

**Passing on the Torch: A study of the transfer of the Irish Christian
Brothers' educational mission to a lay trust, with particular
reference to DEIS secondary schools.**

Michael J. Minnock

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION

MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

June 2021

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT: Professor Aislinn O'Donnell

SUPERVISORS: Professor Sharon Todd and Dr Pádraig Hogan

DECLARATION

I have read and understood the Departmental policy on plagiarism.

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education.

Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

Signature: _____

Michael J. Minnock

Date: June 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Abstract	ix
Glossary of Terms	x
List of Tables	xxiii
List of Appendices	xxiv
Introduction: The Aims and the Background	1
Introduction.....	1
Placing the Transfer in Context: Institutional Abuse	2
Aims of the Study.....	6
Background to the Study.....	9
Mapping the Thesis.....	10
Concluding Remarks.....	15
Chapter 1 Research Design and Procedures	16
1.1 Introduction: The Research Design.....	16
1.2 Historical Research: Tracing the Fortunes of Rice’s Founding Vision	20
1.3 The Archival Research.....	22
1.4 The Intended Ethnography.....	28
1.5 The Interviews.....	29
1.6 Concluding Remarks.....	32

Chapter 2 A Religious Educational Mission in Lay Hands: Exploring a Conceptual Framework for the Research	34
2.1 Introduction.....	34
2.2 The Religious – Spiritual Dimension.....	36
2.3 Formation: Creating a Promising Provision for a Lay Trust.....	46
2.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension.....	55
2.5 Conclusion.....	59
Chapter 3 The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1802 to Vatican II.....	61
3.1 Introduction.....	61
3.2 Early Developments and Challenges.....	62
3.3 The Perils of Funding and State Involvement.....	70
3.4. Contrasting Emphases: Nationally and Internationally.....	76
3.5 Developments in Ireland 1922-1965.....	78
3.6 Conclusion.....	82
Chapter 4 The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1960 to 1999.....	84
4.1 Introduction.....	84
4.2 The State Policy Arena from 1960 – 1999.....	85
4.3 Developments for the Christian Brothers 1960 -1999.....	93
4.4 Conclusion.....	105
Chapter 5 The Advent of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust 1965-2008.....	107
5.1 Introduction.....	107
5.2 Charism in the Discourse of the Catholic Church.....	108

5.3 Charism Statements of the Christian Brothers.....	113
5.4 The Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.....	115
5.4.1 From “Vision Statement” to “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”	118
5.4.2 From “Religious and Educational Philosophy” to the Interim Charter...	121
5.5 Conclusion.....	124
Chapter 6 Planning for the operation of the Trust 1999 – 2008.....	126
6.1 Introduction.....	126
6.2 The Religious-Spiritual Dimension.....	129
6.3 The Formation Dimension.....	133
6.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension.....	141
6.4.1 The creation of a valid canonical entity.....	142
6.4.2 The creation of a suitable civil entity.....	145
6.4.3 The provision of sufficient capital.....	146
6.4.4 Donation of school properties and facilities.....	148
6.4.5 Infrastructural provision and human resource.....	150
6.5 Conclusion.....	152
Chapter 7 The Experience of the DEIS schools.....	155
7.1 Introduction.....	155
7.2 Religious Spiritual Dimension: The DEIS Schools - An Evolving Ricean Tradition?.....	156
7.3 Formation Dimension – The Magic Wand?.....	162

7.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension.....	164
7.5 The Future for the DEIS schools.....	169
7.6 Conclusion.....	173
Chapter 8 Appraisal of the Research Aims.....	176
8.1 Introduction.....	176
8.2 Charism, Fortunes, Charter, Planning and the DEIS schools: Origins of a Lay Trust?.....	177
8.2.1 Rice’s Founding Charism.....	177
8.2.2 The Historical Fortunes of Rice’s founding charism.....	180
8.2.3 Developing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter.....	184
8.2.4 The Adequacy of the Planning Processes for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.....	187
8.2.5 Focusing on the DEIS Schools.....	189
8.3 What Lies Ahead for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust?.....	190
Chapter 9 Looking to the Future.....	191
9.1 Introduction.....	191
9.2 Looking Inwards at the Edmund Rice School Trust: Remediating Measures?	192
9.2.1 Reimagining the Charter.....	193
9.2.2 Creating a Solidarity Fund.....	194
9.2.3 Formation for Lay Leaders.....	195
9.3 The Future of Rice’s Mission in a secular and pluralist society?.....	197

9.4 Final Words..... 201

Tables..... 203

Appendices..... 215

Bibliography..... 272

Acknowledgements

It is said that it takes a village to raise a child and if that is the case then this work required an entire network of villages to bring it to completion. The industrial town of Clara in County Offaly shaped my early years. There were a great many influential figures from that time, including Jim Kirwan, a scout leader gifted with the capacity to see into my future. But it is the Co. Galway village of Corrandulla that is the most important place that forms the backdrop to my life. Asked to be a part of a ballad group I immediately fell in love with the youngest of the four Heneghan sisters, Patty. Over forty years later she is still my source of inspiration as well as being the mother of our two gifts to the world, our daughter Sinead and our son Brian.

My debt to my teaching colleagues in St David's, Artane, will probably never be fully paid. Martin, Jim, Danny and David contributed much to my knowledge of both teaching and how to laugh at the implausibility of being paid for doing what we all loved. Being appointed to the role of Principal at Synge Street CBS in 2005 allowed me to lead a school with a tremendous heritage. It remains a source of pride that I am still the second longest serving Principal since the school opened in 1864. Br P.B. O'Brien, an early follower of Edmund Rice, held the post for one year more than my ten!

Brendan Keenan, a proud Cavan man, was much more than a Deputy Principal. A wonderful educator in the Ricean tradition, I am proud to regard him as a close friend. We achieved much together and our successors, Clare Catterson and Lesley Plunkett exemplify all that is important in the compassionate and caring inheritance that has been gifted to us by Edmund Rice. The staff and pupils that I encountered in Synge Street will long live in my heart, none more so than the amazing Jim Cooke, the human dynamo behind the equally amazing "Young Scientists" that have emerged from the school.

Returning to Maynooth University to complete a PhD was a long-held ambition and Professor Sharon Todd became a source of inspiration during the first year of pursuing the required

academic credits. She helped to guide me through the ethical approval process and became my co-supervisor. Her advice and encouragement meant a lot – thank you Sharon. My choice of Maynooth University for this project was due to the possibility of Dr Pádraig Hogan being my supervisor. He has guided, cajoled and encouraged me to bring this project to completion. While words alone are not enough – thank you Pádraig.

Br Edmund Garvey, as the Leader of the European Province of the Christian Brothers, graciously allowed access to the Marino and Roman archives for which I am profoundly grateful. This also meant access to the personal papers of the late Br John Heneghan, a great privilege. The staff at the Marino archive, Br Greg, Michelle and, in particular, Karen were extraordinarily generous with their time and expertise but it is their hospitality that will linger in the memory. I am especially grateful to the interviewees who gave so freely of their time and I remain in awe of the work of my colleagues, the Principals in the DEIS schools.

My final words are for my parents, Lily and Andy Minnock, and for Patty's parents, Kathleen and Bernie Heneghan, all now sadly departed. They made huge sacrifices to ensure that their children received the best possible education. They were of a generation and from a time that did not allow them to realise their full potential and to them I dedicate this work.

Abstract

In October 1999 the Irish Christian Brothers decided in principle to establish a new lay trust, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. In June 2008 it assumed trusteeship responsibility for almost one hundred schools. This study had six research aims. Firstly, this study examined the original charism or visionary commitment of Edmund Rice (1762-1844). The second aim was to trace the historical development of this charism through three phases of unequal duration, the founding phase, the congregational phase and the trust phase. The third aim was to evaluate issues of concern that arose during development of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. This is a key foundation document that defines the founding inspiration of the new lay entity. Fourthly, this study analysed the planning processes for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. A fifth research aim was to evaluate how the commitment at the heart of Rice's original vision fares in practice in those schools that participate in the Delivering Equality in Schools (DEIS) scheme. The final research aim was to explore possibilities for a more promising future for Rice's mission in 21st century Ireland. Preparations for this transfer are conceptualised in three dimensions, the religious – spiritual dimension, the formation or professional development dimension and the institutional–financial dimension. The successful aspects of the transfer in each of these dimensions were appraised, a number of concerns raised and shortfalls identified. Employing archival research and conducting interviews with key figures the study concluded that the challenges involved in the transfer were underestimated. This has resulted in fundamental structural issues that call into question the capacity of the trust to have a vibrant future, not the least of which is the recurring diminution of a commitment to the poor, a commitment that was at the heart of Edmund Rice's educational mission.

Glossary of Terms

A

Acts of Chapter	Regulations of General chapters concerning governance of the Congregation of Christian Brothers codified in a constitution.
Administrators	The administrators of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation are stipulated in the statutes governing the foundation. They comprise the Members and Directors of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust limited.
AMRI (Association of Missionaries and Religious of Ireland)	The new name (June 2016) for the umbrella body representing the over 9,000 religious in Ireland).
Apostolate	The work of an apostle, not only of the first followers of Christ but of all the faithful who carry on the original mission entrusted by Jesus Christ to the twelve to "make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:19).
Assistants	Term given to those Brothers elected to advise the Congregation Leader.

B

Bi-Province Leadership Team Meetings	Term used to describe the meetings held between the Leaders of St. Helen's and St. Mary's Provinces.
--------------------------------------	--

C

Cfc	The post-nominal for members of the Congregation of Christian Brothers. It is an acronym for <i>Congregatio Fratrum Christianorum</i> , the Latin nomenclature for the Congregation of Christian Brothers.
-----	--

Chapter, Congregation

A Congregation Chapter is a gathering of elected, ex-officio and invited Brothers from all areas of the Congregation. Its task is to review the life and ministry of the Brothers and to plan for the future. The Christian Brother Congregation Chapter normally takes place every six years.

Chapter, General

Supreme legislating body of the Congregation. During Edmund Rice's lifetime, it was usually convened every ten years.

Chapter, Extraordinary

These could be convened more regularly and for special reasons such as the resignation or election of a Superior General.

Charism

Variably defined as "a rare personal quality attributed to leaders who arouse fervent popular devotion and enthusiasm" but also, in terms of its attribution in Christianity, as "an extraordinary power given a Christian by the Holy Spirit for the good of the Church".

CMRSI

Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Ireland. First established in 1960 as a single body with two sections, one for men and one for women. The two were united in 1980.

Code of Canon Law

The Code of Canon Law of the Catholic Church is the system of laws and legal principles made and enforced by the hierarchical authorities of the Catholic Church to regulate its external organisation

	and government and to order and direct the activities of Catholics toward the mission of the Church. The Code of Canon Law was last revised in 1983. It comprises 1752 canons or rules or norms of conduct or belief prescribed by the Catholic Church.
Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA)	Established to investigate allegations of emotional, sexual and physical abuse in 2000. Five volumes eventually emerged and the report was named after its Chairperson, Mr. Justice Sean Ryan, and it is commonly referred to as The Ryan Report.
Company Limited by the Guarantee of its Members (CLG)	A company limited by guarantee is a company which does not have a share capital. The constitution of such a company provides that the liability of its members is limited to such amount as the members may, in the constitution, respectively undertake to contribute to the assets of the CLG in the event of it being wound up.
Congregation	A term used to describe a Catholic organisation whose members take religious vows. Also referred to as an Order, an Institute or a Society.
Congregation Leader	Chief Executive Officer of the Congregation. Formerly known as the Superior General.
CORI	Conference of Religious in Ireland.
Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life (CICLSAL)	The Congregation is responsible for the governance of institutes of consecrated life (orders and religious congregations, both of men and of women, secular institutes) and

Congregation, religious

societies of apostolic life. It is part of the Roman Curia which is based in the Vatican. There is no clear consensus as to the distinction between a religious order and a religious congregation. The key distinction rests with the form of vows that are taken. Teaching brothers and nuns take what are known as “simple vows”, which can be dissolved, while others, such as priests, take “solemn vows”, deemed to be irrevocable. Throughout this study, the term congregation is used when referring to the Christian Brothers.

Congregation Leader

The acknowledged successor to Edmund Rice, the first congregation leader. The incumbent is elected at the Congregation Chapter. The term of office is for six years. The Congregation Leader resides, along with the other members of the Congregation leadership team, in Via Marcantonio, Rome, Italy.

Congregational Leadership Team

An elected group of Christian Brothers representing the five geographic regions of the Congregation. This team is elected at the General Chapter. The term of office is usually for six years.

Curia

This is the complex of Dicasteries and Institutes which help the Pope of the day in the exercising his supreme pastoral office for the good and service of the Church. It comprises nine Congregations of which one,

the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life (CICLSAL) has responsibility for the Christian Brothers.

D

Disadvantaged Areas Scheme (DAS)

A State initiative that set out to identify particular areas of educational disadvantage and provided additional supports to schools. It was one of the predecessors of the DEIS scheme.

Delivering Equality in Schools (DEIS) Scheme

This is the Irish State's current response to alleviate educational disadvantage. Introduced in 2006, it replaced previous schemes such as the Disadvantaged Areas Scheme (DAS). Participating schools receive additional grants and slightly lower pupil teacher ratios.

Dicastery

A dicastery is a department of the Roman Curia, the administration of the Holy See through which the pope directs the Roman Catholic Church.

E

Ecclesiastical property

Ecclesiastical property (sometimes referred to as ecclesiastical goods) are the temporal assets belonging to a *public juridic person* such as a diocese, parish, religious institute, or a ministerial *public juridic person* that are acquired to carry out a specific mission.

Edmund Rice Schools Trust (ERST)

Edmund Rice Schools Trust, a *public juridic person* in Canon Law and a Company Limited by Guarantee in Irish civil law.

Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation (ERSTF) The Canon law entity of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This is a *public juridic person* in Canon Law. Essentially this entity is mirrored in the Company Limited by Guarantee called the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited.

Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited The civic law entity of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation. This is a Company limited by the guarantee of its members.

Encyclical, papal An encyclical is a circular letter. In modern times, usage has confined the term almost exclusively to certain papal documents explicitly addressed to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the Universal Church.

European Province This is an amalgamation of the three provinces of St. Mary's (England), St. Helen's and St. Mary's Provinces (Ireland). It came into being on May 5 2007, this date being the "feast day" of Edmund Rice, or the day on which members of the Congregation remember their Founder, Blessed Edmund Rice. Its Leadership Team reside in community in the Province Centre, Griffith Avenue, Marino, Dublin.

F

Four Directions The General Chapter which met in Johannesburg in 1996 promulgated the core contemporary Christian Brother statements on the Order's philosophy and spirituality *New Beginnings with Edmund*. Also known

as the Four Directions, these statements or orientations were designed to chart the Congregation's main areas of endeavour into the new millennium.

G

General Council

Governing Executive of the Congregation consisting of the Superior General and Assistants.

God-fire

A phrase used in the introduction of the Constitution of the Congregation of Christian Brothers (1996) to describe the deeply felt passion that moved Edmund Rice to alter his lifestyle and found a religious community of teaching brothers.

H

Holy See

The term Holy See derives from the Latin *Sancta Sedes*, meaning "Holy Chair" and is another name for the papacy.

Identity Project

This was sponsored by the Christian Brothers and undertaken by the Marino Institute of Education (MIE). It began in 1999 with a final report being published in 2002. It had as its main task the identification of the core characteristics, ethos and philosophy of a Christian Brother school in the Ireland of the third millennium.

Irish Episcopal Conference (IEC)

The name given to the assembly of Catholic Bishops of the island of Ireland. This meets several times a year, usually in Maynooth, Co. Kildare. It has several directorates including one for education. This is the

competent authority in Canon law that enabled the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation as a *public juridic person*.

M

Magisterium

This Latin word means “Mastery” or “the status of Master”. It is now used as shorthand for the official pronouncements of the hierarchy, in particular, the Pope, and is virtually identified with the teaching of the Catholic Church.

Members

The Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited is a company limited by the guarantee of its members. The members of this company are the trustees of the schools in the ERST network. Their liability, in the event of the company being wound up, is limited to €1 each.

N

nihil obstat

A Latin phrase, meaning that “nothing stands in the way” or that “nothing hinders”. In the context of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust foundation, a document to this effect was obtained by the Congregation Leader of the Christian Brothers from the Prefect of CICLSAL to indicate that the Holy See had no objection to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, a *public juridic person* in Canon law.

P

Patron	Defined in Section 8(1), (b) of the Education Act 1998 allowing for those suitably qualified to act as Patrons of schools.
Pontifical Institute	An institute of consecrated life is said to be of pontifical right if the Apostolic See has approved it through a formal decree and it is then referred to as a pontifical institute.
Project Board	This was the group responsible for the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. It comprised members of the leadership Teams from both St. Helen's and St. Mary's provinces, along with other, senior, figures of the Congregation. Leading up to the launch of ERST in June 2008, the Project Board met with the Project Team, receiving briefings and, in turn, taking key decisions in progressing the overall project.
Project Manager	Appointed by the Province Leadership Teams in October 2002, the Project Team were answerable to him and, in turn, he reported to the Project Board and the Project Sponsors.
Project Sponsors	The Christian Brothers were the sponsoring congregation and the project sponsors that established the Edmund Rice Schools Trust as the lay successor and trustee for their network of schools.
Project Team	This was the day-to-day working group which laid the groundwork for the

establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. It comprised members of the Education Offices of the two Christian Brother province, St. Helen's and St. Mary's. It reported directly to the Project Manager and also met with the Project Board.

Province

A division of the Congregation of Irish Christian Brothers, usually referring to a geographic entity. The Irish Province first came into existence in 1923 and was named St. Helen's. By the mid-fifties the Irish Province had grown to such an extent that it was necessary for it to be divided into two for administrative purposes. That division came in 1956 with the creation of a second Irish Province. These two provinces were eventually amalgamated into a single European Province in 2007.

Public Juridic Person

A public juridic person is a legal entity under Canon, or Catholic Church, law. Canon law (§116) states that *public juridic persons* are “aggregates of persons or of things which are constituted by competent ecclesiastical authority so that, within the purposes set out for them they fulfil in the name of the church. This will be according to the norm of the precepts of the law, the proper function entrusted to them in view of the public good”. It is a construct of Canon law, an artificial entity of persons or things which has both rights and obligations in the

Church. It is similar to a civil corporation but not synonymous with it. It is established either by the law itself or by decree of a competent ecclesiastical authority such as the Irish Episcopal Conference to carry out a mission entrusted to it in the name of the Church in accordance with Canon law. It is perpetual unless legitimately suppressed and its assets are ecclesiastical property governed by Canon law.

R

relatio

This is the term given to the annual Report forwarded to CICALSAL by each religious congregation.

Redress Board

This was established in 2002 under the Residential Institutions Redress Act. The Board set out to make fair and reasonable awards to persons who, as children, were abused while resident in industrial schools, reformatories and other institutions subject to state regulation or inspection.

Ryan Report

The commonly accepted name for the five volumes that emerged from the Commission into Child Abuse (CICA) and published in 2009. It is named after the Chairperson of this commission, Mr. Justice Sean Ryan.

S

Sponsorship

This is the Canon law responsibility that the sponsor (traditionally the religious congregation or diocese) has for the ministry which includes both the ecclesiastical

	property and the faithful oversight and administration of the mission.
St. Mary's Province (Ireland, from 1956)	The Northern Province of the Congregation of Irish Christian Brothers. Since May 2007 it now forms part of the European Province.
St. Mary's Province (England)	St. Mary's Province, England was founded in 1945. Since May 2007 it forms part of the European Province.
St. Helen's Province	The Southern Province of the Congregation of Irish Christian Brothers. Since May 2007 it forms part of the European Province.
Superior General	The elected leader of the Congregation of Christian Brothers. Now referred to as the Congregation Leader. Rice was the first Superior General of the Congregation.
	T
Tri-Province Meetings	Term used to describe the meetings held between the Leaders of St. Helen's, St. Mary's Province (Ireland) and St. Mary's Province (England). These meetings were particularly important in the period leading up to the amalgamation of these three provinces into what became known as the European Province on May 5 th 2007.
Trustee	While not explicitly defined in the Education Act 1998, the term is used interchangeably with that of Patron, which is the term used for Primary Schools, for the second level system.

Visitation

V

The visit by a member of the General Council to assess the religious and professional conduct of the Brothers individually and as a community.

Westcourt, County Kilkenny, Ireland

W

The birthplace of Edmund Rice in 1762.

Woods Agreement

The 2002 agreement agreed between Dr Michael Woods, the Minister for Education, and 18 religious congregations who ran various residential institutions. This indemnified those religious congregations party that were party to the agreement and limited their liability to cover some of the cost of the Redress Board.

List of Tables

Table	Title	Page
Table 1	Birth Country of Christian Brothers – 1824	203
Table 2	Selected Statistics of the Growth of the Congregation in Ireland 1810 – 1990	204
Table 3	Numbers attending Secondary Schools 1960-1980	205
Table 4	Number of Lay and Religious Teachers in receipt of Incremental Salaries	206
Table 5	Number of Christian Brothers 1965 – 2018, with a comparative percentage analysis of the Irish Provinces numbers	207
Table 6	Age Analysis European Province Membership as at 27 th November 2017	211
Table 7	European Province Membership excluding those in England	212
Table 8	World Congregation Numbers and Average Age by Province / Region as at 2 nd October 2017	213
Table 9	Table of Additional Statistics	214

List of Appendices

Appendix	Title	Page
Appendix 1	Consent form for the Study	215
Appendix 2	The Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter	219
Appendix 3	The 1972 Charism Statement of the Christian Brothers	239
Appendix 4	The 1982 Charism and Spirit Statement of the Christian Brothers	241
Appendix 5	Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Congregation of Christian Brothers (1986)	243
Appendix 6	Text of the Episcopal Decree establishing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation as a public juridical person	248
Appendix 7	Statutes of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation	250
Appendix 8	Organisational Structure of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust	269
Appendix 9	Contrasting Parental supports in a DEIS Edmund Rice Schools Trust School and its non-DEIS counterpart	270

Introduction: The Aims and the Background

The principle of the universal destination of goods requires that the poor, the marginalised and in all cases those whose living conditions interfere with their proper growth should be the focus of particular concern. To this end, the preferential option for the poor should be reaffirmed in all its force. This is an option, or a special form of primacy in the exercise of Christian charity, to which the whole tradition of the Church bears witness.

Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church (Johannes Paulus II, 2004): 182

Introduction

After almost two centuries of being a central force in the provision of Catholic education and schooling in Ireland, and internationally, the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers took a historic decision in 1999. That decision was to transfer responsibility for its schools in Ireland to a lay trust. It followed a lengthy period of discernment on the future direction of their apostolate, their evangelistic activity. A seminal moment in the fortunes and history of the congregation, it was made partly in response to the call made during the second Vatican Ecumenical Council (1962-1965) for an enhanced role for the laity. The considerably reduced number of Brothers available to run their schools was a further compelling reason for this decision. This research seeks to examine the nature and consequences of that transfer. Edmund Rice (1762-1844), the founder of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers, opened his first school in Waterford in 1802 as a response to the plight of the poor and the absence of an education directed at the less well-off sections of society. A key feature of the

Brothers' educational mission from the outset was a commitment to the poor. This study will focus on the fortunes of this categorical commitment over an extended period from 1802 to 2008. When The Christian brothers decided in 1999 to transfer their apostolate to a lay entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, there was a continuum of possibilities for this categorical commitment: that it might be renewed in full; that it might be renewed in part; or that it might not survive in any meaningful sense. This study sets out to establish the success, or otherwise, of the transfer and where along the continuum of possibilities now lies the fate of Rice's categorical commitment.

Placing the Transfer in Context: Institutional Abuse

Before setting out the specific research aims for the study it is important to call attention to the wave of allegations of systematic abuse – physical, emotional, sexual – that have been made against the Brothers, and other religious congregations. These allegations first emerged in Canada and Australia in the 1980s and subsequently engulfed the Brothers in Ireland during the 1990s. The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA) was established by the Irish government in 1999 to investigate the extent and consequences of these allegations. Initially chaired by Ms Justice Laffoy and dubbed the Laffoy Commission, the CICA report emerged, in five volumes, in 2009.

It is now usually called the Ryan Report as Mr Justice Sean Ryan chaired the commission from 2003 until 2009, following the resignation of Ms Justice Laffoy in 2003. The latter had resigned due to what she saw as inadequate support from the Government to allow the full operation of the commission. Its scope was extensive. The timeframe of investigation ranged from 1936, the publication date for the Cussen Report¹, to the publication of the Kennedy

¹ The Cussen Report (Government Publications, 1936) into Reformatories and Industrial Schools endorsed the system in place provided that its 51 recommendations were put in place. These were largely ignored and the system went unreformed.

Report² in 1970. The Commission into Child Abuse scrutinised the operation of sixty residential and industrial schools operated by 18 religious congregations, including the Christian Brothers. The testimony of survivors proved to be both harrowing and compelling. While details of the abuse had been in widespread circulation for some time, what emerged in the *Report of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA)* (Government publications, 2009) horrified the Irish public.

The chapter in the Ryan Report on the operation of one institution, St. Joseph's Industrial School, Artane, the largest of the industrial schools, runs to almost two hundred pages. This had been established under the Industrial Schools Act (Ireland), 1868, by the Christian Brothers at "the request of the then Archbishop of Dublin, Cardinal Cullen" (History of the Institute, n.d., Volume I, p. 105). It opened on the 28 of July 1870 "with the aim of caring for neglected, orphaned and abandoned Roman Catholic boys" (ibid). It formally closed its doors in May 1969 and was immediately turned into a voluntary secondary school, opening its doors just two months later to, in some cases, the same boys who had been incarcerated there in the Industrial School. There were 211 boys detained in 1969 when St. Joseph's was closed and some of these were fostered with families in the local area. Others were moved to different institutions. Although only five kilometres from Dublin city centre, it became a byword for abuse, painstakingly and painfully detailed in the Ryan Report. The researcher's grandmother would often admonish him if he had been bold with the threat that she would send him "to Artane". During the course of its existence as an Industrial School over 15,500 boys were incarcerated there, with many treated with unconscionable cruelty (Touher, 2007, 2008): Cameron (2021).

² The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Systems Report of 1970 was the result of an inquiry headed by District Justice Eileen Kennedy. While limited in its scope and not revealing the full horror of the experience of those incarcerated, it recommended the abolition of the institutional system of residential care.

Whatever the legal framework under which boys were committed to institutions like Artane the Ryan report was candid when it came to the real reason for their being incarcerated in an industrial school:

These boys were ordered to be detained in Artane by the courts for reasons of inadequate parental care, destitution, neglect, truancy or the commission of minor offences. It is clear, however, that poverty was the underlying reason why children were sent to Artane, whatever the statutory category grounding the detention³. (Government Publications, 2009, Volume 1, 7.10)

On April 15 1997 the newly-elected World Congregation Leader of the Christian Brothers, Brother Edmund Garvey, on the occasion of his being given the freedom of his home town, Drogheda, publicly asked for forgiveness from ex-pupils who had been “physically abused and sometimes even sexually abused in our care”. That such a request for forgiveness had been made, in the first place, was regarded as somewhat startling. The fact that that it was necessary at all demonstrated the depth of the public feeling engendered by the various allegations of abuse and ensuing scandals. A series of full-page advertisements in the national press, in early 1998, also apologised for the various abuses and listed telephone lines which former pupils could contact in order to avail of counselling, if they had suffered in the past.

The State accepted that it, too, had a shared responsibility for the way the various institutions were run. On May 11, 1999, the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, apologised on behalf of the Irish people to those who had spent their childhoods in residential institutions run by religious congregations. In an attempt to ensure that the religious congregations would pay some of the cost towards the inevitable compensation bill, a Redress Board was statutorily established in 2002. The Minister for Education, Dr Michael Woods, negotiated in the same year an indemnification deal with 18 Catholic religious congregations which had responsibility for running residential facilities. These were facing legal action for abuse allegations and the aim, and eventual result, of this arrangement was to cap the liability of the various religious

³ Of the 3,685 boys incarcerated in Artane between 1940 and 1969, 1,374 were there because of “Improper Guardianship”, 1,045 under the School Attendance Act, 720 for “Destitution”, 227 for “Homelessness”, 229 for Larceny and 90 for “Other Crimes”.

organisations at a maximum of €128 million. At the time it was expected that the total compensation bill would be in the region of €256 million and that the contribution made by the religious congregations would be some 50% of that expected total. This was a controversial agreement and the Attorney General at the time, Michael McDowell, who was not informed of the deal in advance, is of the view that there was a lack of proper oversight of the arrangement. He noted that the “fact of the matter is that the result was that the State effectively signed a blank cheque which cost us €1.4 billion in the end, in exchange for a promise of a contribution of €128 million from the religious orders (McGarry, 2019, p. 11). Over 15,500 claims were made to the Redress Board⁴.

The Ryan Report (Government Publications, 2009) was concerned with abuse perpetrated in the industrial schools that were residential settings. Apart from the systematic abuse in the industrial schools, violence – both physical and emotional – was a regular feature of secondary schooling where corporal punishment had been the norm for generations, despite Rice’s view on its administration. Gay Byrne (1934-2019), the well-known broadcaster, wrote of his school days in Synge Street CBS in the following, chilling, terms:

We were beaten with straps, sticks, even the leg of a chair. We were beaten for failure at lessons and simply, it seemed to me, on principle. They were careful not to leave marks. They generally struck on the hands, the legs, the buttocks, and around the body. If they were thumping, they thumped on the head; they twisted our ears and lifted us up bodily by the side-hair at our temples. I have often wondered why we put up with it – certainly in the later years many of us were bigger and beefier than the men who were doling out the punishment (Byrne, 1989, p. 60).

To check any excesses springing from the age-old outlook that to spare the rod was to spoil the child, Rice had placed strict restrictions on the use of corporal punishment. That his

⁴ The average payment made, to date, to each claimant is €63,210, while 29 claimants received between €200,000 and €300,000; those to a further 209 ranged between €150,000 and €200,000 and 1,717 of the claimants received between €100,000 and €150,000. The legal bills for claimants, which were also funded by the State, amounted to some €200 million. One legal firm, Michael E Hanahoe, raised €18.8 million in fee invoices for their work in representing 1,090 clients, an average of €17,247 per client.

counsel on this matter was frequently ignored by the inheritors of his legacy is suggested by the lore of many former students, including recollections like those of Gay Byrne just cited. It is instructive to remember that corporal punishment was only finally banned in Irish schools in February 1982. It was John Boland, the Minister of Education and a past pupil of Synge Street CBS, who ordered the issuing of Circular M5/82, comprising a single sentence and one of the shortest published by the Department of Education⁵. Its effect was dramatic (Minnock, in Minnock and Ryan, 2015) and the lives of countless thousands of students and teachers were transformed, allowing education to take place in less fear filled setting.

More incisive insights into the area of corporal punishment, which combines both physical and emotional abuse, are available from some research studies, both in Ireland and internationally (Coldrey, 1992; 1993; Maguire and Ó Cinnéide, 2005; Tuite, 2007). The issue of abuse in schools is not the focus of this current research. But it is necessary to bear in mind that inquiries into such abuse were taking place during much of the period of planning for the transfer of the Brothers' mission to a lay trust. This troubled background comes to the fore from time to time in the later chapters of the thesis.

The Aims of the Study

This research has six main aims. The first aim is to examine the original visionary commitment that led to the founding of the Edmund Rice Trust schools, with particular reference to the charism of Edmund Rice. His educational apostolate was distinctly Catholic in nature, embodying an all-embracing environment where the poor were fed, clothed and educated. The system that he devised to meet the challenge of educating those normally marginalised

⁵ The full wording of Circular M5/82 is: Following discussions which he has had with representatives of Teacher and Managerial Organisations, the Minister for Education has decided that, as a condition for the receipt of financial aid from his Department, including the payment of salaries to the teachers, Management Authorities of Secondary Schools recognised under the Rules for Programmes for Secondary Schools Comprehensive Schools and Community Schools, schools administered in accordance with the provisions of the Vocational Act 1930-70, should take measures to ensure that corporal punishment will not be administered to pupils in their schools.

in society was incrementally established in other parts of Ireland and spread across all five continents. The distinctive features of Rice's educational vision and mission will be elucidated and analysed during this study.

The second aim is to trace the historical development of this charism, with particular reference to a commitment to the poor and disadvantaged, through each of three phases of unequal duration: The first of these, the Founding Phase, encompasses the years 1802 until the establishment of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers in 1822. This begins the second, or congregational, phase, where the brothers continued to follow Rice's early tradition and his practical example. This phase ends and the third, or trust phase, begins with the transfer of the educational apostolate from the Christian Brothers to an independent lay entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust (ERST) in 2008.

The third aim of this research is to identify and evaluate issues of concern that led to the drawing up and adoption of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. This charter sets out the foundational values of the trust, defining the parameters within which it operates and provides the main practical orientations for the new lay entity. This is a key foundation document providing the founding inspiration of the new lay entity.

Fourthly, this study will analyse the planning processes that led to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This will encompass the period that began in October 1999, following the decision in principle to establish an independent lay trust, until the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was formally launched in June 2008. During this period the Christian Brothers invested considerable resources in a range of planning activities as they transferred the trusteeship of their schools to a new lay entity. Over an extended period the new trust gradually emerged with successes in certain areas being achieved. But there were manifest shortfalls and issues of concern that will be analysed and evaluated in the course of the research. The analysis of the Brothers' preparations for this transfer is carried out by means

of a conceptual framework comprising three dimensions. The successful aspects of the transfer are appraised, a number of concerns raised and some shortfalls identified.

A fifth research aim is to explore how the commitment at the heart of Rice's original vision fares in practice under the new trust. Here particular attention will be paid to those disadvantaged Christian Brothers Schools which are now part of the Delivering Equality in Schools (DEIS) scheme. This scheme is the Irish State's response intended to alleviate educational disadvantage, established in 2006.

The final research aim is to envisage different possibilities that would assist in a more successful transfer to lay hands with the possibility of ascertaining more potentially productive approaches for the future of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and its DEIS schools. The rapid change in Irish society, both in terms of the range of trusteeship possibilities and the increasingly important role of parental choice will form the backdrop to this discussion.

Arising out of these aims a number of key research questions suggest themselves. Firstly, what was the nature of the spiritual impulsion that Edmund Rice experienced that led him to begin his educational apostolate in 1802 to educate poor Catholic boys who were not of concern to the broader society of the time? Secondly, what shifts of emphasis occurred in the mission of the Christian Brothers from the foundation phase through the Congregational Phase to the establishing of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust? Thirdly, why was the Edmund Rice Schools Trust established and what was the nature of the planning processes that led to its establishment? How have the schools that cater in a particular way for the disadvantaged, namely DEIS schools, fared under the new trust? The answers to questions such as these will be reviewed and the effect on Rice's founding intentions evaluated.

Background to the Study

The author of this thesis is a retired principal of an all-boys secondary school, a position held for a decade from 2005 until 2015. For twenty-five years prior to this, he taught in another secondary school. The Christian Brothers held trusteeship responsibilities for both of these schools. Additionally both of these schools had disadvantaged status and participated in the Disadvantaged Areas Scheme (DAS) and, subsequently, the Delivering Equality in Schools (DEIS) scheme. A gradual sense of unease emerged during the decade-long tenure as Principal. Although this began at an early stage, when the Christian Brothers were trustees, it became somewhat more acute following the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. There were several intermeshed aspects that gave rise to this sense of unease. When attending various Principals' conferences organised by the Brothers and, after it was established in 2008, by the trust, it emerged that there were very different belief systems evident among the network of schools, particularly when it came to the significance of a truly Ricean vision. The manifest financial difficulties facing the DEIS schools did not appear to feature in the non-DEIS schools to any great extent. Nor did the food poverty, so prevalent in DEIS schools, seem to come up for mention at network meetings (Minnock, 2015C). In many respects the operation of a DEIS school seemed to exist in a parallel universe, one not understood by those outside of such a setting. This sense of unease became even more acute as the impact of the 2008 recession took hold and swingeing cuts in supports for schools seemed to disproportionately affect DEIS schools (Darmody and Smyth, 2013). During all this time it was my belief that the operation of the school that I led was following directly in the footsteps and founding intention of Edmund Rice.

The Christian Brothers are a pontifical institute, established by the authority of Pope Pius VIII in 1820 to carry out an educational apostolate for the good of the Catholic Church. As such this institute has a defined place within the ecclesial structure of the Church. Passing on its apostolate would involve the creation of a recognised entity in Canon law. In 1999 the Irish Leadership Teams of the Christian Brothers took the decision to transfer trusteeship responsibilities for their primary and secondary schools to a successor body, composed of lay,

or non-religious, persons. This came to be called the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This decision followed a considerable period of thought and discussion on the part of the Christian Brothers. A six year period of planning for the new trust began in late 2002. In 2008 responsibility for the trusteeship of almost one hundred schools, including primary and secondary schools, passed from the Christian Brothers to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

This transition, in the view of the researcher, was a hugely important moment for the almost one hundred schools that comprise the Irish Christian Brothers' network of schools. It was also of great importance for the Irish educational landscape as it was but one of a number of trusts established by other religious congregations. The gradual disengagement of religious from their schools meant that lay people were taking responsibility for their apostolates at trusteeship level, marking the end of the domination by religious in Irish education. There were a number of concerns, such as the likely future for these schools, particularly those that were part of the DEIS Programme. This is the State response to alleviating educational disadvantage and it is the successor to the Disadvantaged Areas Scheme (DAS). Schools become eligible to participate in the scheme because they enrol a cohort of disadvantaged students. Those schools that were in the Christian Brothers network of schools can be considered in a particular way to be the modern day inheritors of the tradition established by Rice.

Mapping the Thesis

The First Chapter, The Research Design and Procedures, explains the four proposed ingredients of the research design the first of which is a selective review of the extensive history of the Christian Brothers, with a focus on the fortunes of Rice's founding charism. The intersection of State policy with Rice's mission forms part of this historical review. Secondly the Christian Brothers maintain extensive archives and research from these sources in Dublin and Rome was one of the main sources of information. The archival research involved analysing and categorising the unsorted papers of the former Provincial of St Mary's Province, Br John Heneghan who was the Project Manager directly responsible for the establishment

of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. He died in 2010 and his collection of personal papers, under the terms of the will of all Christian Brothers, became the property of the congregation. These were placed at the disposal of the researcher. Thirdly, an extensive series of interviews yielded almost one thousand pages of transcript. The interviewees included serving and recently retired DEIS school Principals from the Edmund Rice Schools network of schools, three senior Christian Brothers, (including the current congregation leader, a former congregation leader and an experienced former Province leader), Chairpersons of Boards of Management in DEIS secondary schools, along with a leading figure from one of the national managerial bodies for Catholic schools.

A proposed fourth research strand did not come to fruition. An ethnographic study of the day to day working of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was part of the initial research proposal. Although there was early enthusiasm on the part of the trust executives, the confidential nature of the relationship between the new trust and their schools was cited as the reason for it not being progressed. This decision was respected by the researcher.

The Second Chapter, *A Religious Educational Mission in Lay Hands: Exploring a Conceptual Framework for the Research*, deals with a suitable conceptual framework for analysing the research findings. This framework has three dimensions. Firstly, the religious-spiritual dimension of Rice's radical endeavour; secondly, the formation, or personal preparation dimension; and thirdly, the provision of resources to enable the work of the mission to be successfully accomplished into the future. There are two main reference points for this element of the conceptual framework. Firstly, the principles of Catholic Social Teaching, dating from the early nineteenth century until the present, provide an appropriate source for evaluating the endeavours of Catholic education, especially the spiritual dimension of those endeavours. The principles of Catholic Social Teaching are to be found in the *Compendium* (Johannes Paulus II, 2004) which contains the thematically organised authoritative body of Catholic material on many social matters, including a central concern for the poor. Any institution working in the social sphere would find it an appropriate source of evaluation for the operation of Catholic schools. As such it is an applicable source for standards for judging the success of the transfer. Furthermore religious congregations would be obliged, as

pontifical institutions, to take account of the teachings to be found in the *Compendium*. Vatican publications on Catholic education are a second key reference point for the conceptual framework. Publications such as *The Catholic School* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977) do not provide much of the evaluative framework but, rather, guiding principles to be applied, including a commitment to the poor.

The first of the framework's three dimensions, the religious–spiritual dimension, examines a number of aspects of the mission established by Rice. Foremost among these is the categorical nature of his endeavour – the free education of poor Catholic boys. This will be contextualised and located in the social milieu at the beginning of the nineteenth century and contrasted with the educational mission of other forms of schooling available to Catholics during the period.

Following the spiritual dimension, the second dimension of the conceptual framework concerns the formation processes that Rice felt was necessary to ensure continuity of his mission. Formation processes for an educational mission entrusted to lay hands would be quite different from those appropriate to a religious congregation. The nature of what would represent a suitable process of formation for those involved in a lay educational apostolate, such as that proposed for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, would be a key determinant of the likely success of the transfer. The third dimension of the conceptual framework, the institutional, financial and support dimension, will make appraisals of the material provisions furnished to the new entity for the successful conduct of its work.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four are companion pieces in that they chart the historical fortunes and development of Rice's mission. Being over two centuries in duration, the choice of key moments during such an extended period is selective, yet it still required two chapters. The Third Chapter, *The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1802 to Vatican II*, examines Rice's founding spirit from 1802 until the end of Vatican II in 1965. It began where something entirely new came on the Irish educational scene, namely the decision of Edmund Rice to

establish his first school, to educate poor Catholic boys, in Waterford. This new educational scheme has four distinctive characteristics that will be reviewed in Chapter Three: it was revolutionary, it was counter-cultural in that it offered possibilities for the education of poor Catholic boys, it had a practical educational philosophy and it was distinctively Catholic in nature. Chapter Three will review some landmarks and key conflicts during the extended congregational phase.

The companion chapter, Chapter Four, *The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1960 to 1999*, follows two parallel strands. The first reviews policy developments in second level education beginning with a more active response from the State in matters educational that led up to the 1967 O'Malley initiative that established free secondary education. The emergence of a less obsequious and deferential State position in the educational arena brought both challenges and opportunities for religious congregations but also presented them with a very different landscape. The passing of the Education Act in 1998 meant that the State demanded additional accountability, not previously a feature for religious congregations which operated in the educational arena and felt that they answered to a higher authority. The second strand follows the fortunes of Rice's founding spirit after Vatican II to the point where the decision was made by the Christian Brothers to establish a lay trust in October 1999. It appraises some of the discussions that followed the outcomes of Vatican II. Of particular interest here is the call for an increased role for the laity. Another call from Vatican II asked religious congregations to re-interrogate their founding charism, a new concept to enter the magisterium of the Catholic Church following Vatican II. The renewed interest in founders of religious congregations, such as Rice, presented another challenge for these congregations as evidence emerged of distinct deviations from the founding intentions. The collapse in the numbers entering religious life following Vatican II provides the context for the decision of the Christian Brothers to establish a lay trust in 1999.

Chapter Five, *The Advent of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust* has three themes. The first is an analysis of the concept of charism in the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church. This has been progressively developed over time, a reflection of the impact of new encyclicals, such of those

promulgated after Vatican II. The second traces and assesses the statements on the charism of the Christian Brothers that emerged in response to this call. The third theme of this chapter is to trace the development of the charism statement of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This is encapsulated in the Charter document prepared in advance of the launch of the trust in 2008.

Planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was extensive and lasted almost over eight years, albeit with a rather slow start. Chapter Six, Strategies for the Operation of the Trust, carries out an evaluation of the strategies adopted in providing for the success of the trust. The three dimensions identified in the conceptual framework are employed to evaluate the provisions made by the Christian Brothers for the new trust. These provisions include an initiative where a team of Charter Implementation Officers conducted a series of information sessions to promote the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. The various governance structures are placed in context and the nature of the donation of school properties and other facilities to the trust evaluated.

Chapter Seven, A focus on the experience of the DEIS Schools, brings the voice of the DEIS Principals to the fore. Their views are analysed, particularly in relation to the significance and validity and value of Rice's mission in the twenty-first century. The various burdens that those schools encounter as they attempt to engage with the Charter document will shed light on the difficulties experienced in their efforts to be faithful to Rice's mission. The extent to which they see the trust as affirming and supporting Rice's original commitment and their work will be explored.

Chapter Eight, Conclusions, evaluates the findings of the first five research aims while the final chapter, Looking to the Future, deals specifically with the last of the six research aims. In looking inwards at the trust it will suggest three possibilities that would assist the Edmund Rice Schools Trust to continue in a truly Ricean tradition. Looking outwards from the trust this review also takes cognisance of the ongoing changes in the social and cultural context of

secondary schooling in Ireland. Arising from a reflection on some of the key issues that have emerged from the research, some tentative observations are offered on the future of an educational vision such as Rice's in the Ireland of today and of the future.

