, you have to drop any idea of a change of assignment and also discourage your Brothers from entertaining such thoughts, because to ask for a change is to declare yourself defeated, discouraged or incapable, and from then on, you become paralysed, dejected, a pain to live with, and your flame goes out. Imagine that there are no other Brothers in the Society than those you have and that you are obliged to run your school with them all year round and even for several years. This thought will do you good and will be beneficial to them. You will become attached to them in a holy way; they will become attached to you in a religious way. You will form them; they will have confidence in you

and will let you lead them. We can do anything with help from above when things are like this. Yes, when piety, regularity, cheerfulness and charity reign in a house, wonders happen. Experience confirms this.

However, in speaking to you in this way, I do not want to make you presumptuous, rash or indiscreet. On the contrary, my intention is to inspire you with great prudence, reserve and discretion. Examine your strengths and those of your Brothers. Do not take on burdens or impose burdens on others which you cannot carry and which might cause you to collapse under their weight. Always remember what the aim of our Society is, what the aim of the Breteuil boarding school is: to form children in virtue, to make them good Christians, good fathers, good teachers, etc., within the limits of primary education. Your community must preserve this character, or else it will not survive. You know well what we want our Brothers to learn and teach. You also know that I have done my best for you. If you look at other houses, you will be convinced that you could only lose instead of gaining from a change.

If you accept pupils who already have their brevet, who have been teachers in the Colleges of Paris, who have done their Rhetoric, etc., it is not surprising that you should feel embarrassed, but do you really think that I should give you a Brother expressly to teach them? I have none, and even if there were such a Brother, would it be prudent to send him, and thus put the school at Breteuil on a footing where it would be impossible for us to support it in the future. For the sake of two or three pupils who would like to be pushed beyond their limits, you are going to ruin your health and that of Brother Gébuin, waste the time of the others, put yourself in a bind and sow discouragement among the Brothers and the pupils. If they know four times as much as Brother Gébuin [see Letter 1370 of 1852], what are they looking for in Breteuil? Try to get rid of them, if possible, and then you will be at ease with your Brothers and your other pupils. Everyone will be happy and your work will go well.

You have always known how to get the best out of the people entrusted to you. I hope this continues and that at Breteuil too, in spite of any difficulties that may arise, your influence on the Brothers and on the pupils will be so great that it will hold them to their duty. When a Brother Director makes himself loved, respected and obeyed, he sets a tone for the whole establishment and people take care not to make a mistake in anything or in any way, because they know that he will always enforce authority and observe the rules.

I am writing to Brother Louis-Bernardin to urge him to withdraw the extra allowances for Santes, Morbecque and Arques as soon as possible and to make them available to you. You can decide with him on the most suitable and convenient means of getting them to you. I have left him the allowance for Pas (1500 fr.) to pay what you owe the library for classical books and to pay your cook in Lille. We are going to have new letters of obedience printed. I will send you some. Please wait for them to arrive by train.

As you know, you have been chosen to be a member of the commission to review the Teacher's Guide as mandated by the General Chapter. I am sending you your obedience and I will also take the first opportunity to send you a copy of the Guide for you to review and make your observations. Just today I received a letter from Brothers Cindée and Concorde, both of whom are asking to be moved. You can see how your school would be upset if we do not stand firm and if this change sickness takes hold of your Brothers. Help us and we will cure it. Encourage them and they will think no more of it, but if we break

the dyke, if we remove a stone, the torrent will overflow and wreak havoc, for if we accede to one, how can we refuse the other without unsettling him? It is better to suffer a little. You know that with courage, patience and good will, everything can be managed.