Concluding Remarks

The conceptual framework developed will assist in the appraisal of the effectiveness of the transfer from a religious congregation to lay hands. It might have been possible to employ other conceptual frameworks, such as that of change management. But it was felt that, as a transfer of trusteeship from a religious congregation to a lay entity was taking place, it was more appropriate to engage with the precepts of Catholic Social Teaching and the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church in considering ecclesiological concepts such as founding charisms.

This study chronicles the development and decline of a revolutionary ideal that should have brought benefit to students in need of support. The changes and distortions identified, through the various phases, are influenced by events in Irish history, political decisions and societal developments. Many generations of students have benefitted from a particular form of education, in the Ricean tradition, who might otherwise have received little formal education. The future of the trusteeship of almost one hundred schools now lies with the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This study raises some possibilities for the trust but also raises concerns as to the sustainability of that entity into the future.

Chapter 1

Research Design and Procedures

In a small converted stable in Waterford, Edmund Rice launched an educational apostolate which in time would spread not only throughout 'the kingdom' as he desired, but to the four corners of the earth. The timing of that initiative was crucial to its success, since the previous decades had brought a thaw in the penal laws which afforded unprecedented opportunities for the Catholic Community to rebuild its Church. Within this process, Edmund Rice played a vital part, bringing his acumen and energy to a project which involved not simply the restoration of the Church, but the creation of a modern literate nation.

Keogh (2008, p. 17)

1.1 Introduction: The Research Design

Gathering data on such a large and varied scale presented a broad range of challenges. Researching the background and the events surrounding the transfer from the Christian Brothers to a successor lay body involved four interrelated stages of the research procedure. Firstly it involved a searching investigation of the peculiar character of the founding charism of the Irish Christian Brothers that is to be found in historical records. The key to advancing

the first two research aims lies in the need to make a judicious selection from the array of available historical material.

In order to advance the third and fourth research aims (identifying and evaluating issues of concern in drawing up the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter and analysing the planning processes that led to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust) it would be necessary to gather large amounts of data in written form that would shed light on the planning that was undertaken in establishing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This includes correspondence, planning documents, drafts of charter documents, minutes of meetings, notes, and other documentation associated with the planning for the transfer and with its execution. Securing and availing of access to the archives of the Christian Brothers gave a strong impetus to this stage of the research.

Thirdly, the research design involves a study of key developments in Catholic education that form the context for the enquiry, from the founding of Rice's first school in Waterford in 1802 until the present time. Such a study needs to include not just Vatican documents on education and schooling, but also those that constitute the body of Catholic Social Teaching. The precepts of Catholic Social Teaching should underpin the work of all Catholic schools. It does so in a particular way on schools that have a social mission, specifically a mission to the poor, as a distinctive feature of their founding identity and which can be considered to be aligned to the core of Rice's mission.

Finally it involves gathering insights and perspectives from key people involved in the planning of the transfer, including leading figures among the Christian Brothers. Other interviewees such as chairpersons of Boards of Management and school principals who are leading DEIS schools under the new trust would provide insights into how the transfer from the Christian Brothers to lay hands functioned in practice.

This chapter is concerned with the research procedure for gathering the data required for the study. The original research design envisaged four ingredients or strands. The first involved historical investigation to elicit the distinctiveness of Edmund Rice's founding vision, including its advances and setbacks, from the founding of Rice's first school in 1802 to the transfer to a lay trust in 2008. The second involved accessing the archives of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers in an attempt to establish the *modus operandi* for the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The third strand involved a series of eighteen interviews. The interviewees included three senior figures within the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers; one former senior figure of a representative body for voluntary secondary schools; three Chairpersons of Boards of Management of Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools; ten voluntary secondary school DEIS Principals from the Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools network of schools and one DEIS Principal from a school not in that network. The fourth strand aimed to conduct an ethnographic study involving select staff of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

For a variety of reasons, including the confidential nature of the relationship between the trust and its schools, the ethnographic element of the study involving the day-to-day activities of the personnel in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust did not progress. Nonetheless there was an early display of enthusiasm on the part of senior trust executives and the decision not to participate was taken by them with regret. This was unfortunate but this position was respected. The researcher understood, from his previous appointments, that the confidential nature of the relationship between a school and its trustees is vital. Therefore, in the end, the research design focused on the three remaining strands, namely historical research on the development of Rice's and the Christian Brothers mission, archival research and stakeholders' interviews.

This study is concerned with the transfer to lay hands of an educational mission that has been in the hands of a religious congregation, the Christian Brothers, for over two centuries. The very longevity of the connection between the Christian Brothers and their schools means that the scope is extensive. Conscious of this the analysis and appraisal of the transfer, in the light

of the research aims, is an ambitious undertaking, one that requires a carefully designed research procedure. The chapter will develop a research design that is well tailored to carrying out the research aims; especially for evaluating the transfer and its main practical consequences.

In the case of the Irish Christian Brothers, whose schools have been one of the most familiar features of the Irish educational landscape, the transfer to lay hands is also an event of major historic importance. Firstly, a considerable number of schools are involved in the transfer by the Christian Brothers, over eight percent of the total number of secondary schools in the Republic of Ireland. Secondly, in recent years many other religious congregations in Ireland have transferred their missions to various lay entities. The emergence of trusts such as Catholic Education, an Irish Schools Trust (CEIST), Le Chéile and the Edmund Rice Schools Trust marks a decisive turning point in the history of Irish education. Between them CEIST, ERST and Le Chéile have responsibility for two hundred and twenty six voluntary secondary schools, almost one third of all secondary schools in the Republic of Ireland. The establishment of these trusts followed a long period of consideration and planning by religious congregations such as the Presentation Sisters, the Mercy Sisters and the Christian Brothers. Their creation represents a large financial investment on their part. For the members of the religious congregations who dedicated their lives to an educational ideal, the emotional burdens involved in this transfer should not be underestimated. Their creation represents the considered position of the majority of religious congregations, whose domination of the Irish education landscape has long been a feature. It is also a recognition that their continued direct involvement was no longer possible or tenable.

In 1999 the Christian Brothers Leadership Teams in Ireland decided in principle to transfer responsibility for their 96 schools in the Republic of Ireland, and a further eight in Northern Ireland, into two separate lay trusts, one for each jurisdiction. The focus of the research will be on the transfer in the Congregation's country of origin, Ireland, with particular reference to the Republic of Ireland. The focus will be on secondary schools, although the lay trust established to carry out the transfer and to embrace Rice's educational mission thereafter

includes both primary and secondary schools. There will be a particular emphasis on the secondary schools that are part of the DEIS scheme.

1.2 Historical Research: Tracing the Fortunes of Rice's Founding Vision

While often a historical dimension might be included to provide a background or context, the purpose in this study is more specific: to trace the fortunes of Rice's founding intention. The advances, setbacks, challenges and changes of emphasis that Rice's founding vision encountered over two centuries are the themes of this endeavour. The focus of the chapters dealing with the historical dimension, chapters three and four, is less on a chronological survey than on an evaluation of landmark events; events that illuminate how well or poorly Rice's commitment has fared over successive generations during the Christian Brothers' educational mission.

The extensive archives of the Christian Brothers provided a wonderful resource for this study. They contains, for example, every edition of the *Christian Brothers Educational Record*, first published in 1887, that represents an annual account of the development of the congregation. The last of these dates from 1990. In addition to early written accounts of the history of the Congregation, such as Br Dunphy's "Origins", the text of which was published by Hickey (1982) the archive retains copies of the Roman Correspondence (Normoyle, 1979A) and Rice's Douai Bible. The Congregation also published histories of the Institute in two volumes as well as more recent histories in 1993, 2002 and 2007. While all of these resources provided valuable background material little of it found its way to into this study which has quite specific aims.

Rice has been the subject of a number of biographies but the lack of personal memoirs "makes him an elusive subject, and our images of the man's personality are restricted to mere glimpses" (Keogh, 2008, p. 15). The 1841 General Chapter did direct "Brothers who had

known Rice to record their recollections and it is from this archive that our best insights are drawn” (Keogh, 1996, p. 101). Despite this initiative when the Brothers decided to instigate a case to elevate Rice to sainthood they were concerned about the absence of contemporary accounts of his work and one of their historians, Br Hill, collected statements from those who were acquainted with him. But these were recorded in the early part of the twentieth century and many of the accounts come from the sons and daughters of those who knew Rice (Normoyle 1979B).

Certain of the biographies were published to mark commemorative events, such as those of Fitzpatrick (1945) that celebrated the centenary of Rice’s death in 1844. In this context Burton’s (1964) biography commemorated the bi-centenary of Rice’s birth. Many of these commemorative publications borrow extensively from one another and only occasionally reveal new insights. In reality they hark back to the first history of the Institute, commonly referred to as ‘Origins’, a hand written document attributed to Br Austin Dunphy (Hickey, 1982), who can be regarded as the most pre-eminent of the congregation’s early historians. The work of McCarthy (1926), following in that tradition, is comprehensive but with a tendency towards hagiography. Br Normoyle (1976, 1977, 1979A, 1979B), another of the congregation’s historians, compiled the correspondence between Rice and his Brothers with the Vatican which has been a valuable source of information for modern scholars. The relative scarcity of sources is, at first glance, surprising. But Rice’s innate modesty (he had to be ordered to sit for a portrait) and the failure of the Brothers to fully comply with the 1841 decision to maintain the recollections of those who knew him, meant that there is a limited number of sources.

The fruits of modern scholarship are essential for this study. Once again a commemorative publication, the official biography of Rice published on the occasion of his beatification⁶ in 1996 is noteworthy (Keogh, 1996). The further work of Keogh (2008, 2015) and McLaughlin

⁶ This is the fourth of five stages in the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church before sainthood is declared. Rice had already been proclaimed as being venerable, the third stage in this process, in 1993. Ponzio (2020) writes of a third route to sainthood, “the sacrifice of one’s life in the name of charity” (p. 983), raising another possibility for the elevation of Rice to this status.

(2006, 2007, 2008) is also of key importance for this study. Both employ extensive archival research providing modern insights into Rice's mission and motivations. Of particular interest in this study are the tensions and conflicts, as well as the re-affirmations that marked the educational mission of successive generations of the Christian Brothers in Ireland. In considering this aspect of Rice's mission his concern for the education of the poor in society will be to the forefront. What emerges is the complexity of the *milieu* within which Rice and the Christian Brothers operated. The degree of ingenuity with which Rice negotiated this complex landscape, where religious affiliation and political machination were intermeshed, shows him to be an adroit individual, particularly in the early years of his mission.

1.3 The Archival Research

The use of archival research, "while historically an ongoing scholarly concern, is now ubiquitous" (Gaillet, Eidson and Gammill, 2016, p. 1). The primary sources required for this study meant that access to the Christian Brother archives was an important first step. Towards this end, permission was sought from the Province Leader of the European Province of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers. Following a series of meetings in the autumn of 2016 he acceded to the researcher's request and confirmed the terms of access in writing. No restrictions were placed on the researcher and during the archival research period there was no instance where access to material was denied. At this time permission was given to access both the Roman archive, in Marcantonio Collona, Rome, Italy and those located in the grounds of the European Provincial building, in Marino, Dublin, Ireland, hereafter referred to as the Marino Archive. During the course of the period immediately prior to accessing the Marino Archive much of the material in the Roman archive was transferred to Marino. This meant that a subsequent visit to the Roman archive, in September 2017, did not add much to the material gathered. Additionally, a substantial volume of material from the personal papers of an influential figure in the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, was discovered and brought to the archive for sorting in September 2017. This material was not in any logical sequence and it often contained multiple copies of the same documents. This proved to be an invaluable resource, vital in the end to progressing one aspect of the overall

research aims, to establish the planning processes that led to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

Having secured permission to access both the Marino and Roman archives the researcher met with the Christian Brother archivist who had been transferred to Dublin to assist in the integration of the material from both archives. The two part-time researchers who worked in the Marino Archive were very supportive of the researcher and their intuitive knowledge of the material in the archive greatly facilitated the work. All three were to prove to be of invaluable assistance during the period of the archival research.

The Marino Institute of Education (MIE), Dublin, has, since its opening in 1904, been associated with the Christian Brothers. The purpose-built archive is underneath the Christian Brothers office building, set into the landscape to provide a natural cool space and therefore it does not require additional air conditioning. The overall dimensions of the archive, located on the ground floor of a much larger building, are 13 metres 140cm wide and 22 metres 590cm long. It is divided into seven working areas. As the Congregation of Irish Christian Brothers was established in 1821, there is a considerable amount of old documents requiring careful storage and there are facilities for gradually drying them to ensure that they do not become brittle. Pride of place among the artefacts goes to Edmund Rice's Douai bible. As a result of the design and construction, with interesting views from all locations, it is a pleasant working environment for researchers.

The early weeks of archival work presented many challenges for the conduct of the research. While certain items were easy to document it very quickly emerged that there was a need to develop a systematic approach if the material was to be of later use. During this early period the researcher kept notes in a journal, itemising the various documents. The volume of material subsequently generated was such that a working methodology of creating a "timeline", an extended *aide memoire*, was discerned by the researcher to be a useful means of creating a record of all the events, decisions, discussions and progress made by the project

team. The Project Manager was a relentless gatherer of material left behind after the many meetings that led up to the establishment of the trust. It was often the case that there were multiple copies of the same document found in different files. The creation of a timeline of events greatly enhanced the making of an archival record. This timeline contained dates, details and cross-references to other events. In the end it provided a comprehensive research tool and a valuable source of reference material. Additionally the timeline provided the researcher with valuable opportunities to search for the development of ideas and themes that were influential during the planning process. At the completion of the archival research period, in February 2018, the timeline document was 445 A4 pages long and was consulted on multiple occasions throughout the research period.

The rules relating to the use of the archive prohibited the use of ink pens and the recommendation was that note taking should be done by pencil. But there was no restriction on the use of a laptop to create word files. This made for easy preparations of timelines and trains of thought. On a personal note the hospitality extended to the researcher was, on all occasions, exemplary. If a particular paper or note was very long or deemed to be of note by the researcher, a copy was provided after a number of days, following consultation with the authorities. There was no occasion when any request for material was denied.

Since 1956 there were two provinces in the organisational structure of the Christian Brothers on the island of Ireland. Effectively dividing the country into two geographical entities, the Northern Province was named St. Mary's and its southern counterpart titled St. Helen's. The process of amalgamating the two Irish provinces along with the English province was completed on May 5 2007, the feast day of Blessed Edmund Rice. The many meetings of what was called the Tri-Province leadership team (the three provinces of St Helen's Ireland, St Mary's Ireland and St Mary's England) often had very full agendas. Therefore when the researcher looked for the minutes of key meetings it took a number of days for these to be forthcoming. Two such meetings, those of May 1999 and October 1999 are of particular importance. The former took the decision to commence the *Identity Project* while the latter decided to establish a lay trust for the Republic of Ireland, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust,

and another for Northern Ireland (ERSTNI). When the minutes of these meetings were provided they were heavily redacted, with only those decisions relating to the *Identity Project* and the new trust visible. This was the only occasion when material was not provided in full.

The project manager, Brother John Heneghan (1934-2010) was an influential figure in the recent history of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers. He served in leadership roles between 1978 and 1990 (McDonnell, 2010, p. 101). After his death, in January 2010, his personal papers became the property of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers. The researcher presented the case to the Congregation Leader of the European Province, Brother Edmund Garvey, to access these in order to establish the working methodology and decision-making process that went into the creation of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. These papers were unsorted and came from two sources. The first of these was a series of documents contained in two standard four-drawer filing cabinets. These were already in place in the Marino archive. The second source, stored in the last house where Brother Heneghan lived, consisted of nineteen standard archival boxes, three of which contained personal documents not related to the research.

Br Heneghan was a meticulous collector of all the copies of the papers from meetings and conferences. The archivists confirmed that it was his habit to gather up the unfiled copies of minutes, presentations and other documents following the meetings that led to the formation of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This resulted in multiple copies of the same document in both the filing cabinets and the archive boxes. Consequently, the researcher is unable to give an exact count of the number of documents examined. It is estimated that the total comprised between 2,700 and 3,000. The exact number was not collated due to the existence of multiple copies of the same document being in different files. Each individual document was not given a file number during this process but, rather, an indication of the box number was recorded and the location of each document noted. In this manner, replicability of the procedure followed by the researcher might be possible. The reason for not assigning individual file numbers was that the archivists informed the researcher that when the opportunity presented itself they intended to sort and categorise the documents. At this

point those selected for permanent inclusion in the Marino archive would be given a different file name. Due to the level of involvement of the archival staff with other enquiries the process of sorting Brother Heneghan's papers by the archival staff did not take place before February 2018 when the archival research process concluded.

In addition to these resources, which proved subsequently to be a valuable guide throughout the research, a series of other documents was also collated into word files. These included files on the various meetings of the Province Leadership Teams which were related to the creation of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. They also included: the details of the many and varied interactions between the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers and the Irish Episcopal Conference of Bishops; the relevant documents produced by the Conference of Religious in Ireland; the details surrounding the establishment of the Christian Brothers' Identity Project (1999-2002); the seminal 1996 Congregation Chapter document *New Directions with Edmund*; a very large file on the various property valuations undertaken in advance of the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust; the 1972 and 1982 Charism and Spirit Statements; the details of the 1986 Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers, known as Schedule 2; the full details of the final series of Foundation Documents (the Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, the Memorandum and Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited and the Statutes of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation); an extensive file containing details of the numbers of Christian Brothers, which focused particularly on the number of Brothers affiliated to the Irish Provinces and a large file containing electronic versions of various publications associated with the charism of Edmund Rice.

Analysis of the details contained in the timeline was not a simple process of listing dates. Rice's mission had a particular character that is central to the research aims. With this in mind the researcher focused on answering the question "where was the energy of the Project Team expended"? Reading and re-reading of the material opened up the possibility of highlighting certain themes. In order to analyse the data the researcher used a variant of Spradley's (1980) Developmental Research Sequence (DRS). The researcher had previous experience of

working with this process (Minnock, 1988) and found it to be useful in dealing with a large record such as that likely to be recorded in a study involving both historical and archival research along with an extensive series of interviews. The continuing use of Spradley's DRS can be found in Parfitt's (1996) work exploring the practice of expatriate nurses. Her view was that the DRS "offered an explicit, systematic and rigorous approach and collation of the research data" (p. 341). Ainsworth et al (2012) also found it to be a useful aid to establishing perceptions among teachers when implementing a new curriculum.

The Developmental Research Sequence begins with the compiling of thematic record from the data, informed by the research aims. This included: the timeline; the details of the foundation documents of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust; a multitude of other key documents and the transcript of interviews. A Domain Analysis, where each domain is "a category of cultural meaning that includes other smaller categories" (Spradley, 1980. p. 88) was undertaken. In this manner the researcher discerned the various dimensions that absorbed the energies of the Project Team.

The final step in this adaption of the Developmental Research Sequence is the translation process of synthesising and communicating all that has been absorbed through the compilation and analysis of the ethnographic record. The process of translation "discovers the meanings in one culture and communicates them in such a way that people with another culture can understand them" (Spradley, 1980, p. 161). So, for example, members of a religious congregation have an established culture and use terminology that is recognised by all of its members. This may not always be entirely comprehensible to lay people. The process of translation in this context involves attempting to ensure that the meanings of the culture of the religious congregation would be comprehensible to the lay person. Towards this end a "Glossary of Terms" is included at the beginning of this study.

Arising from the use of the Developmental Research Sequence three dimensions emerged. Alongside these were other, relatively minor, themes. In no particular order the three most important cultural themes that emerged were:

1. The religious – spiritual dimension of the transfer
2. The formation dimension, and
3. The institutional, financial and support dimension

These three dimensions, discerned to be central to the transfer process, are an appropriate basis on which to build a conceptual framework with which to analyse and review the data compiled throughout the study. A detailed consideration of these three dimensions will follow in the next chapter.

1.4 The Intended Ethnography

As previously noted, it was also envisaged that the researcher might engage in an ethnographic study involving the staff at the head office of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The researcher had previously undertaken an ethnographic study on the experiences of a newly-appointed secondary school Principal (Minnock, 1988) and found the ethnographic process to be useful when unearthing and revealing day to day work practices and the generation of meaning. It was hoped that such a study might provide insights as to the day to day work of the staff of Edmund Rice Schools Trust. It was also hoped to establish what kind of constraints they worked under and the experiences that they had in promoting the charism as outlined in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. In order to progress this element of the study the researcher contacted the Chief Executive of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in January 2016 and again in September 2016. These meetings were followed up with written correspondence in October 2017. This led to an email reply in November 2017. This in turn led to a meeting with the Chief Executive that took place on December 11 2017. While initially receptive to the idea, regrettably it did not prove possible to advance the request, the reason cited by the Chief Executive included issues surrounding

confidentiality, particularly when it came to dealings with individual schools. This decision was respected by the researcher.

1.5 The Interviews

In all, eighteen semi-structured interviews were conducted during the interviewing process, which began in February 2018 and ended in July 2019. Interviewees were selected on the basis of their congruency with the research aims. The Christian Brothers were the sponsoring Congregation for the entire process and, as such, participation of senior figures would shed additional light on the planning process that led to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The views of Principals and Chairpersons of Boards of Managements from DEIS schools would be informative in bringing the fifth research aim, to evaluate how the commitment at the heart of Rice's original vision fares in practice in those schools, to fruition. The population of interviewees included three senior Christian Brothers, two were Congregation Leaders while the third had served on various leadership teams for over twenty years. Ten Principals from the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools were interviewed as were three chairpersons of the Board of Management of an Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS school. One interviewee in this latter group was also a retired senior official with the Department of Education and Skills. A former Chief Executive of a representative body, the Joint Managerial Body, which supports the workings of the faith schools in the voluntary sector at second level, also agreed to be interviewed. Finally, one further interview took place with a school Principal of a DEIS secondary school that is not affiliated to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust but who is part of the Secondary School Network of DEIS schools. This is a lobby group of eight inner-city DEIS secondary schools, five of which are also in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network. As this is such a small population, no further details on the inclusion criteria for this choice are provided. This is to preserve respondent anonymity within this small population. To preserve the anonymity of each interviewee they are identified by letter and position only, for example Principal A, Brother A and Chairperson A etc.

The average length of each interview was just under two hours with the longest being two hours and forty-one minutes. Two electronic devices were used to record the interviews, an iPhone voice memo system and a digital Dictaphone. Of these two, the recordings on the iPhone proved to be the easier to use when transcribing.

Recruiting likely interviewees and conducting the interviews involved the following four steps:

1. A telephone call was the normal means of first contact. The researcher was acquainted with the majority of potential interviewees through personal contact at various conferences, such as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Principals' Conference, or through the Secondary School network of Inner-city Principals. The latter is a network of second level DEIS Principals who lobby on behalf of DEIS schools. Contact was then made with all twelve of the Principals of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS Schools throughout the country. The researcher was also acquainted with the respective chairpersons, again through the various conferences, such as the ERST Principals' Conference and the annual Joint Managerial Body/Association of Managers of Catholic Secondary Schools (JMB/AMCSS) conference. Contact with the three Christian Brother interviewees was by means of mobile phone and follow up emails. The researcher had contact previously with two of these three in his professional career. The arrangements for the third emerged after the researcher visited the Congregation Leaders home in Rome.
2. Following telephone contact a current email address was obtained and relevant material forwarded electronically to the likely interviewees. The material forwarded included a short document outlining the research proposal along with details of the approval of the Ethics and Research Committee of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. Each interviewee received a consent form and this was forwarded along with a further 'unambiguous consent' declaration. This was to be printed by the recipient but the researcher always brought a copy to the interview. In most cases the various consent forms were signed by the interviewee in advance of the interview.

3. On the day of the interview, and prior to it taking place, the researcher reiterated that consent could be refused up to the point of publication, as per the terms of the ethical approval provided to the researcher by the university.
4. Following the transcription of the interview, it was then returned to the interviewee for review. At this point, each interviewee could delete any material they did not feel comfortable being included. No interviewee amended the transcript or withdrew from the study at this stage.

When completed the interviews were fully transcribed by the researcher. The interviews that were conducted were more than merely recorded conversations. Spradley (1979) notes that an “ethnographic interview is a particular kind of speech event” (p. 55), to be contrasted with other forms of conversation. He considers that it is best to think of such interviews as a “series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants” (p. 58). There are three elements that distinguish an ethnographic interview from a mere conversation. The first is that there is an explicit purpose of the interview. The second is that there is a need for what Spradley terms “ethnographic explanation” (p. 59), such as the need to explain the project in terms that the interviewee / informant will understand. The third point of difference lies in the asking of ethnographic questions. Spradley identifies more than thirty kinds of such questions but the most useful are descriptive questions, structural questions and contrast questions.

An important component of an ethnographic interview is the building of rapport with the interviewee / informant. Here Spradley recommends that a “few minutes of easy-going talk interspersed here and there throughout the interview will pay enormous dividends” (p. 59). A key part of the art of interviewing often lies with not filling the silences, allowing for extended reflective answering. As Spradley notes an ethnographic interview conducted in a relaxed atmosphere will not become like a formal interrogation.

The interviews generated almost one thousand pages of transcript and represented a considerable resource for the study. Both serving and recently retired Principals of DEIS

Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools took part in the study while a small number felt unable to participate. All of the interviewees' transcripts were included in the study. There were no exclusions. In order to deal with the issue of confidentiality each of the interviewees was assigned a letter, for example, Principal A, Brother A etc.

Out of necessity and due to the exigencies of this study, the number of direct quotations employed throughout later chapters is limited. The choice of such direct quotes reflected the concerns that emerged during the construction of the conceptual framework. While this is outlined in detail in Chapter 2, the three dimensions of this framework are a religious-spiritual dimension, a formation dimension, and an institutional, financial and support dimension.

Great care was taken with ethical concerns, particularly when it came to ensuring the anonymity of the responses. After the interviews were transcribed particular care was taken to ensure that no names, place name, school addresses or local features that might identify school locations remained in the transcripts. Similar care was taken with ensuring that the interview transcripts were stored on a password-protected device and by means of an encrypted file. All interviewees signed an unambiguous consent form to participate in the study (see Appendix 1 for full details).

1.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter established the research design and procedures that were followed for the data gathering throughout the course of this study. While four research strands initially formed part of the design, three were brought to fruition, namely; historical studies of the development of Rice's and the Christian Brothers mission along with certain developments in State policy, a process of archival research and a series of eighteen interviews. A proposed ethnographic study involving the personnel employed in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, regrettably, could not be included. Over an extended period, from October 2016 until

February 2018, the researcher made 227 visits to the Marino Archive as well as visiting the Roman archive. During this period an extensive research record was created, including a detailed timeline of events, meetings, correspondence and other details that were seen to be key in the establishment of the successor body to the Christian Brothers, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

Designing a conceptual framework for analysing and reviewing the gathered data posed a further set of challenges. Prominent among such challenges is the question of what would count as a transfer from a religious congregation to a lay trust that was both faithful to the original mission and fruitful in terms of the tenor of practice in the schools. This is not so much a question of measurement, of checking outcomes against pre-specified criteria, as it is a question of deliberative analysis and evaluation, where judgements of degree are frequently more important than absolute judgements on the success or failure of a particular initiative. An analysis guided by such a conceptual framework involves careful consideration of opportunities identified or bypassed, paths taken or not taken, visions elucidated or not considered, of scenarios clearly or less clearly envisaged, acknowledging that alternatives like those just mentioned allow for many intermediate possibilities.

The three research approaches that comprised the design for this study were combined in order to address the research aims. The next chapter will elucidate the design of a suitable conceptual framework to analyse the findings that were yielded by the research procedure. This will be considered in three dimensions: the spiritual–religious dimension, the formation dimension and an institutional–financial dimension. These are the dimensions that are required to inform the mapping out of the conceptual framework for the analysis and review of the data. The design of such a framework is the main concern of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

A Religious Educational Mission in Lay Hands: Exploring a Conceptual Framework for the Research

The lay faithful must strengthen their spiritual and moral lives, becoming ever more competent in carrying out their social duties. A deepening of interior motivations and the acquisition of a style appropriate for their work in the social and political spheres are the results of a dynamic and ongoing formation directed above all to the attainment of harmony between life, in all its complexity, and faith.

Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church
(2004): 546

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to set out a conceptual framework that will enable one to ascertain what a successful lay trust would look like, in particular a lay trust that would carry out Rice's educational mission in the 21st century. This conceptual framework would then assist in the analysis and review of the successes, concerns and shortfalls in the actual transfer of the Brothers' mission to lay hands. On the question of when to construct a conceptual framework, Imenda (2014) "argues that whereas a deductive approach to literature review typically makes use of theories and theoretical frameworks, the inductive approach tends to lead to the development of a conceptual framework" (p. 185). An inductive approach, being concerned with the generation of new theory emerging from the data gathering process, was deemed to be suited for this study. Van der Waldt (2020) "states that conceptual frameworks

should be regarded as the mental map that connects the various dimensions of the research process” (p. 3). Here there are three such dimensions, to which can be added “the researcher’s *a priori* knowledge and interests” (ibid). As the data gathered in each of these three dimensions are combined they best serve to answer the six research questions posed in the introductory chapter. A successful conceptual framework can also help position the current study within the larger field of Catholic education.

The key question such a framework would need to address is: What would the essential features of a trust body need to be in order to accomplish in a faithful and fruitful way the transfer to lay hands of the Christian Brothers’ educational mission? The question is a searching one, both in its scope and its depth, but three key dimensions of the “mental map”, as Van der Weldt (ibid) puts it, have been identified from the outset:

- a religious-spiritual dimension,
- a formation dimension, and,
- an institutional, financial and support dimension.

Firstly, the religious-spiritual dimension would involve a continual renewal of a commitment to the key priorities in Rice’s original charism. In particular, it would embody an educational mission to the less well-off, inspired by Rice’s distinctive orientation within the larger field of Catholic educational endeavour. Secondly, the formation dimension would involve something radically new: designing and building a formation provision for the lay persons involved in educational leadership and teaching. Such a provision would necessarily be very different from the formation traditionally undertaken by the Brothers for, and within, the congregation. As with any kind of professional preparation, moreover, it would involve both initial formation and ongoing development: namely new and extensive forms of engagement with school leaders, school teachers, parents, students and past pupils of the schools.

Thirdly, the institutional, financial and support dimension would call for new forms of resourcing and institutional support. Some form of corporate body would be required. This would need to be supplied with the appropriate resources to enable the new entity to undertake its work with energy, capacity and resolution to meet the challenges of providing a form of education in the Ricean tradition. These relevant aspects would include compliance with the civil and Canon law requirements, the provision of necessary forms of administrative, as well as financial resources. In the event of a transfer of property, including schools and all their facilities, there would be implications both in civil and Canon law. Provision of such supports would not be an end in itself, but rather these would be put in place to support the work of the other two dimensions. Successful provision here would enable the new entity to be a vibrant and energetic presence in Irish education. The question would then arise - what would such a provision call for in practice? In order to address this searching concern each of these three dimensions will be explored in turn.

2.2 The Religious–Spiritual Dimension

This section sets out to accomplish three tasks, the first of which is to provide a brief historical survey that will elucidate the distinctiveness of Rice’s approach among the other Catholic educational endeavours of his time. The second will deal with the nature of Rice’s spirituality while exploring the differing influences that went into its making. Here there will be a focus on how Rice’s approach differed from others involved in Catholic education in the Ireland of the nineteenth century. The third is to locate his distinct spirituality within the broader field of Catholic Social Teaching, establishing the degree to which Rice’s spirituality is congruent with the former. As a pontifical institute, with a defined role in the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church, the Christian Brothers are obliged, when transferring its educational apostolate to a successor body, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, to be in compliance with the social teaching of the Catholic Church. A religious-spiritual dimension would then be a key component of a conceptual framework in evaluating the success or otherwise of the transfer to lay hands undertaken by the Christian Brothers.

Spencer (2012) observes that spirituality “involves the recognition of a feeling or sense or belief that there is something greater than myself, something more to being human than sensory experience” (p. 1) and that it involves “knowing that our lives have significance in a context beyond a mundane everyday existence” (ibid). Spirituality and religion are often confused but Tanyi (2002) makes a clear distinction:

Spirituality is an inherent component of being human, and is subjective, intangible, and multidimensional. Spirituality and religion are often used interchangeably, but the two concepts are different. Spirituality involves humans’ search for meaning in life, while religion involves an organized entity with rituals and practices about a higher power or God. Spirituality may be related to religion for certain individuals, but for others, such as an atheist, it may not be (p. 500).

There are different kinds of spirituality, or spiritualities, with differing emphases, evident in the different emphases in the mission of the various congregations involved in Catholic education. A brief historical survey illustrates this and would help to highlight the distinctiveness in Rice’s approach. To begin with however, Rice’s educational mission, like that of other religious bodies working in Ireland, is inextricably linked to the social and economic *milieu* of his time. The imposition of Penal Laws in Ireland in the seventeenth century was a response to the deep seated insecurity of a Protestant ruling class. One of the consequences was a severe curtailment to the education available to Catholics. The uneven character of these laws had a serious effect on the education of Catholic priests who often had to go to other countries for their formation. The Irish College in Rome was founded in 1628 (Keogh and McDonnell, 2008) by an Irish Franciscan in response to this need as were many other Irish colleges in Catholic European countries.

The Banishment Act of 1697 contained many measures against priests and against Catholic forms of spirituality generally. A year later there were only eight Catholic Bishops in Ireland. These were necessary for the ordination of new priests and three of this small number were later banished. There were also educational restrictions with the aim of securing “a Protestant control over education by curbing the potentially political influence of the schoolmaster” (Keogh, 1996, p. 13). The need for priests was great as the population of

Ireland had expanded by 88% between 1730 and 1800 (Gurrin, 2018) but the number of priests had grown by only 12% (Keogh, 1996) during this period. The gradual relaxation of the penal laws saw the establishment of St. Patrick's College Maynooth as a national seminary in 1795 (Corish, 1995). This signalled that spiritual formation for Catholic religious ministry could develop again in Ireland. Its first President was Thomas Hussey (1747-1803) who, in 1797, was installed as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. He subsequently advised Rice and presided, shortly before his death, at the blessing of Mount Sion, Rice's first purpose-built school, in 1803.

The establishment of the various diocesan colleges was designed to ensure a ready supply of seminarians to Maynooth and many of these date their foundation to this time, with St. Munchin's in Limerick being founded in 1796. The oldest diocesan college is St. Kieran's Kilkenny, established in 1782, the same year that Grattan's Parliament had relaxed certain Penal Laws (O'Donoghue and Harford, 2016). This particular form of college "grew out of a response to a Tridentine decree which argued that each bishop should have a junior seminary in his diocese" (ibid p. 34). The diocesan colleges educated the sons of the wealthy and the farming class, many of whom would go on to become priests for the diocese following a lengthy period of spiritual formation. Apart from certain small scholarship provisions the diocesan colleges did not provide education for the poor.

Other religious orders had long established missions to Ireland. The founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius of Loyola, decided on an early mission to Ireland and sent two companions in 1542 (McRedmond, 1991). But after only a month, they reported that there was no hope of establishing a mission in Ulster. Another attempt, in 1598, did see Jesuit foundations in Dublin and Munster. The Order itself was suppressed in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV and remained so for almost forty years. This accounts for the comparative lateness of the establishment of Jesuit schools such as Clongowes, Co. Kildare established in 1811. Other religious congregations, such as the Holy Ghost Fathers who arrived in Ireland from France in 1859, did not set out to provide education services to the poor. Like the Jesuits they concentrated on the education and development of the Catholic upper-middle class. Education for the poor

would be left to others, including a number of influential Irish women. These included Honora Nagle (1718-1784) founder of the Presentation Sisters and, later, Catherine McAuley (1778–1841) who founded the Sisters of Mercy. Both congregations provided education for poor girls⁷. The former, in particular, was a source of inspiration for Rice as he began his educational endeavour. Inspired by the work he witnessed, Rice “now embarked on his mission to do for the neglected poor boys of Waterford what Nano Nagle had done for the girls of Cork” (Keogh, 1996, p. 41).

Several aspects of Rice’s life are central to the development of his personal spirituality. When they combined in him he was impelled to focus on the education of poor Catholic boys. Principal among these influences is the devout nature of his family, who attended Mass every Sunday. His parents provided him with a Catholic education and McLaughlin (2007) sees this as the genesis of his interest in education. Two cousins of his mother, Margaret Tierney, were members of the Augustinian Order meaning that Rice was familiar with the notion of a religious life. Other Augustinian friars from their abbey in Callan visited Rice’s family to provide lessons at his home at Westcourt. Patrick Grace OFM⁸, nicknamed an Bráithrín Liath, (the Grey Friar) “made an enormous impression” (Keogh, 1996, p. 25) on Edmund and his brother John. The latter joined the Augustinians, eventually taking up a senior role within the Order. He was of great assistance to Rice in negotiating the Vatican bureaucracy when the latter was engaged in establishing the Congregation of Christian Brothers (Blake, 1996). Rice, through the influence of his family and contact with the Augustinians, was familiar with religious life from an early age.

While the influence of Nano Nagle cannot be underestimated, Rice encountered other sources of spiritual inspiration. In 1790, Rice joined an association of pious young men where he was influenced by a number of Jesuits who had remained in Waterford following the

⁷ The educational practices of the Quaker community in Ireland in educating of poor Quakers is also worthy of mention. Quane (1964) provides an interesting commentary on the Quaker schools in Dublin. Brannigan (1982) provides an extensive history of the educational practices and curriculum of Quaker schools during the period 1680 to 1840.

⁸ OFM is the post-nominal for members of the Order of Friars Minor.

Order's suppression in 1773. This group promoted activities such as "the regular reception of the sacraments of the Eucharist and Confession" (Keogh, 2008, p. 64). While he is of the view that the "most significant step in Rice's development came in 1791 when he subscribed to a Dublin imprint of the Douai Bible" (ibid, p. 65) and regards this as a "critical moment in Rice's formation" (ibid). The despair he must have experienced following the death of his wife, Mary, in 1789, brought his spiritual development, an ever present aspect of his life since his youth, to new heights of sensitivity. This was accompanied by the need to care for a handicapped daughter. After these events he spent more time in prayer and he attended Mass daily. He received communion every Sunday, an unusually devout practice for the time. He also subscribed to a new edition of the Douai bible, again unusual for a layman in that period, given the expense involved. Another aspect of his charitable works was his visitation to the homes of the sick and to those in prison. All of these assisted in leading him to what Denis McLaughlin, in his major study of Rice, calls a "spirit quake": an event that impelled him to begin his educational mission (McLaughlin, 2007, p.213). The spiritual life that Rice adopted was austere, one devoted to a demanding educational endeavour while being accompanied by a regimen of individual and communal prayer.

Rice did not write extensively on the nature and scope of his educational mission. He left nothing as definitive as, for example, the *Ratio Studiorum* (Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus), which, for Jesuit schools, represented an entire education system dating from 1599 (Farrell, 1970). This work is based on two earlier publications of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order (O'Donnell, 1984, p. 464). But the schools established by Rice were definitively founded as Catholic schools with a specific mission to the poor. Neither did Rice leave any elaborate documentation of the distinctive nature of his education system to guide his successor Christian Brothers. O'Toole (1984) notes that he "was that rare combination of an idealist who at the same time was eminently practical" (p. 181). He was also possessed of a spirituality that is straightforward rather than complex. He evinced a genuine concern for the poor that is action-based rather than theoretical or analytical. He gave away all his not insignificant worldly possessions in pursuit of his mission and, in the process, he exemplified and demonstrated true Gospel values. He recognised that what today is called "food poverty" was a block to learning and ensured that his students were provided

with food. Notwithstanding the many difficulties that he and his Brothers faced, his determination to succeed includes a pragmatic stance when deemed necessary to allow the mission to succeed. These were the spiritual attributes that, as the first novice master to his followers, he instilled in them during the early years of his mission.

Although not especially well educated himself, by 1810 Rice had “by a process of practical adaptation produced a system which remained a model for Catholic education for over a century” (Keogh, 2008, p. 110). McLoughlin (2007) summed up his system as follows:

Edmund Rice offered his students a liberatory education aimed at personal and social transformation, nurtured through a culture, respectful of the sacred, and mediated by caring, fatherly teachers (p. xxv).

The kind of spirituality that distinguished Rice’s educational mission from those of other Catholic educational schooling for boys was straightforward rather than complex. It embodied a concern for the poor that is action-based. It was characterised by a determination that includes a pragmatic stance when deemed necessary to allow the mission to succeed. The integrated nature of the education envisaged by Rice, “refers to the whole of man’s life, here and hereafter” (O’Toole 1984, p. 183), and it was overtly Catholic in outlook. There would be a seamless transition between the teaching of mathematics, Catholic doctrine and prayer throughout the course of each school day.

Having provided a brief historical survey that showed the distinctiveness of Rice’s approach and the nature of Rice’s spirituality the third task of this section is to evaluate how Rice’s educational mission stands with the social teachings of the Catholic Church. Here there are two main pertinent sources. The first is a tradition of Catholic Social Teaching, dating explicitly from the late 19th century but with its roots in early Christianity. The second is a series of Vatican documents on the mission of the Catholic school. When taken together they provide an authoritative source of spiritual guidance for a new form of enterprise to carry forward the educational mission established by Rice into the twenty first century.

In addition to the spiritual inspiration provided by Rice, the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Johannes Paulus II, 2004) contains the details of over a century of Catholic social teaching, developed through encyclicals and letters written by the popes (Bradley–Levine, Carr, 2015, p. 30). The tenets of modern Catholic Social Teaching are to be found in much more recent documents. It began with the issuing by Pope Leo XIII of *Rerum Novarum* (on Capital and Labour) (Leo XIII, 1891) in 1891 (Curran, 2002), (Dorr, 2014), (Gaillardetz, 2005). This was just over a century after the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath which unseated most of the monarchs of Europe. The recurring revolutionary violence of the 19th Century made it imperative for the Vatican to pronounce authoritatively on social issues and to combat the rising influences of socialism and communism.

The main principles in the *Compendium of the Social Teaching of the Church* can be distilled into seven themes. The first of these is a concern for the life and dignity of the human person, the second is a call to family, community and participation. The third teaches that human dignity can only be protected if human rights are protected and responsibilities are met. The fourth notes that the Church exhibits a preferential option for the poor and vulnerable. The fifth expresses a concern for the dignity of work and the rights of workers. The sixth, solidarity, is best expressed in the words of St. John Paul II in *Sollicitudo rei Socialis* (*The Social Concern*), (Johannes Paulus II, 1987). Solidarity, he observes, “is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good ... to the good of all and of each individual, because we are really responsible for all” (Johannes Paulus II, 1987, 38). The final general principle of Catholic Social Teaching is that all of mankind has a responsibility to care for God’s creation which was the subject of Pope Francis’ encyclical *Laudato si* (Praise Be To You; On care for our common home) (Franciscus, 2015). What emerges is a central concern for, and solidarity with, the poor. This continues the thread developed during Vatican II where Pope John XXIII, in *Pacis in Terris*, (*Peace on Earth*) (Johannes XXIII, 1963) explicitly expresses his support for the less fortunate. The power of education to benefit society is also an important theme in the most recent papal encyclical *Fratelli Tutti* (*All Brothers*) (Franciscus, 2020) which notes that:

Education and upbringing, concern for others, a well-integrated view of life and spiritual growth: all these are essential for quality human relationships and for enabling society itself to react against injustices, aberrations and abuses of economic, technological, political and media power (167).

Populorum Progressio (On the Development of Peoples) (Paulus VI, 1967) was issued by Pope Paul VI in March 1967, shortly after Vatican II concluded. Heavily influenced by the experience of the South American bishops, who had already begun to associate “development” with “exploitation”, the newly-emerging concept of liberation was more appropriate in their eyes. *Justitia in mondo (Justice in the World)* (World Synod of Catholic Bishops, 1971) the final document issued by the 1971 Synod of Bishops in Rome, was unusual in the manner in which it emerged. It was written and distributed by the bishops rather than, as had been the norm, waiting for the pope to issue either an encyclical or an apostolic letter. It has been described as “one of the most important statements on social justice ever issued by Rome” (Dorr, p. 179). While liberation theology never became official teaching of the Catholic Church, a central tenet of this form of theology, that of a preferential option for the poor, was incorporated into Catholic social teaching. The *Compendium* (Johannes Paulus II, 2004), notes that:

The principle of the universal destination of goods requires that the poor, the marginalised and in all cases those whose living conditions interfere with their proper growth should be the focus of particular concern. To this end, the preferential option for the poor should be reaffirmed in all its force (182).