It is necessary that, willingly or not, the Brothers succeed and have the upper hand, otherwise the pupils will think they are in charge and will make the Brothers twist and turn according to their whims. You would not tolerate this, and even if you had only a child to supervise and teach them, they would be obliged to fall into line and get to work. With your character and your ascendancy over the Brothers and the pupils, I believe that you have nothing to fear but discouragement and I hope that you will never let this take hold of you. You know, moreover, that I am entirely devoted to you, and that there is nothing I am not prepared to do to be useful and supportive to you. I know, on the other hand, that you want and seek only the good of the Society, of the Brothers and of the students. Write to me often, I will help you, I will support you, I will pray for you and get others to do so too.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE



TWO STORIES WRITTEN UNDER THE SAME MARIAN MANTLE



Michael Green, fms



Ned Prendergast. Before You We Stand, The Story of the Marist Brothers in Ireland. Published by The Marist Brothers in Ireland, 2021 (829 pages)..



Julian Casey, John Luttrell, Peter Rodney and Neville Solomon. Sub Tuum Praesidium, Marist Brothers in Australia 1872-2022. Published by Marist Brothers Australia, 2022 (562 pages).

Quite independently of one another, the authors of two recently published Marist histories took the titles of their books from words in the same prayer, one that is deeply rooted in our Marist tradition and our Marist identity: the Sub Tuum Praesidium. From opposite sides of the world – Ireland and Australia – Marist readers have been gifted with two magnificent accounts of their global story, one that in each case reaches back to the earliest decades of Marcellin's Brothers, and that also anticipates chapters of the Marist story that are yet to be written.

Each of these books is a quite substantial, well researched, and elegantly written production. Their authors - Ned Prendergast in Ireland, and Brothers John Luttrell, Neville Solomon, Julian Casey and Peter Rodney in Australia - are all skilled and sensitive historians who have brought both head and heart to their narrative. Their research is rigorous and scholarly, their cast is wide and comprehensive, and their treatment is honest and human. Each book is a story not so much of institutions, but of people, of a family. As with all family history, each story tells of joys and heartaches, of nostalgia and regrets, and of achievements and living legacies. The authors resist any cheapening their accounts by avoiding either overblown boasting of what was achieved by the Brothers or air-brushing out the darker subjects of the Brothers' time in each country.

In some ways, the Marist stories in Ireland and Australia are quite different from each other. Mr Prendergast - a long-time teacher at Marian College in Dublin - points out that the number of Brothers in Ireland did not exceed seventy-five at its height. There were only ever twelve foundations. Ireland's tenure as a stand-alone Province was rather brief. This allows him to adopt an approach that is intimate and personal. We meet the Brothers. We come to know them. Ned brings the reader vividly and warmly into their lives, and into the life of each Marist house. He also paints a helpful portrait of the broader social, economic, educational and ecclesial contexts in which the Marist story took place. Even in his treatment of the significant contribution of Irish Brothers in many other parts of the Institute, the individuality of each the Brothers is not lost.

By contrast, the Marist Brothers' story in Australia has played out on a much vaster stage, the number of Brothers ten times that of Ireland. Sixty Australian Marist schools and other projects with young people continue to this day, with almost ninety foundations made over the years in all parts of Australia and in twenty other countries. The scale and complexity of that mission provided a challenge to the four authors, each of whom took res-

ponsibility for one section of the history. They have managed, nonetheless, to weave a tale where the threads are the lives of the Brothers themselves – their dreams and their daring, their generosity and even heroism, their disappointments and frustrations, and their foibles and failures. It is a grand tale. It remains, though, a very human one.

While both books stand worthily as works of outstanding historical scholarship, they are written by Marists for Marists. It will be a Marist-hearted reader who will most readily appreciate the richness and the foci of each of them.

Ned Prendergast, master wordsmith, is perhaps most poignant in the final chapter of his book when he describes what could be seen, as he puts it, as 'the end of days' for the Marist Brothers in Ireland. Their number now is in single figures. Who, he ponders, will be at the graveside to intone the Salve Regina for the last Irish Brother? His answer to that question is not a sad one, but a hopeful one. The Marist tent has been widened. he observes. New Marist women and men are opening new horizons for the Marist project, new ways of imagining it and rejuvenating it. Brother Peter Rodney, who penned the fourth section of the Australian book, ends on the same note. The future will be different from the past, but a future there will be.