Papal encyclicals would be of particular interest to the members of pontifical institutes and religious congregations who are duty bound, as Catholics, to take account of its provisions.

So far three components of the religious-spiritual dimension of the conceptual framework have been considered; the distinctiveness of Rice’s educational endeavour, Rice’s personal spirituality and the corpus of Catholic Social Teaching. To these can be added a fourth, the body of documents dealing directly with Catholic education. Particularly important in this regard is *Gravissimum Educationis (Declaration on Christian Education)* (Paulus VI, 1965A). It

is the statement of Vatican II in the area. Issued near the end of the synod, it is regarded by Ratzinger (1966) as “unfortunately, a rather weak document” (p. 254) because it was considered at the end of the council when the participants were weary. But Whittle (2017) is of the view that the statement is important “because it is the beginning of an ongoing discussion” about Catholic education (p. 26). Grace (2017B) notes that a possible reason for the relative brevity of this declaration was that during the Council “discussion was too exclusively concentrated upon the institutional Church *per se* and Catholic education in its schools, colleges and universities was relegated to a marginal status” (p. 13). He offers a further criticism of the discussion and notes that “it is difficult to understand why the Council fathers did not appreciate that, in the modern age, it is largely in the contexts of Catholic education, in its schools, colleges and universities, that the future of the Catholic Church will be renewed or weakened in the next generation” (ibid).

This lacuna was addressed with the publication of *The Catholic School* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977) which further developed the ideas behind *Gravissimum Educationis*. This document focuses “on the nature and distinctive characteristics of school which would present itself as Catholic” (Paulus VI, 1965A, 2). Grace et al. (2006) advances the case that *The Catholic School* can be called the foundation charter or mission statement for contemporary Catholic education. Eight guiding principles of a Catholic school are suggested. These include the distinctive nature and necessary role of the Catholic school, the importance of the Catholic school in human formation, the need to integrate faith and life, a Catholic conception of the purpose of knowledge and the importance of teachers as witnesses. The sixth concerns the poor and social justice and contains a reminder that “first and foremost the Church offers its educational services to the poor” (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977, p. 58). Furthermore “if the Catholic school were to turn its attention exclusively or predominantly to those from the wealthier social classes, it could be contributing towards maintaining their privileged position, and could therefore continue to favour a society which is unjust” (ibid). The final two characteristics are the role of the Catholic school in advancing the common good and the principle that Catholic schools are open to all.

When it comes to speaking about the poor and social justice *The Catholic School* warns about a loss of focus in Catholic schools. Grace (2002) refers to this phenomenon as mission drift. This he defines “as an unintentional historical process which causes a school in its practices to move away from its foundational mission principles” (2017A, p. 1). He contrasts mission drift with the opposite, “mission integrity” and *The Catholic School* document was intended to remind Catholic school administrators and leaders of that original purpose. Grace concludes that “no school which claims the title ‘Catholic’ can be seriously at odds with the principles proclaimed” (ibid) in *The Catholic School*. When it comes to the clear commitment in *The Catholic School* to an option for the poor, Grace argues that what is at stake “is the mission integrity of the whole Catholic schooling system” (Grace, 2017B, p. 20).

Amplifying this point the Catholic Bishops Conference of England and Wales (1997) noted that education “is a service provided by society for the benefit of all its young people, in particular for the benefit of the most vulnerable and the most disadvantaged” (p.13). Twenty years after the publication of *The Catholic School*, in “*The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Twenty First Century*” (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997), a further reminder is provided of the origins of many Catholic Schools. A major challenge posed for Catholic schools is to continue to produce what Duignan (2005) calls the “academic goods” as always but, also to show “new signs of their spiritual, moral and social achievements” (Grace, 2002, p. 51). The challenge presented to a religious congregation in the transfer of their apostolate to lay hands is how they would incorporate a preferential option for the poor, a central concern of both Catholic Social Teaching and the documents on the nature of a Catholic school, and how they would maintain mission integrity in the process.

2.3 Formation: Creating a Promising Provision for a Lay Trust

The previous section outlined four components in the religious-spiritual dimension that added to the “mental map” of the conceptual framework. This section has two main objectives; the first of which is to develop the concept of religious formation and its significance in Rice’s mission; secondly, to address the question of what formation exercises would be necessary so that a collective understanding of what a Ricean inspired education involved could be passed on to lay successors.

Religious formation is a critical part of becoming a religious and the life of a religious begins with the decision to answer a call from God. Provision in this area is also part of Van der Weldt’s “mental map” when transferring an educational apostolate to lay hands and it builds upon, and adds another layer to, the conceptual framework. The distinctive nature of formation for different apostolates, for example in the educational arena, would prepare and sustain the individual throughout their subsequent life. Among the key purposes of a process of religious formation are to internalise a deep understanding of the congregation’s central mission, to build a collective commitment to that mission and to cultivate a spirit of fraternity, or sisterhood, among the members of the congregation. Each religious, as part of their formation, would take on extensive knowledge of the values and customary practices of their particular congregation. Each element of this culture would be passed from one individual by imitation or by absorption. The unique nature of the culture of the religious congregation or order became part of their everyday lives, understood and absorbed by all. The formation of members of different congregations would be different, determined by the founding charism of each congregation. The concerns of Jesuits would be very different that those of a Christian Brother, just as those of the latter would differ from those of enclosed orders, where there would be limited contact with the outside world.

Rice was the source of the formation offered to his early followers. He and eight of his early followers first took vows modelled on the Presentation Rule in 1809. Already aged 47, he had

previously considered becoming a member of existing religious orders, including living a secluded life in a Cistercian monastery in Brittany (Keogh, 2008, p. 73). He does not seem to have considered the possibility of becoming a priest for the diocese (Normoyle, 1979). His sister is credited with his ultimate decision to dedicate his life to the service of the poor. The earliest history of the early days of the Christian Brothers, "An Account of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Institute of the Society of Religious Brothers" sees 1793 as a key year in Rice's decision making process (Hickey, 1982, p. 7). This was when he "formed the design of erecting an Establishment for the gratuitous education of poor boys" (ibid, p. 7). It seems that he already envisioned a community of religious and from 1802 Rice and his early followers "prayed together, attended daily Mass and devoted time to spiritual reading" (Keogh, 2008, p. 97). Other features of what was an ascetic lifestyle included the rule of silence and minimal contact with the outside world. In 1829 Rice made an attempt to include extreme measures, such as the use of hair shirts and other disciplines, in the governing rules but his proposal was defeated as it was felt that their work in the schools was difficult enough. It should be noted that each Brother who joined the early communities was already an adult, a feature of the early stages of Rice's mission. This is in distinct contrast with the later practice of formation processes that began in the Juniorate with teenage boys who aspired to become Brothers.

The new congregation set about learning and adapting lessons from others. The first to hold the position of novice master after Rice was Br. Patrick Ellis, described by a contemporary as "a man holy in thought, word and work" (McCarthy, 1926, p. 474). In 1822, shortly after the congregation was formally established, he "went to live some time at Clongowes Wood with the Jesuit Fathers, in order that he might observe how novitiate life was conducted in that celebrated Order" (ibid, p. 160). The role of novice master was particularly crucial to the formation of each Brother, particularly when it came to the imbuing of the rules of the congregation within the heart and mind of each Christian Brother. The distinctive nature of the congregation was to be to the fore and the key role of novice master made clear:

That, while grounding the novices in the principles of the religious life, forming their spiritual character, training them in practices of piety and in exact observance of Rule, they should be fully imbued with the peculiar spirit of our Institute as set forth in our Holy Rules (ibid, p. 161).

The importance of the formation process was recognised at the Congregation Chapter in 1832 and the novitiate was considered “as the lifeblood of the Institute” (ibid, p. 312). A decision was taken at this gathering to send two Brothers to France to study at the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools in Paris, “in order to observe their methods of training, and to report as to what practices could, with advantage, be adopted in the Novitiate of the Irish Brothers” (ibid, p. 313). Their report reveals the level of confidence the Irish Christian Brothers had in their own formation processes and the independent line they were determined to take:

We saw much that edified us in the French Novitiate and in the Communities of the Brothers. The difference in race, customs, and environment are so great that few of the French regulations and practices can with advantage be introduced into our Novitiate. The practices and methods of training and formation established in our own Novitiate are better adapted to our country and to the character of the Irish people than any other” (ibid, p. 313)

The opening of O’Connell Schools on North Richmond Street meant that it also became the centre of teacher training for the Christian Brothers in 1831 and it served this role until 1874 when this was transferred to Belvedere House in Drumcondra. In 1847 the first novitiate outside of Ireland was opened in Preston and soon housed over forty novices who were all mature men. The process of formation began to take place at a much younger age from 1886 when the congregations’ first Juniorate opened in Baldoyle “for the reception and education of boys disposed to join the Congregation, but who were too young to enter the Novitiate, or whose studies needed more time” (ibid, p.488). St. Mary’s Marino, where the foundation stone had been laid by John Redmond⁹ in 1900, was opened as a training college in 1904. The opening of a new novitiate at St. Helen’s in Booterstown in 1925 meant that there now was a complete formation process in place that extended across a considerable period of time. Aspirants would enter the Juniorate in Baldoyle aged fourteen, proceeding from there to St. Helen’s for their novitiate. From there they would go to St. Mary’s for their teacher training. During this, the third phase of formation, the aspiring brother took annual temporary vows while taking on preparation for work in the educational ministry. He would live as part of a religious community. Following completion of preparation of the qualification required to

⁹ John Redmond (1858-1918) was the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party and was one of the most prominent nationalist politicians of his generation.

become a teacher, the aspiring brother would usually begin their teaching apostolate at a location determined by the Superior General. The qualification from St. Mary's enabled them to teach in primary schools. Those chosen to teach at second level would have to attend at a university to gain the additional qualifications that were required. This extended process involved a decade, or more, of formation exercises.

Beginning work in the educational apostolate would not signal the end of the formation process. Each brother would be encouraged to continue with their professional and religious studies and would be given additional responsibilities. Through the provision of annual retreats they would also develop and deepen their faith. From time to time they would have "visitations" from members of the Congregation Leadership team. These meetings would plan for their future development as brothers (Power, 2008). In addition to all this, life is lived in community, with daily prayer and the recitation of morning and evening divine office programmed into the *horarium*. Religious formation for a Christian Brother is a pervasive, all-encompassing process preparing the individual for a life dedicated to a demanding educational apostolate.

Turning now to the second aspect of the formation dimension: how was this collective understanding of what a Rician inspired education involved to be passed on to their lay successors? These would not have absorbed the cultural understanding of religious life and the dedication to a cause that it involved. A process of formation for those who would be faced with this task was required. But what would it entail? If there was to be a promising future for Rice's educational mission a new and purposeful form of formation for the laity would be required. Some guidance in this matter can be found in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C) promulgated by Pope Paul VI. The advice here is that the apostolate of the laity "can attain its maximum effectiveness only through a diversified and thorough formation" *Apostolicam Actuositatem, (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (ibid, 28). The nature of their apostolic formation "is specially characterised by the distinctively secular and particular quality of the lay state and by its own form of the spiritual life" (ibid, 29). Of particular interest is the relevancy and nature of such a "diversified and

thorough” formation at the beginning of the third millennium. If the transfer of responsibilities and powers were to be achieved it would require a thorough process of formation for the laity called on to fulfil this task. This would involve the formation and creation of a new form of educational leader.

Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity) (Paulus VI, 1965C) also offers a comprehensive and practical list of what might constitute elements and aids in the formation for lay persons devoted to a lay apostolate such as education. These elements include:

Study sessions, congresses, periods of recollection, spiritual exercises, frequent meetings, conferences, books, and periodicals directed toward the acquisition of a deeper knowledge of sacred Scripture and Catholic doctrine, the nourishment of spiritual life, the discernment of world conditions, and the discovery and development of suitable method. (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*) (*On the Apostolate of the Laity*) (1965, 32).

The combination of these elements into a comprehensive process of both pre-incorporation and ongoing development of educational leaders would assist in enriching and invigorating the life of the new lay entity. Participating in the various formation exercises listed above would be demanding of energy and commitment of prospective lay educational leaders but would be a requirement. Additionally there would be a need for both pre-service and in-service formation. The discovery and development of suitable methods pose challenges for the sponsoring religious congregation and the incoming lay educational leaders that would have to respond to the “signs of the times”¹⁰ and to the particular needs of the new lay entity. Any conferences, study sessions, meetings or spiritual exercises, as recommended in

¹⁰ The phrase itself comes from the gospel of St Matthew (16.3) which states: “and, in the morning, ‘Today will be stormy, for the sky is red and threatening.’ You know how to judge the appearance of the sky, but you cannot judge the signs of the times.” It is strongly associated with the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council. It has been taken to mean that the church should listen to, and learn from, the world around it. In other words, it should learn to read the “sign(s) of the times”. It was used by Pope John XXIII in a statement, *Humanae Salutis (Human Health/Salvation)* (Johannes XXIII, 1961) when he convoked the council. The phrase was also used in *Pacis in Terris (Peace on Earth)* (Johannes XXIII, 1963).

Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity) (Paulus VI, 1965C) would be part of the new regime for lay formation.

The question then arises as to what would a comprehensive formation process for a lay apostolate in education look like in reality? In searching for an answer to this question the research of John Henry Thornber and Michael Gaffney (2014) is particularly pertinent. Their research, conducted in Australia during the first decade of the 21st century, involved theoretical and empirical dimensions. The theoretical dimension sought to identify key spiritual and pastoral traits for the exercise of leadership in lay ministry located within the framework of Catholic social teaching and related Church documents. The empirical dimension included interviews with a range of people experienced in different forms of lay apostolate.

To begin with they make a distinction between the understanding of the term “formation” in the secular world and of that used in ecclesiology, the study of the organisation of the Church. In the former, formation is commonly described as the process of creating something, or by which something develops or takes a particular shape. In the ecclesiastical sense, as understood by a member of a religious congregation but not necessarily by a member of the laity, formation is rather more complex. It is:

a reflected development on one’s gifts and how the gifts contribute to the need in hand providing an holistic preparation of a person for a role – human, spiritual, intellectual, pastoral – including reflection on the experiences of their own life which might highlight some lacks in development or knowledge that are essential for that need (Thornber and Gaffney, 2014, p. 195).

The need in hand, in this case, would be that of providing suitable formation for this new form of educational leader that would enhance the likelihood of a successful transition from a religious congregation to a lay entity. Clarity of thought when considering the nature of formation in this sense would be necessary as the most pertinent documents in the ecclesial literature appear to assume that readers have or share a common understanding of the

meaning of formation. Before arriving at this comprehensive definition of formation Thornber and Gaffney considered Church documents such as the Code of Canon Law, *Pastores Dabo Vobis* (Johannes Paulus II, 1992) on priestly formation and *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord* (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2005) on ecclesial formation of the laity. The advice offered in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C) is also taken into account, although there is a recognition of the reality that lay formation will involve more than just attendance at events.

Thornber and Gaffney (2014) developed seven principles for a framework for lay formation for those involved in educational leadership of a lay trust. These principles begin with the need to have a full, ecclesial understanding of what is meant by formation for educational leadership. Secondly, there should be an appropriate means of identifying the particular formation needs of each individual. The third principle is that mission-based criteria should be used in the selection and formation process for the new form of educational leader. This “refers to principles of decision making drawn from Catholic social teaching and the special spiritual and religious character and gifts (or charism) that underpin the particular ministry and are applied and demonstrated in the work of that ministry” (Thornber and Gaffney, p. 206). The fourth principle stresses that formation for this new form of lay apostolate would involve more than simply going to courses. What would be required is a systematic programme of events similar to those identified in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C). The fifth related principle stresses that there should be an adult learning approach to formation. This means that there are both formal and ongoing aspects to formation. Various formal programmes are only one element of successful formation and must be combined with ongoing formation involving strategies like structured experiences, such as retreats, and mentoring by experienced colleagues such as members of the sponsoring religious congregation. The employment of the principles of adult learning includes an ‘acknowledgement by those designing and delivering formation programmes of the background knowledge and experiences of the participants’ (Thornber and Gaffney, p. 211).

The sixth principle stresses that consideration needs to be given to the time commitment required to be successful in the role of educational leader. This means that the decision to take it on is not to be undertaken lightly. In quantifying the time commitment demanded one of Thornber and Gaffney's interviewees said 'that if you added up the time that our trustees spend, it is probably 30 or 40 days a year in the role' (216). While those taking on the role of lay educational leader are likely to hold leadership roles in their daily lives, Thornber and Gaffney would seem to indicate that the demands of lay educational leadership are more onerous than previously thought.

The final principle urges that the implications of generational change in those taking on lay leadership roles must be taken into account. Many currently involved in educational leadership are, or have been, "members of religious institutes and have some background in the ministry, governance and the charism" (p. 217). The issue, Thornber and Gaffney suggest, will be that the next generation of educational leaders selected and invited to these roles will not have had some level of mentoring support from religious. As such they will be more dependent than ever on successful formation processes. Abeles (2008) also expresses this concern "because we may not have been as intentional with their formation, these leaders may not fully understand the theology that underlies this ministry of the Catholic Church, and how to enact it in the full context of all they do" (p. 32).

As Thornber and Gaffney (2014) observe, an adult learning approach would be required, the viewpoints, experience and expectations of lay participants in a formation processes will add something new and different to those of religious. There should be no attempt to try to turn prospective educational leaders into "mini novices" (Thornber and Gaffney, 2014, p. 212). It has to be understood that "lay people may develop a spirituality that is different from that traditionally associated with priestly and religious life and, what is more, they may not have the ecclesial language to articulate it" (ibid). Taking an adult learning approach means that there is a need to recognise "the spiritual journey that people bring to the formation process" (ibid, p. 213). Essentially the role involves a sense of vocation that needs to be recognised.

Adults learn by making meaning out of their previous experiences and, through reflection, may take on a gradual transformation of their perspectives. As adults learn differently a different approach to their learning is required. The work of Mezirow is of particular importance in this area. His transformative learning theory (1970) draws on the works of Dewey (1938), Freire (1996, 2016) but, in particular, Jürgen Habermas (1968). Mezirow had a keen interest in “developing a research body of theory indigenous to adult education and of practical utility to practitioners” (Mezirow, 1970, p. 1).

Transformation theory, he observes, “is an explanation of how our frames of reference influence the way we make meaning and how they may be transformed to empower adult learners” (Mezirow, 2007, p. 11). Transforming frames of reference begins, he believes, with critical reflection or “the process of assessing one’s assumptions and presuppositions” (ibid, p. 12). Through this process participants can “try on” different points of view. The critical perspective offered by Brookfield (2005), which encourages adult learners to challenge existing ideology and contest hegemony, would also encourage a transformational element in the formation of adults for lay educational leadership. Brookfield also emphasises the need to challenge unexamined routines and practices which he terms “hunting assumptions.” When this occurs in an atmosphere of critical reflection, at events such as those identified in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C), the greater would be the chance of promising possibilities for the participants than simply attending at the event.

Thornber and Gaffney’s principles are a set of related elements that provide a way of understanding a complex phenomenon. Without being prescriptive, they can help in ascertaining the appropriateness and adequacy of the processes employed by religious congregations in transferring their apostolates to predominantly lay hands. As this section concludes two points need to be made; the first is that a capacity to carry through a categorical commitment such as Rice’s among trust members, school leaders and teachers, requires adequate and suitable formation processes. Secondly, today such processes would be differently described and would be taken to include initial professional preparation and continuing professional development.

2.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension

So far the conceptual framework has explored two dimensions and developed a number of yardsticks to assist in the analysis of the data gathered during the research. The third dimension of Van der Weldt's "mental map" required to carrying through a successful transfer of ministry, the institutional, financial and support dimension, now calls for attention in order to complete the framework for analysing and reviewing the research findings. The institutional provision would, of course, have a supervisory and regulatory function. Equally important however, it would need to act as a support, a trusted fount of resourceful renewal, for those leading and carrying out the ministry that has been transferred. Histories of institutions – whether religious, political, voluntary or other – reveal that they can become preoccupied with issues of power and territory, to the comparative neglect of the central purposes of their foundation, a further form of mission drift. The institutional, financial and support provision for the transfer of a religious educational ministry to lay hands would embody a wide range of features. Seven such features are identified here with some initial remarks on the important contribution to be made by each:

The need to take account of the Education Act (Government Publications, 1998): The first comprehensive piece of legislation in the educational arena in Ireland, the Education Act (1998) details the roles and responsibilities of the educational partners, including the Inspectorate, Boards of Management and Principals. Crucially it sets out the functions and powers of school "Patrons", although at second level the term trustee tends to be used. Section 8(6) notes that:

... the patron of a school shall carry out the function and exercise the powers conferred on the patron by this Act... or instrument made thereunder, deed, charter, articles of management or other such instrument relating to the establishment of operation of the school.

Compliance with this provision would mean that, in advance of the launch of a new lay trust, it would be necessary to develop a charter document which would underpin the operation of

the schools within the trust's remit. This would provide details of the founding charism and would provide guidance and inspiration to the school community. In the case of a charter for Catholic schools, this would take into account the principles of Catholic Social Teaching and other related Church documents. In the case of the Congregation of Christian Brothers, this would involve a particular emphasis: a reaffirmation and renewal of the distinctive commitment to educating the less well-off that marked Rice's foundational work.

The creation of a valid canonical entity: Religious congregations and pontifical institutes with a duly established apostolate or religious mission are expected and required to carry on their work "for the good of the church". They are recognised by the Holy See and accountable to the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life. This is one of the congregations of the Roman Curia, the administrative component of the Holy See that assists the Pope in governing the Catholic Church. Religious congregations and pontifical institutions would have to observe the strictures of canon, or Catholic Church, law.

Recent iterations of canon law allow for the possibility of allowing a religious congregation, the sponsors of the process, to transfer their apostolate to a lay entity. The most recent revision, in 1983 is sometimes abbreviated to 1983 CIC or *Codex Iuris Canonici*. It is also known as the *Johanno-Pauline* code after the Pope, John Paul, during whose reign it was finalised. It provided, for the first time, a number of possibilities for such a transition. Among such possibilities, the entity called *public juridic person* represents the most appropriate way to transfer a nationwide network of religious schools to lay hands. At the outset it must be made clear that a *public juridic person* is not, in fact, a person but a corporate body charged with carrying out some responsibility, or responsibilities. Such a body remains subject to the strictures of canon law.

Ideally what would be required is an autonomous foundation which can hold a spiritual message, the figurative "torch" referred to in the title of this research, and be governed by lay persons. Any such body cannot be endorsed by the Vatican unless its statutes have been submitted and formally approved by the Irish Episcopal Conference, the competent body in

the Irish context. The members appointed to a corporate body such as a *public juridic person* are called canonical governors. Finally a decree from this body is a necessary requirement in order for the foundation established to commence its work 'for the good of the Church'. The final step in the establishment of the *public juridic person* would be the receipt of a *nulla osta* from the Congregation of Institutes of Consecrated Life and Apostolic Life. This means that the Vatican has no objection to the newly constituted corporate body.

The process of creating a *public juridic person* would be extensive and would require a degree of patience and perspicacity on the part of the sponsoring religious congregation. One of the difficulties noted by Thornber and Gaffney (2014) is that the 1983 code allowed for the creation of such entities "without a great deal of explanation of what they might look like" (p. 2).

The creation of a suitable civil entity: Just as with the creation of a suitable canonical entity, there would be a need for the sponsors to create a civil law entity. This would be necessary to ensure limited liability for the members of the lay trust. There are a number of choices, similar to the position in canon law. But the decision making process in civil law is much less complicated and the history of companies much more established, with the problems and pitfalls already solved by a large body of precedents. Ideally it would not be a public company with tradable shares. This ensures that, in time, the company could not be taken over in a manner hostile to the founding intention. The same would be true for private companies. The best choice would be the establishment a company limited by the guarantee of its members. This would allow for the possibility of the members of the civil company also becoming the canonical governors of the *public juridic person*. A major disadvantage of this form of company is that, while there is limited liability for the members, there is no underlying share capital to fund the activities of the enterprise. The sponsoring religious congregation may, of course, donate a capital sum to the company.

The provision of sufficient capital: In order to ensure the sustainability and viability of the lay trust into the future there would be a need for the sponsoring religious congregation to underpin the financial stability of the new enterprise by donating a capital sum sufficiently large enough to allow it to be launched and prosper into the future.

Determining the nature of this sum does not present major difficulties. By and large the voluntary schools that comprise the existing network would already be contributing a per capita payment by way of a licence. This could conceivably continue, with the proviso that it should take into account the capacity of each school to make the payment. The amount already coming from this source could be calculated as a percentage of the overall anticipated cost of running the trust and the shortfall identified. The amount of the donation by the sponsoring religious congregation in a transfer of this magnitude would be considerable but necessary. This would enable the new trust to be on a stable financial footing from the outset.

Infrastructural and material resources: The sponsoring religious congregation would also need to ensure the provision of infrastructural and material resources or ensure that the capacity exists to acquire such resources. Principal among these would be the provision of a suitable headquarters. Ideally this would have the possibility of sufficient conference rooms for formation purposes into the future. Many religious congregations have surplus buildings that were required in the past to house the burgeoning numbers in religious formation. A successful transfer of the mission would necessarily require a transfer of infrastructure, such as buildings and equipment used for administration purposes. This would allow for the possibility of formation exercises for the educational partners to take place on a regional basis.

Appointment of Staff: The transference of their educational apostolate to lay hands would be an exercise of major historical significance for the sponsoring religious congregation. An important requirement for the continuity and renewal of the mission lies in the form of a sufficient number of newly-appointed professional staff. When combined with those already

working in the education offices of the congregation, this would enable a smooth transition from one regime to the other. Key to the success of this process would be an ongoing and thorough sharing of knowledge and inspirations, especially in the first decade after the transfer. Thorough in this context would mean the wholehearted giving of experience and insight without dominating the lay leaders. Without this the new enterprise would struggle to establish itself as the legitimate successor. A gradual and gentle disentanglement by religious would also be a feature of this aspect of the transfer process.

Donation of school properties and facilities: Many religious congregations have operated in Irish education for over two hundred years. They have acquired, or have received by way of donation, a great deal of property and other associated facilities such as playing fields that are available for use by their schools. At the outset, if the enterprise is to be established on a firm financial footing considerable property resources would be required. The new entity would receive as much of the sponsoring congregation's existing school property and associated facilities as possible. As Canon law requires a valuation of these assets before they are alienated (given) to the new entity, this process would be carried out methodically and completed before the issuing of the decree of the competent authority. This would ensure that, in the event of future school closures, the possibility would exist of utilising the proceeds of future sales to generate funding. This, in turn, would be used to support the workings of the relatively weak schools, such as the DEIS schools.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to provide, in three dimensions of a conceptual framework, insights and grounds for making evaluations that can inform both an analysis of the planning and execution of the transfer to lay hands. It would then be possible to provide an appraisal of the success, or otherwise, of both. In the religious-spiritual dimension it has been seen that

distinctiveness of Rice's charism stands out when contrasted with those of other Catholic bodies involved in the education of boys in Ireland in the 19th century, although not that different from the form of education provided by the Presentation Sisters and the Mercy Sisters. Rice's spirituality was much less complex than that of the Jesuits, the latter being grounded in the elaborate *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. It was also different from the orientations of the diocesan colleges and the schools of religious orders like the Dominicans and Holy Ghost. Most of the religious orders sought to provide education to more select groups: not to the majority, but to smaller constituencies, usually drawn from middle-class or well-to-do Irish families. The pragmatic element in Rice's vision had its own ingenuity, exhibited on occasions as a pragmatism that served his longer-term goal. He could accept fee-paying students and he could join the schools to the National Board of Education. That ingenuity proved controversial with some of the congregation, but it was an inherent part of Rice's peculiar charism. The simple and practical nature of Rice's religious commitment – its wholehearted commitment to educating the poor – would also recommend it more readily to less religious-minded people, especially those who had a concern for the disadvantaged and marginalised.

The explorations in this chapter, under three dimensions, provide insights, perspectives, yardsticks and other appropriate grounds that constitute a conceptual framework. That three-dimensional framework can then serve as a basis for analysing and reviewing the research findings. This is the task that lies ahead in the succeeding chapters. The next chapter will trace the fortunes of Rice's founding charism from its humble beginnings, particularly in the light of the social and economic circumstances that led to him setting out on the road to transforming the lives of the poor, who were always at the heart of his educational mission.

Chapter 3

The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1802 to Vatican II

All these I have kept”, said the young man. “What do I still lack? Jesus told him, “if you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow Me”. When the young man heard this, he went away in sorrow, because he had great wealth.

(Matthew, 19:21)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has four objectives as it traces the fortunes of Rice’s founding spirit. The first is to trace historically the early developments in Rice’s spirituality and to assess the challenges that he faced in his educational mission to educate poor Catholic boys. The second is to analyse the early challenges, advances and setbacks to his mission in the face of financial difficulties and how that mission was affected by the response of the Brothers to a number of State funding initiatives. The third is to trace developments in the tenor of the mission both in Ireland and internationally as the congregation spread its wings, first to England and then to other countries. The final objective is to review such developments at a later period: from Irish independence in 1922 until 1965, the year in which Vatican II ended. Necessarily selective, owing to the considerable time span, key moments will be selected to appraise the impact of societal and political developments on the fortunes of Rice’s mission.

3.2 Early Developments and Challenges

Detailed accounts of Rice's life are scant, surprising given his legacy. He left very little in writing, excepting correspondence surviving in the archives of recipients. We do have a first-hand account of his physical appearance from Br Austin Dunphy who writes that he "was above the middle height, being about six feet, of sanguine complexion, with eyes large and expressive, and of a bright hazel colour" (A Christian Brother, 1926, p. 67)¹¹. The lack of memoirs "makes him an elusive subject, and our images of the man's personality are restricted to mere glimpses" (Keogh, 2008, p. 15). It is not proposed to provide detailed biographical material that would only serve to replicate previous works. These in themselves often refer to a limited number of sources. But Keogh's biography *Edmund Rice 1762-1844* (1996) published on the occasion of his beatification arguably remains the major source for research on Rice. Others include Burton, (1964), McCarthy (1926), Fitzpatrick (1945), (Keogh, 2008), Normoyle (1976, 1977, 1979A, 1979B) and Rushe (1981). But McLaughlin's (2006) in-depth, evaluative study of Rice's mission is of particular interest for the current research, breaking new ground in Ricean studies. He acknowledges that "much of the documented history concerning religious orders has perpetuated a tradition of hagiography, where dirty linen was never washed in private let alone in public" (p. xvii). O'Donoghue (1999, 2004, 2012, 2016) can be counted among the "small but growing body of researchers" (ibid) that are adopting a more rigorous approach to the field. In addition Vercruyse (2004) has written on Rice's charism in a modern setting.

Edmund's family, the "Rices of Westcourt" (Keogh, 1996, p. 22) had "no great standing among the old families of county ~Kilkenny" (ibid, pp 21-22). But the family had lived in the area for a considerable period and "the earliest references to the Rices in Callan appear in the hearth tax rolls for 1665—6" (ibid, p. 22). The family owned nearly two hundred acres but they "were notoriously ambitious and made every effort to consolidate and enlarge this holding" (ibid).

¹¹ Note: while the author here is styled "A Christian Brother", it is accepted as the work of Br W.M. McCarthy, a noted historian of the congregation. This attribution is used hereafter.

At this time strategic marriages greatly helped to achieve this end and “this pattern is reflected in the marriage of Edmund’s parents” (ibid). His mother’s family, the Tierney’s, “farmed one hundred acres at Maxtown” (ibid). By the time of Rice’s birth, on June 1 1762, the family had a considerable holding of land and his uncle, Michael, “had a thriving provisioning business near the Quay” (ibid, p. 28) in Waterford. Rice was apprenticed to his uncle in 1779 and eventually became the sole inheritor of the business which “appears to have specialised in livestock, slaughtering, packing and exporting meat to Bristol” (ibid)). It also had lucrative contracts “with the army, the Admiralty and shipping companies” (ibid). The Seven Years War (1756-1763), the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), along with the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) ensured that there was a steady demand for Michael Rice’s services.

Edmund Rice married Mary Elliot, “the daughter of a Waterford tanner” (ibid, p. 29) in 1785. But, in 1789, while he was a relatively wealthy businessman, the birth of a disabled daughter, Mary¹², and the death of his wife, left Rice, at 27 years of age, with serious responsibilities. The impact of these events, in addition to his already existing piety, nurtured by his family, encouraged him to join a society committed to living active Christian lives. Among the duties this society promoted were charitable practices and regular receipt of the sacraments. He “was distinguished as one of the five gentleman in the city of Waterford at that time receiving Holy Communion every Sunday” (McCarthy, 1926, p. 56). His Douai Bible is still extant in the Marino Archive with the various texts that he highlighted clearly visible. Many of these concern usury, a common business practice of the time.

In 1793 he subscribed to an English language edition of *The Spiritual Combat*, an English translation of Lorenzo Scupoli’s (circa 1530-1610) distinguished text. First published in 1589 it is regarded as the greatest classic in ascetic theology. This had a profound impact on Rice,

¹² Mary Rice (1789-1859), Edmund Rice’s daughter, was cared for by Joan Murphy, Rice’s half-sister, until he began his educational mission in 1802. As Keogh (2008) notes, he then “entrusted his now teenage daughter to Patrick Rice, his brother at Westcourt. On his death in 1833, Mary moved to Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Waterford, where she remained in the care of her D’Alton cousins until her death in January 1859” (pp. 62-63). The nature of her disability is unknown.

particularly when it came to his own asceticism. In the same year Rice was among the founding members of the Trinitarian Orphan Society that supported the education of one hundred children. Around this time he became conscious of the plight of prisoners and this became part of the early apostolate of the Christian Brothers. These varied influences are representative of his inclination to help others.

In the same year he formed what he termed “a design”, (Hickey, 1982, p. 7; McLaughlin, 2007. p. x) to teach the poor and he consulted with Bishop Lanigan of Ossory in the following year who was very supportive of his plan. Encouraged by this support, in 1796 Rice wrote a letter to Pope Pius VI outlining his plan to establish a community of teachers in Waterford. In this he was supported by Lanigan who advised him to dispose of his property and build and endow a school for educating the poor boys of Waterford. A supportive letter from the pope in response greatly encouraged him. Later in the same year he leased a site on behalf of the Presentation Sisters, recently arrived from Cork. He acted as their business manager and agent putting his business acumen at their disposal. This helped him to discern how their congregation operated. In time, his own congregation would be closely associated with the Presentation Order. There is little doubt that the revolutionary and counter-cultural work of Hanora (Nano) Nagle (1718-1784), foundress of the Presentation Sisters, and that of her followers, had a deep impact on Rice’s spiritual awakening at this time.

Keogh observes that:

There was no dramatic epiphany to Edmund Rice's groping towards discernment, but the example of Nano Nagle, her life and the hybrid congregation which she had created, served as a prism to direct what had previously appeared as the irreconcilable attractions of a religious vocation and the care of the poor. (Keogh, 2008, p. 91).

By 1802 he had opened his first school in a stable in New Street, Waterford. This was eighteen years before Pope Pius VII issued the Papal Brief in 1820 giving his assent for the establishment of a papal institution.

Rice employed two assistants for his first school but they found the work difficult and "not even a liberal increase in their salary could induce them to remain" (McCarthy, 1926, p. 83). But within a few months a key milestone saw two natives of Callan, Thomas Grosvenor and Patrick Finn, joining him, a major boost for Rice. Both "possessed education beyond what was then generally attainable" (ibid). The fledgling community adopted a life of prayer and apostolic work. The opening of Mount Sion on June 7 1803, with funds provided by Rice, was another milestone event for his mission. This is recorded in the Institute's History in the following terms:

On the seventh day of that month the bishops, surrounded by Brothers, and friends and sympathisers, solemnly blessed the building – a consummation which he had ardently desired. The bishop enquired of the founder by what name it was to be known, and the latter stated that it remained for his lordship to christen it. The bishop looking around him, and observing the elevated position of the site, and also its close proximity to the city, the analogy between itself and Mount Sion in Jerusalem struck him very forcible [sic], and so he said aloud, 'Well, all things considered, I think a very appropriate name would be 'Mount Sion' and so I name it.' (Christian Brothers, History of the Institute, n.d, Volume 1, pp. 13/14)

Students arrived at Mount Sion a year later, a key development for Rice's mission. In 1803 Bishop Hussey informed the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith of Rice's intention to petition the Holy See for an approved rule. The spiritual life led by this small community of five in 1805 is described by McCarthy (1926) as follows:

...they began to follow a regular rule of life. Spiritual exercises, teaching and study occupied their day. As yet they had not adopted any distinctive religious costume, nor did they follow any written rule, but they lived in religious seclusion, cultivated a spirit of silence and recollection, performed all duties in common, and were in all things directed by their pious Founder (p. 89).

In 1808, Rice applied for religious profession and on August 15 of that year, the Feast of the Assumption, members of the three existing communities, Mount Sion, Carrick on Suir and Dungarvan, assembled at Mount Sion to take vows according to the rule and constitution of the Presentation Order, becoming diocesan religious. One year later they received religious habits and took perpetual vows.

Any approach to open a Catholic school had to emanate from the local bishop, who, in canon law, has responsibility for the spiritual education of Catholics in his diocese. The finances needed to open and run the school were a different matter. Not every diocese or parish was in a position to provide funding for establishing these new schools. The early foundations, those established before the creation of a pontifical institute, between 1802 and 1820, were in direct response to the call of the local bishop rather than any detailed grand plan on Rice's part. As Keogh (2008) observes "Rice was no Saint Francis. He was not a founder who gave up all to follow Christ, but rather he retained his considerable property and investment, and with these financed his schools" (2008, p. 93). The pragmatic business acumen demonstrated by Rice in funding his early schools is one of the key features of the early days of his mission. His early followers also placed their entire fortunes on entering religious life in a common fund to assist the running of their schools and communities. This enabled the Brothers' schools to feed, clothe and provide shoes for their poor pupils, another key milestone development for his mission.

Rice and his early followers, took vows as diocesan Brothers under the ecclesiastical authority of the local bishop but they were also accountable to their local superior. This situation, of dual authority, was difficult to manage. As diocesan Brothers, each was jointly under the ecclesiastical control of the local bishop as well as their own local superior. This meant that,

in 1812, when Dr Daniel Murray, the Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin invited Rice to establish a school in Dublin, Brothers from other establishments had to be moved. This in turn required the permission of other local bishops. The establishment of a pontifical institute, with its own constitution and superior general would allow Brothers to be moved to other establishments and would not require the approval of a bishop. Such a development would greatly assist Rice's mission enabling him to move Brothers to where they were most needed.

Structurally Rice envisaged an institute similar to that of the De La Salle Brothers in France. So, when Archbishop Murray returned from Rome in 1817 he brought copies of the Rule and Papal Brief of Approbation of the Institute of the Christian Schools, founded in France in 1680. These became the blueprints for the inaugural 1832 Constitution for Rice's new Institute. In 1817, a meeting of the representatives of all the then houses at Mount Sion discussed how best to progress. They considered the Presentation Brief to be the way forward. In what has been described as "an unusually short period of two years" (Keogh, 1996, p.69), Pope Pius VII signed the Brief of Approval on September 5 1820. Rice's brother, John, now Assistant General of the Augustinian Order, greatly helped and exerted "considerable influence through his friendship with Dom Mauro Capellari, the future Pope Gregory XVI" (1765-1846), (Keogh, 1996. p. 68). Murray informed Rice of the Papal Brief in October 1820. Keogh has concluded that the recognition of the Congregation of Christian Brothers as a pontifical institute by Papal Approbation, "marks a milestone in the history of the Irish Church" (p. 71) and an even more important one for Rice's mission, as he could direct Brothers to where he felt they were most needed. The question of the dual authority of local bishop and superior general appeared to have been resolved.

On August 25 1821, Rice convened a meeting of those Brothers already in perpetual vows in Thurles, Co. Tipperary and, with some minor reservations, the Brothers agreed to make their profession at Mount Sion early in 1822. The members of the fledgling Congregation were drawn from the provinces of Munster and Leinster, unsurprisingly given the location of the early school foundations (see Table 1). The brief was formally accepted and Rice became the first Superior General of the new Congregation of Christian Brothers. At the age of 60, he was

the elected leader of a Pontifical Institution, with a plan to create its own constitution and rules. These emerged ten years later. Of particular significance was its apostolic educational mission to evangelise Catholic boys, with a particular emphasis on the needs of the poor. McCarthy (1926) provides details of this key element of Rice's Institute's mission from the Papal Brief:

That these Religious Brothers, being instituted under the protection of the Holy child Jesus and the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, His Mother, shall make it their principal care to teach male children, particularly the poor, the things necessary for a virtuous and Christian life, and that the main end and spirit of their Institute must be an anxious solicitude to educate youth according to the maxims of the Christian Law (p. 163-164).

By 1828, following the laying of the foundation stone for O'Connell Schools, Rice's personal fortune had been exhausted. But the primary commitment of his community of Brothers to the poor had been clearly established. A compounding factor in the precarious financial state of his establishments arose from the fact that, unlike his early followers, many of the new novice Brothers did not arrive with personal fortunes. While the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone by the "Liberator, Daniel O'Connell¹³, for this new venture, which would serve as the new novitiate, represents the zenith of Rice's achievements, it also marks the decline in the influence he exerted over the congregation. Several Dublin schools had already been forced to close due to lack of finance. The Papal Brief establishing the congregation was explicit on the question of charging fees - education had to be provided gratuitously, i.e. without any charge. The early Brothers were mendicant and, after a day's teaching, went begging for financial support. Br Austin Dunphy, one of Rice's early followers, related his feelings on this aspect of religious life, observed:

...how galling it is when, after spending five days in weighty schools, we must sally out on the sixth day to beg from house to house for pennies or half-pennies to support us for the ensuing week (Normoyle, 1976, p.333).

¹³ Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), a contemporary of Rice, was acknowledged as the political leader of Catholics in Ireland. Nicknamed the "Liberator", he founded the Catholic Association in 1823 to gain political and civil freedom for Catholics. A lawyer, he organised what were called "monster meetings", then illegal gatherings, to agitate for Catholic emancipation. This objective was achieved with the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

Notwithstanding the nature of religious life, the commitment that Rice expected of his Brothers was relentless and Br Dunphy's words are illustrative of the harshness that such an ascetic lifestyle demanded and echo Keogh's (2016) words that Rice's mission was "Forged in the Fires of Persecution" (p. 83).

The practice of accepting voluntary contributions was common until 1821 but it hardly amounted to a secure income. For Rice the solution to the support of his schools was simple – to take fees from those who could afford to pay. As McLaughlin (2007) notes "Rice was not using pay schools merely to support his poor schools" (p. 176). McLaughlin claims that he had a far more radical end in mind, that "poor boys rubbing shoulders with the middle class would come to realise that the only difference between them and their better-heeled mates was nothing soap could not remedy" (ibid). The ensuing mixing of boys from different social classes, although not regarded as unusual today, would not have sat well with many of the ascendancy of Rice's time.

The original Brief of Pius VII (1820) described the principal concern of the new institution as "to teach children, principally the poor" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, *Constitution of the Institute*, 1832, p. 52-53), but "not exclusively the poor" (McLaughlin, 2007, p. 301). Normoyle (1976) believes that Rice "was opposed to the vow of strictly gratuitous instruction" (p. 142). His reasoning was that strict conformity with the Papal Brief had the potential of "limiting the apostolate to the very poor" (ibid).

The decision to petition the Pope for changes in their brief and allow pay schools was taken at the 1822 General Chapter of the Christian Brothers, its governing assembly. On foot of this, on no less than three occasions during the 1820s, Rice requested permission from Rome for this change. The tone of each letter provides more detail but also becomes increasingly desperate. The first of these, dated 24 January 1823 (Normoyle, 1978, p. 126) received no reply. The second, on 6 April 1824, (ibid, P. 135) was refused as was the third, that of 20 December 1824 (ibid, pp. 129-142). As Rice had the support of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr

Murray, these refusals are surprising. These requests were made not that many years after the French Revolution had overthrown monarchies throughout Europe. McLaughlin (2007) argues the case that the:

...education of mixed social classes was a truly revolutionary concept, which may have unnerved cautious Vatican officials, who had been recently bludgeoned by twenty years of 'democratic' French revolutionary and Napoleonic philosophies" ... Rice's education for liberation was an aspiration not all Catholics welcomed. His educational initiative seemed to many to be far too radical" (ibid).

These refusals were major setbacks to the spread of Rice's mission, particularly so after the difficulties encountered in completing the buildings at O'Connell Schools and Richmond Street in Dublin, the latter of which was to be the site of the new novitiate. It was to be the first in a recurring pattern of setbacks which diverted his energy, and limited the development of his schools, from 1828 until his death in 1844. The refusal to allow for pay schools, somewhat paradoxically, dealt a serious blow to the fortunes of Rice's founding mission, a commitment to the poor, whereby those in a position to pay a fee would allow for others less fortunate to benefit.

3.3 The Perils of Funding and State Involvement

Having been rebuffed by Rome on three occasions during the 1820s, another opportunity to stabilise the finances of the Brothers' schools to help expand his mission was presented by an initiative of the British Government early in the following decade. They had supported the establishment of agencies such as the Kildare Street Society in 1811. Known officially as the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in Ireland (Coughlan, 2011) it was ostensibly non-proselytising in nature but the reality was very different¹⁴. Figures like Nagle

¹⁴ The Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in Ireland, more widely known as the Kildare Place Society, was established in 1811 by a group of philanthropists that included Samuel Bewley and William Guinness. While it was established as a nondenominational society its rules stated that the bible would be read in schools without note or comment. This rule caused outrage from the Catholic Church authorities. It became

and Rice provided a very categorical, and uncompromising, counter-balancing Catholic form of education in the field.

The Chief Secretary of the day, Edward Stanley, announced his intentions for a new system of national schooling in the House of Commons on 9 September 1831. This was quickly followed up with a detailed plan in a letter in October to the Duke of Leinster. This letter, known as the “Stanley Letter” (O’Donovan, 2017) is the basis on which the Irish national school system was established in December of the same year. Ireland’s rapidly-growing population, by now reaching nearly eight million people (Cullen, 1981), was to have the first State system of elementary education in the English-speaking world. Additionally it was specifically designed to meet the requirements of the complex nature of religious adherence in Ireland, where the non-established Catholic Church had the support of the vast majority of the population. O’Donovan’s (2017) large scale study of the national school system concludes that such a large scale State intervention in one of the poorest parts of the United Kingdom was an extraordinary development for its time.

Under the new scheme, two thirds of the cost of providing school buildings would be met out of public funds with the remainder derived from a local contribution. Additionally there would be provision for the payment of teachers. It must have seemed like the answer to a prayer for Rice and his Brothers. It is not proposed, in the current research, to elaborate on the workings of the new scheme. Others, including Akenson, 1970/2012; Walsh, 2016; Keogh, 2016; O’Donovan (2017), and Coolahan, (2018); have added to our understandings in this area. The contribution of Akenson, in particular, has been acknowledged by Titley (1979) who observes that until it attracted his attention “the writing of Irish educational history was moribund, amateurish, and narrow both in scope and sympathy” (p. 66). Here the focus will be on the reaction of the Christian Brothers to the new scheme. But, on the basis of the growth in the number of schools and pupils attending, the scheme was an unqualified success, at least to the extent that it would provide education for all children throughout the country.

synonymous with proselytism and their attempt to provide nondenominational education foundered due to opposition from an increasingly assertive Catholic clergy (Hislop, 1993).

Gradually at first, but quickly gathering pace, the new national school system expanded throughout the country.

For Rice the main problem facing him in 1832 was the internal struggle for control of the Institute. Keogh, (2008) notes that, in retrospect, “it seems incredible that the 1832 general chapter failed to discuss the great educational issue of the day; the establishment of the National Board of Education” (p., 211). Moreover this “glaring omission created difficulties for the Brothers which endured until the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922” (ibid). Whether or not Rice was inclined to include the Brothers’ schools in the scheme is disputed. The independent, uncompromising and avowedly Catholic system developed by Rice seems to be so lacking in complementarity with the new scheme that he might have been disinclined to participate. Yet the surprise is that Rice applied for inclusion in the new scheme even before the Stanley letter was written in October 1831. Perhaps this indicates how alert Rice was to political events as Stanley’s scheme borrows heavily from a Bill published by Waterford’s Catholic Member of Parliament, Thomas Wyse (1791-1862) earlier in the year. Rice’s early application has been adduced by McLaughlin (2007) as evidence that Rice “was an early and enthusiastic applicant who knew about the proposed Board weeks earlier than the submission of his application on 12 September 1831” (p. 262), three days after Stanley’s speech in the House of Commons. Additionally no other applicant “had as many and as diverse a set of referees on their applications as did Rice” (ibid). Once more the pragmatic nature of Rice’s mission to the poor is to the fore. By enabling his schools to be on a sounder financial footing there would be a stronger likelihood of establishing more of his schools to reach a greater number of those in that condition.

In line with his previous consultative practices Rice allowed the superior in each school to decide whether or not to join the scheme. Here he may have unwittingly sowed the seeds of dissension and division within the congregation. Richmond Street (Dublin), Mill Street (Dublin), Ennis and Ennistymon (both Clare) joined the scheme in 1833; while Waterford and Dungarvan joined a year later. But Cork, Limerick, Thurles and Carrick-on-Suir did not. This may have had much to do with the individual personalities involved in these schools. The

Brothers in Cork “were not only financially independent but they were robustly nationalistic, ultra-Catholic and energetically anti-Rice” (McLaughlin, 2007, p. 265). Br Dunphy, the superior of the struggling Hanover Street foundation in Dublin for many years and “a close friend of Rice” (ibid) had a poor experience in an earlier Education Inquiry in 1825 and was suspicious of the new scheme. The superior of the Thurles school, Br Baptist Cahill, also held nationalistic views and had been publicly flogged in Callan after the 1798 rebellion. He refused to allow his school to join the scheme.

The experience of these participating schools was not considered to be satisfactory, especially by the Brothers in Cork. By 1836, Brother Riordan, Rice’s successor as Superior General, was of the view that “the system was fine for lay masters, but certainly not for religious Brothers” (Keogh, 2008, p. 218). After a number of years examining how the new scheme was affecting his schools, in 1836 Rice decided to convoke an extraordinary General Chapter that had as its sole agenda the question of continued participation. While the decision to withdraw from the scheme was taken unanimously and recorded as so in the minutes of the meeting, the financial implications of this decision were not easily overcome. Mount Sion, Richmond Street (Dublin) and Mill Street (Dublin) were withdrawn from the scheme in the following year, 1837, followed by Dungarvan a year later. It took a further three years for Ennis to be able to secede from the scheme and the poorest of the schools, Ennistymon, only succeeded in achieving financial independence in 1857, twenty-one years after the original decision to leave the scheme. Following on from the Papal refusals, another opportunity to allow for the expansion of Rice’s mission did not come to fruition.

The effects of the decision of the 1836 General Chapter to leave the national School scheme were devastating for the congregation’s development in Ireland. The new scheme provided two thirds of the funding while the congregation was connected to the scheme but now the Brothers would have to provide this themselves. Bishops trying to establish schools in their dioceses could not afford to invite the Brothers to open schools, and, without this invitation,

the Brothers could not proceed¹⁵. In fact “In Ireland between 1830 and 1840 the only new foundation was Clarinbridge, in the County Galway” (McCarthy, 1926, p. 388) and even that was short lived. This development represented a major setback for Rice’s mission and his capacity to provide education for the poor.

The myths, as McLaughlin (2007) terms them, are perpetuated in the folklore of the Christian Brothers about the reasoning behind leaving the National Scheme. At this time Rice may well have been more concerned with the preservation of the unity of the Brothers, now splintered over the issue. Whatever the reason, the effect of the decision was to initiate a major change in Ricean education policy. Up to this point Rice had proven himself to be adroit in negotiating difficult relationships across the religious divide. But the “withdrawal from the National Board marked a reversal of Rice’s long-standing and consistent policy of co-operation and collaboration with and consideration for other stakeholders in the mission of educating the poor” (McLaughlin, 2007, p. 296).

Whereas Rice was pragmatic in developing his mission his successor, Br Riordan, “wanted security of tenure above all else” (McLaughlin, p. 297). While Rice “repudiated unreflective adherence to structures in themselves” (ibid, p. 298), Riordan pursued the acquisition of property “that we could call our own” (ibid). The possibility of achieving security of tenure and financial stability was, once again, mooted by the introduction of a payment by results system in primary schools in 1872 following its recommendation in the Report of the Powis Commission in 1870. Walsh (2007) notes that the system, while beneficial to the pay and conditions of teachers, was generally felt to be unsuitable by the end of the 19th century. Nonetheless a payments by results regime was instituted for second level schools with the passing of the 1878 Intermediate Education Act. Madaus et al (1987) note that, at second level, the payments by results scheme survived until 1924, two years after the Irish Free State

¹⁵ This explains, in part, the uneven nature of the establishment of new schools. Some Bishops did not welcome the Brothers and, for example, there has never been a Christian Brother schools in the diocese of Raphoe which encompasses most of county Donegal. Yet the Bishop of the diocese of Derry, which includes parts of north Donegal, invited the Christian Brothers to open a school in 1854 (www.ERSTNI). The net effect was that the Brothers did not open schools in large swathes of the Irish speaking parts of Ireland.

was established. Under the scheme “schools were paid on the basis of student examination performance (ibid, p. 80).

The Payment by Results system created by the Act made it possible for Catholic schools to obtain public monies without submitting to State control. Furthermore the “Intermediate Act imposed no restriction on the freedom of the teacher in imparting religious instruction, and did not forbid the use of religious emblems” (McCarthy, 1926, p. 482). With the attractiveness of the scheme obvious to the Brothers, Br McCarthy goes on to say:

Hence the Brothers availed immediately of the advantages the system offered, and for the first time the Christian Schools had the opportunity of entering the arena of public tests and measuring their standard of achievement by comparison with others in the same field (ibid).

Less obvious were the negative effects the Payment by Results system might have on the curriculum offered, on the educational experiences provided, and not least on a school’s mission to the children of poorer families. The outcome was that the secondary system became an increasingly important choice when opening new schools and funds from the Payments by Results system provided a valuable source of income for the Brothers. The secondary schools established during this period quickly became the preserve of the relatively well off, those who could afford to pay fees and who would be most motivated to achieve in public examinations.

The capitation payments to the residents housed in the residential or industrial schools were also eagerly sought after by various religious congregations, including the Christian Brothers who opened up six such institutions to avail of funds. The largest industrial school was St. Joseph’s in Artane, later to feature prominently in the Ryan Report (Government Publications, 2009). Built on a gargantuan scale, the corridor on the ground floor runs to an uninterrupted 108 metres (356 feet). The refectory could accommodate all of its maximum capacity of 825 boys at one sitting. While the number of secondary and industrial schools grew, the number of primary schools stagnated. Following the passing of the Industrial School Act (Ireland) in

1868 the Christian Brothers “soon occupied the dominant position in the industrial school system. Between 1868 and 1894 they had control of six industrial schools spread across the country, certified to take in a total of 1,750 boys” (Government Publications, 2009, 6.08)¹⁶. The appalling experience of many who were incarcerated there has already been described in the introduction and it is laid bare in the Ryan Report.

3.4. Contrasting Emphases: Nationally and Internationally

The most striking feature about the poor state of the health of the mission in the aftermath of the withdrawal from the National Board of Education is that, from 1836 to 1846 only three new schools were opened in Ireland, but in England the Brothers opened eleven new establishments in addition to one in Sydney. The growth in the mission to England was a consequence of not having opportunities in Ireland so that, by 1847 seventy-three Brothers ran fifteen schools (McCarthy, 1926, p. 407).

Right from its inauguration Rice’s fledgling pontifical institute was asked to meet the needs of the Irish immigrants who had settled in England. The “History of the Institute” documents the expansion of the Institute in pithy terms:

The first House of the institute outside Ireland was opened in Preston, England, in 1825. During the following ten years many establishments were founded in that country. Gibraltar, opened in 1835, was the most distant from Ireland up to 1842, when the Superior was called upon to send Brothers to far-off Sydney (Congregation of Christian Brothers, *History of the Institute*, n.d., p. 347).

This rather short account belies the strides that the Congregation of Christian Brothers made internationally during a period of relative stagnation in Ireland. At the time of Rice’s death in

¹⁶ Artane was certified to incarcerate a maximum of 825 boys; Tralee (Kerry), 145; Salthill (Galway), 200; Glin (Limerick), 200; Letterfrack (Galway), 200 and Dun Laoghaire (Dublin), 250. Five of the six industrial were called St Joseph’s, the exception being Carriglea Park in Dun Laoghaire.

1844 there were sixteen Christian Brother foundations in Ireland with others in England, Gibraltar and Australia. The foundations outside Ireland were largely to be found in communities associated with the immigrant Irish population. During the period 1840 to 1870, this number grew to 72. Br Michael Riordan's accession to the role of Superior General in 1832 brought a new vigour to the Congregation and the increasing number of Brothers meant that it was possible to accede to the requests to open more schools (see Table 2). By 1870 the Brothers had 69 primary schools in Ireland. Some of these had advanced classes, the secondary "top". They also established three residential or industrial schools during this period, including the largest of its type in Artane, Dublin which had a capacity of 825 boys.

Rice's work had attracted favourable comment from the very beginning. This included those who might reasonably have been expected to oppose the uncompromisingly Catholic nature of his undertaking. When writing to the House of Lords, a Protestant Member of Parliament, Lord Clifden, commented on the "numbers of well-educated and well-conducted boys" (Normoyle, 1979, p. 237) that came from Rice's school in Waterford. Rice never sought to find enemies and McLaughlin (2007) concludes that, although Rice's educational mission:

... was uncompromisingly Catholic, it was a welcoming, inviting, tolerant, liberal Catholicism. In addition, while Rice's education was unashamedly Irish, it was neither anti-English nor anti-Protestant (p. 288)

Nor did Rice's work go unnoticed in England and his schools were the subject of visits from others interested in the education of the poor, including the originator of the Lancaster Monitorial system Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838)¹⁷. On April 26th 1815, the Waterford Mirror reported that "Mr. Joseph Lancaster lectured in the Schools under the care of the philanthropic Mr. E. Rice of this City". Rice's modesty was well known and he "declined to give evidence to the Royal Commission on Education in 1825, sending his deputy instead" (Keogh, 2008, p. 15). Rice's system was also described in this report where it was noted that

¹⁷ Joseph Lancaster (1778-1847) was an English Quaker who developed the Monitorial system of mass education. Rice greatly admired his contemporary's views on education. Lancaster also coined the phrase "a place for everything and everything in its place" (Corston, 1840).

the commissioners had visited one of the Dublin schools situated at Hanover Street East and those at Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Thurles.

The lengthy period of the leadership of Br Riordan, Rice's successor, began in 1838 and ended with his death in 1862. It saw the emergence of a more nationalistic view among the second generation of Brothers. The Brothers during this period endorsed the worldview of Cardinal Cullen who, as Rafferty (2011) observed, saw that his mission was "to rescue this Catholic country from the ... religious inferiority in which it now lies" (p. 74). The endorsement of this view led the Brothers to adopt a "spirit of anti-English Irishness and anti-Protestant Roman Catholicism" (Coldrey, 1988, p. 53). While Rice had always focused "on the essential mission of his brotherhood" (McLaughlin, 2007, p. 289) a more nationalistic view took hold under Riordan's extended period of tenure as Superior General. A dramatic distinction between the first and second generation of Brothers emerges. As Kent (1988) observes "the majority of the first generation of Brothers had not cultivated strong nationalistic views and did not construe their educational mission as an agency of nationalism" (p. 19). Gradually, and especially under Riordan's leadership, they provided an education that was both Catholic and nationalistic and a counter cultural force to be reckoned with. The desire to conflate the successes of their secondary schools with the strength of Irish nationalism deepened the competitive instinct of the Brothers, a deflection from the central mission to the poor.

3.5 Developments in Ireland 1922-1965

The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 allowed Catholics to vote in limited number, to become members of parliament and hold other civil positions. But a provision in the Act forbade religious orders from receiving new members and anyone taking religious vows was liable to be banished from Ireland for life. Rice went to London to meet with the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, and asked for this provision to be set aside. While unsuccessful, the latter told Rice that it was unlikely that it would ever be put into practice (Fitzpatrick, 1945, p. 223). Daniel O'Connell opined the view that "it is quite impossible that any prosecution should be

successful” (ibid). The Brothers proceeded to enrol new members. Nonetheless a feature of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers was that it “remained an illegal organisation until the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922” (Keogh, 1996, p. 78).

The order of things changed dramatically after independence and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. While the figure is not readily available it is most likely that, at independence, there were approximately 31,000 pupils in Christian Brother establishments. These were served by approximately 800 Brothers living in seventy seven establishments on the island of Ireland (Marino Archive) who enthusiastically endorsed a nationalist agenda. Table 3 provides more details of the growth in the number of schools. Following the establishment of the Free State, which subsequently became the Irish Republic on April 18 1949, the Christian Brothers were no longer a counter cultural force but a provider of an education that was both Catholic and nationalistic in nature. It published its own textbooks and a periodical, *Our Boys*, promoting its ideals (Keogh, 2015). With regard to this magazine, although it “appeared triumphalist, in reality it was rooted in a chronic fear that those values would be rejected by the youth” (ibid p. 700).

The Catholic Church held powerful sway with the State following independence. Against such a background O’Donoghue points out that the Department of Education’s view was “that it was not prudent to involve teachers and educationalists in policy development” (1999, p. 122). Instead the department sent out details of its intentions to each party and awaited responses. There was no attempt to bring all the partners into open discussion. This is in marked contrast to the *modus operandi* of the National Education Convention (ibid, p. 194) where the various educational partners engaged in public for the first time.

The discussions on a proposed council of education during the 1940s and 1950s and the sustained opposition to any such proposal are evidence demonstrating that “the Catholic Church in Ireland was not interested in Catholic social teaching if it led to the establishment of institutions where major proposals for new curriculum patterns could be aired” (ibid, p.

124). When such a council was eventually established in 1952, comprising 32 members, it could hardly be said to be representative. The Chairman was to be a bishop along with 13 other clerics. There were only two lay secondary school teachers and three from the primary sector. Furthermore “all members were selected as private individuals rather than as representatives of their organisations” (Ibid, p. 126). It was hardly surprising that its 1954 report on primary education was ineffectual. A subsequent 1960 report that addressed secondary schooling articulated the view that the purpose of education was “the inculcation of religious ideals and values and also that the curriculum should be of the grammar schools type” (Ibid, p. 127). But, even as this report was published, far-reaching change was afoot.

Such change had been prefigured with the publication of the programme for national expansion of 1958, with an emphasis on economic expansion requiring an educated workforce that demanded a broader curriculum and educational provision. An announcement by the Minister of Education, Dr Patrick Hillary, on May 30 1963, that there would be no question of involvement of outside bodies prior to new policy initiatives, heralded a new reality for the Church. In fact, O’Donoghue (1999) concludes that the State “sought to replace the Church as the major driving force” (p. 128).

While this development occurred in the 1960s the argument could be advanced that that the emergence of a distinct State sector began in earnest with the passing of the Vocational School Act in 1930. This created Vocational Educational Committees in each county. It was another blow to the expansion of the mission of the Christian Brothers, although they may not have perceived it as such at the time. For secondary schools, the emergence of what was often disparagingly referred to as the “tech” meant that poor pupils went directly to vocational schools while the voluntary secondary schools, in the form of “Brothers” or “Convent” schools, became the destination of choice for the aspiring middle classes. It has to be noted moreover that fees were still charged to all who attended voluntary secondary schools until 1967. Although reduced fees were a frequent feature and scholarships were awarded in many schools and by county councils, education was not free to all.

The number of Christian Brother primary and secondary schools continued to grow during the period following the establishment of the Irish Free State. By 1940, the Christian Brothers had 86 primary schools and 71 secondary schools in Ireland but the number of residential or industrial schools had fallen to 9. Over nine hundred Brothers served these schools, living in 83 foundations. Shortly after the declaration of the Irish Republic, in 1949, the 1950 archive statistics show that there were 89 primary schools, 74 secondary schools while the number of residential or industrial schools remained at 9. The number of foundations and communities continued to increase. In 1950 there were 91 communities, housing 1,151 Brothers, the vast majority of which were teaching in the three forms of establishments: primary schools, secondary schools and residential or industrial schools (see Table 2).

The last available complete set of statistics in this form date from December 31 1960, shortly before Vatican II convened. At this point, there were 103 primary schools, the largest recorded, and 79 secondary schools while the number of residential or industrial schools had fallen to 8. The number of pupils stood at 57,259 while 1,282 Brothers (this figure includes novices not yet fully professed) lived in 96 foundations or communities serving their schools. Therefore, on the island of Ireland, a total of 190 school settings were under the trusteeship of the Irish Congregation of Christian Brothers. The number of Irish-born Christian Brothers continued to rise reaching its apogee of 1,585 (this number includes 166 novices) in 1965, coinciding with the ending of Vatican II. At this point, with the largest number of establishments being served by the greatest number of Brothers, the health of the mission seemed to be strong and its future assured. But the core of the mission had, to some extent, been hollowed out. There was less of a commitment to the poor and a greater emphasis on demonstrating the superiority of their methods through success at examinations. The preoccupation of the Christian Brothers with the maintenance and extension of their institution in Ireland allowed attention to the core features of Rice's commitment to be sidelined.

3.6 Conclusion

The objectives of this chapter were fourfold. The first was to trace historically the early developments in Rice's spirituality and to assess the challenges that he faced in his educational mission to educate poor Catholic boys. The varied sources and inspirations that are at the heart of his spirituality were seen to have impelled him to begin his mission to educate poor Catholic boys. His ambition was to provide an integrated and avowedly Catholic education, one that transitioned seamlessly between evangelisation and other elements of the curriculum.

The second was to analyse the early challenges, advances and setbacks to his mission in the face of financial difficulties and how that mission was affected by the response of the Brothers to a number of State funding initiatives. Rice emerged as a very successful businessman who used his personal fortune to pragmatically fund his charitable efforts. He attempted to avail of State funds to further develop his endeavour via the National Scheme. Despite Rice's enthusiasm for the scheme, the wish to maintain the unity of his religious congregation meant that this did not come to pass. It was left to his successors to avail of a subsequent scheme, payment by results. The relative success of this initiative altered the focus of the Brothers in two respects, with more secondary schools being opened and a subsequent loss of focus on the needs of the poor, with their competitive instincts being sharpened in the public arena of national examinations.

The third was to trace developments in the tenor of the mission both in Ireland and internationally as the congregation spread its wings, first to England and then to other countries. The congregation rapidly established schools in other English speaking countries like Australia and had also opened schools in both the United States and Canada. The initial impetus for these developments was the inability to establish schools in Ireland, following their withdrawal from the National Scheme. The mission at this juncture, the period 1832 to Rice's death in 1844, was still in a healthy state, as the schools established abroad were very

much in the service of the poor, particularly the sons of Irish emigrants. In Ireland the focus of the poor gradually faded with a concentration on examination success further deflecting from Rice's founding aspiration.

The final objective was to review such developments at a later period: from Irish independence in 1922 until 1965, the year in which Vatican II ended. While the choice of these developments was selective, the choice of key moments helped to appraise the impact of defining societal and political developments on the fortunes of Rice's mission. It has been established that the number of schools continued to grow in Ireland along with an expansion in the number of Brothers, rising to an apogee in 1965. Other developments during the mid-1960s led to further challenges for the Christian Brothers as an influential force in Irish education. These developments included a stronger national economy, the adoption of an international stance and calls for more attention in schooling to the requirements of a skilled workforce. The State also adopted a less obsequious stance to the Catholic Church where matters educational were concerned. Moreover, the convoking of Vatican II by Pope John XXIII in 1959 was to have considerable implications for all religious congregations, including the Christian Brothers. These two themes, the developments in State educational policy from 1960 to 1999 and the parallel developments for the Christian Brothers, are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The Fortunes of the Founding Spirit: 1960 to 1999

The decision to hold an ecumenical council came to Us in the first instance in a sudden flash of inspiration. We communicated this decision, without elaboration, to the Sacred College of Cardinals on that memorable day, January 25 1959. The response was immediate. It was as though some ray of supernatural light had entered the minds of all present: it was reflected in their faces; it shone from their eyes.

From the opening address of Saint John XXIII to the
Second Vatican Council on October 11 1962.

4.1 Introduction

The last chapter reviewed the fortunes of the founding spirit and central mission of Edmund Rice from its inception in 1802 to the convoking of Vatican II in 1959. It was suggested that the 1960s began with a sense of optimism for religious congregations including the Christian Brothers, whose numbers continued to grow. This was ultimately seen to be misplaced as by the end of the decade many religious congregations were beginning a period of decline both in terms of their numbers and their influence, particularly in Ireland. Two areas will form the focus of this chapter. In large measure the two, while occurring in tandem, rarely intersected. The first is an outline of the developments in State educational policy, with particular reference to the second level system, from 1960 onwards and encompassing the passing of the Education Act in 1998. These developments would have major implications for the mission of the Christian Brothers. The second focus concerns developments affecting the Christian Brothers' congregation from the mid-1960s to the decision to establish their

successor trustee body, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, in November 1999. The developments in State policy meant that religious congregations such as the Christian Brothers would find themselves operating in a different landscape, less deferential to Church influence and more outward looking.

4.2 The State Policy Arena from 1960 - 1999

The Irish Free State, established in January 1922, was beset by many problems not least its poor financial position. The civil war that followed immediately after independence also deeply divided society. With little available funding to develop a State system of education the existing religious controlled schools continued to be the dominant force in the second level sector. Coolahan (2017) observes that, in this regard, “Irish politicians had learned the lesson that the church viewed the control of schooling as its prerogative” (p. 59). The Christian Brothers, with a predominantly nationalist perspective, were quick to grasp the new reality of an independent State and met with representatives of the first Dáil in the days after its convening in 1918 and had entered into negotiations for funding by the summer of 1920, six months before the emergence of the Irish Free State (Titley, 1983, p. 114). Now, however, they were not operating *de jure* as an illegal entity (Keogh, 1996, p. 78) but rather as an important participant in a new nationalist and Catholic establishment. Titley (1983) characterised the relationship between Church and State in the decades following independence as one where each worked “Hand in Hand” (p. 126). An *alumnus* of Mount Sion, General Richard Mulcahy, the former Chief of Staff of the Irish Republican Army, who served as the Minister of Education from 1948 to 1951 and again from 1954 to 1957, exemplified this position. He held the view that the State “had no right to interfere with the authority of the Church” (O’Donoghue, 1999, p. 120).

There was also active opposition by the Catholic Church to the possibility that lay persons would operate secondary schools. The role of schooling in producing future religious and

clerics was seen to be essential to their continued interests. Jeremiah Newman's extensive study (1962) found that 24.8% of the students attending a diocesan college opted for the priesthood during the period 1956-1960. In Juniorates, such as those operated by the Christian Brothers, 65.1% of students became religious during this period. It appears that "the conditions least conducive to the production of clerics existed in day schools run by the laity, particularly those which were co-educational" (O'Donoghue, 1999, p. 114). Titley (1983) concludes that the determination of the Irish Bishops "to retain exclusive clerical control of secondary schooling and to limit lay involvement" (p. 150) made sense from their perspective.

This situation pertained during what Titley calls the "years of hegemony" (ibid) of Eamon De Valera as Taoiseach that ended with his becoming President in 1959 when he was replaced by Sean Lemass. During Lemass's seven year tenure in this role the Irish State, with a renewed sense of vigour following the publication of the *Programme of Economic Expansion* (Government Publications, 1958), took an increasingly active role in education. Setting out modest targets for economic progression covering the period 1958-1963, there was no specific mention of education. But the success of the first programme led to the promulgation of the *Second Programme for Economic Expansion*, covering the period 1963-1968. Special attention was to be devoted to education. A strategic commitment to this hitherto relatively neglected area of State involvement was expressed in the following terms:

In the second programme special attention is devoted to education and training. Since our wealth lies ultimately in our people, the aim of educational policy must be to enable all individuals to realise their full potential as human persons (Government Publications, 1963, p. 13).

The key aspect of this aspiration is the concern to enable all individuals to realise their full potential. Second level education up to the late sixties was for a minority; those whose families could afford to pay the fees, or who won scholarships such as those offered by county and urban councils. But the latter were offered, as O'Donoghue and Harford (2016) note, "to a tiny cohort of students across the country" (p. 2). Many others left school on reaching the minimum school leaving age of fourteen. Ireland's expanding links with

international organisations were noteworthy in promoting attitudinal change (Coolahan, 2017, p. 109). Steadily growing in confidence on the international stage, Ireland began to engage with bodies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In 1962 the Department of Education commissioned the latter to produce a review of the existing educational provision and to attempt to project future needs. The comprehensive report of the Irish survey team, titled *Investment in Education* (Government Publications, 1965) was published in 1965. A “large scale, detailed report” (Coolahan, 2017, p. 111) its publication proved to be the catalyst for a great deal of the developments in education between 1966 and 1980. In a Dáil debate the Minister for Education, Donagh O’Malley, remarked that it “has certainly been a guideline and basic document for us to work on in the future” (O’Malley, 1966).

The dramatic increase in the numbers attending at second level can be attributed both to the growth in population and O’Malley’s initiative that introduced fee-free universal second level education. Announced somewhat unexpectedly in September 1966, it was introduced in September 1967. This scheme revolutionised and galvanised the sector. The increase in the school leaving age in 1972, from fourteen to fifteen years of age, also contributed to the growth in participation in the sector.

The 1966 census (CSO.ie) showed an increase in the population for the first time since the famine of the 1840s, a much-needed boost to the national morale. Despite the economic gloom Coolahan (2017) notes that compared with previous decades, “the period 1960-80 witnessed a dramatic increase in government and public interest in education” (p. 109). Fleming and Harford (2014) describe this period as a more interventionist, strategic policy approach which, in turn, “resulted in significant democratisation of education, particularly at post-primary level” (p. 635).

The *Investment in Education* report was a wakeup call to the State to rise to the challenge of tackling its full range of responsibilities. The bold nature of the O’Malley response, to introduce free secondary education, represented a challenge to the *status quo* in the sector, previously dominated by religious congregations. The State also introduced a number of new models of secondary schools, Comprehensive and Community Schools, during the 1960s and 1970s. Coolahan (2017, p. 110) notes that “these new forms of school emerged as a result of changes in government policy rather than in response to general demand”. These various initiatives led to a dramatic increase in the numbers participating at second level, despite little change in the number of schools. This is best illustrated by the following table:

Table 3: Numbers attending Recognised Secondary Schools 1960 -1980

Year	Number of Schools	Numbers of Pupils in Attendance	Average Enrolment per school
1960	526	76,843	146
1965	573	92,989	162
1970	599	150,642	251
1975	539	173,630	322
1978	531	196,606	370
1980	524	200,626	382

(Department of Education and Skills Annual Statistical Reports: various years)

This table shows a 261% increase in the average enrolment of a secondary school during this seminal period. The question must be asked “where were all these pupils accommodated?” The answer lies in another shift in State policy which, from 1964, provided for capital grants for infrastructural projects in all second level schools, a facility that was readily availed of by religious congregations. O’Malley’s initiative can be seen to be transformational and the possibilities that were offered were eagerly availed of by enormous numbers of students.

With the average school enrolment on the rise there were also increased latitude for expansion in the curriculum, particularly when it came to the broadening of subject choice.

Coolahan (2017) describes the 1980s decade as a “time of great upheaval and frustrated aspirations in education circles” (p. 169). Not the least of the issues was that there were six different ministers for Education in the period 1980-1982. During this period policy papers from the Department of Education, such as that on regional educational authorities, caused much controversy and aroused many expectations, but brought little or no action. From the international oil crisis of the early seventies onwards, a very difficult economic environment meant that financial cutbacks were the order of the day. Despite this an important policy paper, a *White Paper on Educational Development* (Government Publications, 1980), emerged. A more detailed plan emerged in January 1984 with the *Programme for Action, 1984-1987* (Government Publications, 1984). This was followed, in November 1985, by a Green Paper, *Partners in Education – Serving Community Needs* Government Publications, 1985). In a Dáil Éireann debate on its adoption the Minister for Education, Gemma Hussey, noted that it “was not a document published in any haste. It was published after considerable debate and discussion within the Department” (Hussey, 1985). A key proposal in the Green Paper was to introduce regional educational authorities. However, as Coolahan (2017) notes “most stakeholders responded negatively to the proposal” (p. 170). The state of the national finances ensured that little action was taken.

The Irish education system did not have any formal legislative base and while an education act had long been mooted, little had been achieved. The Department of Education issued circular documents, directives and regulations which governed the running of schools, a rather *ad-hoc* arrangement. Another report from the OECD, *Review of Irish Education* (OECD, 1991), “provided a valuable, insightful and analytical study of aspects of the school system and teachers” (Coolahan, 2017, p. 173). It found that the Department of Education was “overstretched simply to administer the education system. Furthermore, it is neither conditioned nor appropriately equipped to advise systematically on policy” (OECD, 1991, p. 39). Among other recommendations, the OECD proposed that a Green Paper be issued that would lead to an education act, the first following Irish independence.

Early in 1991 work began on a Green Paper within the Department of Education. In 1992 the Green Paper, *Education in a Changing World*, emerged to a less than enthusiastic welcome. The main criticisms centred on the “over-emphasis on accountability and an undesirable restructuring of school provision” (Coolahan, 2017, p. 174), along with the view that education was being made an instrument of the economy. Late changes made by two short-term ministers, Noel Davern and Seamus Brennan (both Fianna Fáil), had altered both the tone and content of the original paper prepared under Minister Mary O’Rourke. (Coolahan, *ibid*, pp. 173-174). The lack of consensus that greeted the paper led the new minister for Education Niamh Bhreathnach (Labour) to call together a National Education Convention, held over a two week period in October 1993. Its deliberations were further developed in follow-up sessions of participant working groups. Key to the success of this event was the open engagement between the educational partners who, heretofore, would each have had bi-lateral discussions with Department of Education officials. This long-standing policy, whereby the Department issued plans and then amended them to address the concerns voiced by the educational partners meant they seldom engaged in open dialogue. Armed with the National Convention Report (Coolahan, 1994) the Department set about preparing the White Paper *Charting our Education Future* that emerged (Government Publications, 1995). This “won widespread approval, encouraging planning for the way ahead” (Coolahan, 2017, p. 219). This was greatly assisted by the dialogue and levels of consensus that had been reached during the National Education Convention. The White Paper “was based on five educational principles: pluralism, equality, partnership, quality and accountability” (*ibid*, p. 174)). Legislation based on these five principles would bring decisive changes to the traditional pattern of Church – State relations in Ireland, where Church authorities were not used to be held accountable to the State, being, in their view, accountable to a higher power.

Following the publication of *Charting our Education Future*, the Department of Education began to plan for an Education Act. Its passing, in 1998, gave a new legislative iteration to many features of the system and set out roles and responsibilities of many agencies, such as the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment and the Inspectorate. The OECD (1991) critique of the Department of Education proved to be the catalyst for almost all of the actions

of the 1990s. What was also noteworthy was the centrality of the principles that had been promulgated in the White Paper in 1995, *Charting our Education Future* (Government Publications, 1995). Pluralism, equality, partnership, quality and accountability became the foundational principles underpinning the Education Act and Irish law more generally from the late-nineties onwards. The principle of partnership is enshrined in Section 14 (1) of the act where it is stated that:

It shall be the duty of a patron, for the purposes of ensuring that a recognised school is managed in a spirit of partnership, to appoint where practicable a board of management the composition of which is agreed between patrons of schools, national associations of parents, recognised school management organisations, recognised trade unions and staff associations representing teachers and the Minister (Government Publications, 1998).

Provisions such as these indicated a likely future diminution of the influence of religious congregations. Cunningham (2009) notes that these had become accustomed to keeping trade unions and staff associations at bay, rather than regarding them as educational partners. While there had been some indications of a new reality during the National Education Convention, where each party had to openly state their position, now these underlying principles had the force of legislation. Nor was there any comfort for religious congregations when it came to accountability. The Education Act contained provisions for accountability to parents, such as the requirement to circulate the school plan to them. Additional provisions in the area of the need for audited accounts would also require a change of mind set. The need to provide for a grievance procedure would test the sense of freedom heretofore enjoyed by religious in the running of their schools. Statutory roles for other bodies, such as the Inspectorate, would also have the effect of bringing outside scrutiny into all recognised schools. The passing of the Education Act was the culmination of nearly four decades of increased levels of State involvement in the field. The relatively uncontested independence of religious congregations, including the Christian Brothers, was now to be subject to a very different reality imposed by the new legislation.

The State also actively involved itself in measures to alleviate educational disadvantage. Primary schools were the focus of early initiatives. The Rutland Street Project, the first of these, was initiated in 1969 (Holland, 1979; Kellaghan and Greaney, 1993). Supported by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation, a Dutch based philanthropic agency, it provided support for pre-school children in Dublin's north inner-city. It was not embedded in any meaningful way but remains a model worthy of mention for its innovative measures, including the provision of school meals as an essential aid to learning, prefigured in Rice's early efforts. The first national scheme in the educational arena was the *Disadvantaged Area Scheme* (DAS). Introduced in 1984 it did include secondary schools. In order to participate in this scheme schools were assessed and their needs prioritised on the basis of socio-economic and educational indicators such as unemployment levels, housing, medical card holders and information on basic literacy and numeracy (Kellaghan et al, 1995). A further scheme, *Breaking the Cycle*, introduced in 1996, applied only in primary schools (O'Toole, 2000; Weir, 2003). A successor scheme, *Giving Children an Even Break* (2001) allocated additional resources in relation to the level of concentration of disadvantage in each school (Weir, 2004).

Shortly after the Christian Brothers made the decision to establish the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, in December 1999, the Minister for Education and Science, Niamh Breathnach (Labour), announced a new package of measures designed to alleviate educational disadvantage. The package, entitled *The New Deal: A Plan for Educational Opportunity* (Government Publications, 1999) involved spending £194 million (or €246 million) over a three-year period on a variety of initiatives to tackle educational disadvantage.

By the late 1990s religious congregations were no longer facing a largely acquiescent State where educational policy was concerned. The reality of their much reduced numbers and the calls for an increased role for the laity which emerged from Vatican II were particular challenges. But the State had, however tentatively, with the passing of the Education Act in 1998, committed itself to addressing educational disadvantage with a commitment in

section 32 of the act to establish a committee to advise on strategies to alleviate educational disadvantage. Almost two centuries after Rice's pioneering intervention in Waterford, the Irish government gave a legal basis to its own commitment to address inequalities through its education policies.

Many of the previous initiatives such as the Rutland Street Project, Giving children an Even Break and the Disadvantaged Areas Scheme, were noteworthy for their piecemeal provision. But the Flagship State response in the area came in the new century, as did many other policy initiatives arising from the Education Act. The Delivering Equality in Schools (DEIS) programme (Government Publications, 2005), was designed to be an integrated programme with additional teacher allocation and supplementary financial resources. The scheme was initiated in May 2005. Individual schools were invited to apply for the scheme and not all were successful, including some that had been part of the Disadvantaged Areas Scheme. The scheme was implemented in both primary and secondary schools in 2006 and thereafter it became a familiar feature of the landscape of both primary and secondary school settings in Ireland. The scheme was subsequently revised in 2017 (Government Publications, 2017).

4.3 Developments for the Christian Brothers 1960 -1999

An historic moment for the Christian Brothers in Ireland occurred in 1956, with the division of the Congregation in Ireland into two distinct provinces, or organisational structures. This was due to the large number of Christian Brothers at the time. By 1965, as Vatican II concluded, the Congregation had 3,709 members throughout the world, with 897 of these affiliated to the two Irish provinces: St Helen's and St Mary's (see table 5). The proportion of Irish-born Brothers remained remarkably similar from 1965 onwards (see table 5).

After Vatican II many individual members of congregations, for a variety of reasons, began to question whether there was a need for them to remain as members when they could continue their vocation as teachers as part of the lay community. They would then not have to observe religious vows, typically those of poverty, chastity and obedience (Power, 2008; O'Donnell-Gibson, 2011; Zenchoff, 2017). Following such a path would also allow them to marry and have their own children and family life, an option taken by many. This exodus was a feature for all religious orders with Stark and Finke (2002) noting that there is an "immense similarity in the percentage" (p. 125) leaving religious life following Vatican II. Arbuckle (1987) concludes that many religious and their communities went into a state of cultural malaise, confusion or anomie after Vatican II. This triggered the movement in which many thousands withdrew from religious life and the priesthood. The implications for religious congregations such as the Christian Brothers were profound with younger members leaving while there were fewer new vocations to replace them. At the same time there was a burgeoning numbers of pupils attending at second level. This confluence of events meant that there was an increasing need to employ lay teachers. The following table illustrates the changing dynamic in the relative proportions of lay and religious teachers who received incremental salaries in the second level system during the period 1965/66 to 1995/96.

Table 4 Numbers of Lay and Religious Teachers in receipt of Incremental Salaries from the Department of Education

Year	Lay	Religious	Total
1965/66	1,233	968	2,191
1970/71	4,923	2,349	7,272
1975/76	7,455	2,375	9,830
1980/81	9,634	2,106	11,740
1985/86	10,098	1,804	11,902
1990/91	10,375	1,175	11,550
1995/96	11,983	753	12,736

Source: Department of Education Statistics, various years.

For the Christian Brothers answering the call from Vatican II to re-interrogate the roots of their foundation resulted in a re-examination of the life and motivations of Edmund Rice. His memory seems not to have been explicitly celebrated or cherished. Bellows (1988) declares that Rice was rarely mentioned during his formation to be a Christian Brother in the 1930s. Given this call it is not surprising that during the years immediately after Vatican II, “founderology”, as it was termed by George, (1977, p. 40) was taken very seriously. The search for identity, for the roots of where they had come from, was a focus for religious congregations as they grappled with the details and demands of Vatican II.

A key moment for the future trusteeship of second level schools arrived with the decision of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS) to establish a working party in 1972. The purpose was to review the likely future facing religious involvement in education, including that of the Christian Brothers. This was partly in response to the new directions encouraged by Vatican II. Additionally there was a rather disturbing imperative – the reality of falling numbers of religious available to staff schools, particularly in the burgeoning secondary sector.

The report produced by the CMRS working party in 1973 was titled *The Future Involvement of Religious in Education*. It is best known by its acronym, the FIRE Report (CMRS, 1973). It gives an incisive analysis of the situation facing religious congregations. It was “not intended for publication or for wide circulation, as this would have inhibited the manner of expression of certain views and recommendations” (ibid, p.6). It outlined the stark reality of the future involvement of religious in education by means of a forensic analysis of the emerging trends, such as the increasing number of lay teachers in schools and the ageing population of religious, along with the fall in vocations to religious life then being experienced by all religious congregations (Stark and Finke, 2000, p. 125). The report concentrated on the involvement of religious teaching at second level, or post-primary education, “this being the area where problems are seen to be concentrated” (ibid, p. 4). The identification of the problem area as being at second level indicates the level of concern felt by religious. It was in this sector that

the dramatic increase in pupil participation, combined with the reduced numbers of available religious, resulted in an enormous increase in the number of lay teachers. The inevitability of reduced influence in the sector loomed large.

The aim of the report was “to suggest the role which religious should play in Irish post-primary education in the future, and to recommend ways of exercising that role” (ibid p. 1). The rationale for the involvement of religious is questioned. Religious schools, the introduction states, “are less and less needed to provide a service in education: the State will increasingly care for that aspect (ibid).” It opines that “religious schools now do little more than duplicate, more efficiently perhaps, what could be done by laymen” (ibid). On the need for immediate action the report is clear, for, without unified action “religious will find themselves an aging [sic], overworked body running increasingly inefficient and inflexible schools” (ibid, p. 5).

The report considered six possible future scenarios. The continuum of proposed actions ranged from doing nothing and maintaining all their existing schools under the current structures of ownership, management and headship, to concentrating on areas of special educational need rather than on the generality of second level education. The former scenario was deemed not to be tenable and the latter not feasible. Other scenarios involved the concentration of resources on smaller numbers of schools or even complete disengagement and the transfer of teaching personnel to state schools.

The Christian Brothers considered response to the CMRS FIRE report can only be described as hostile. They did not have any representation on the working party, despite the number of schools in its network. Forwarded to the CMRS in June 1973, only a few months after the original publication, the “Response of the Christian Brothers to the FIRE Report” (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1973) directly questioned the need for the report in the first instance. It began:

An argument emphasized over and over again in the Report is the declining ratio of Religious in the schools. One gathers the impression that because of “declining

numbers of vocations”, “aging [sic] religious”, etc., that religious congregations are actually dying out. Little attention is paid to the fact that the number of religious in secondary schools has actually increased since 1965 ... The assumption that religious vocations will continue to decline is an arbitrary one, subject to challenge (Christian Brothers, 1973, p. 1).

While 1965 saw the Congregation with its highest ever memberships across the world and a gradual decline from that point (see Table 5), the overall number of Christian Brothers in Ireland had, in fact, risen in the years following Vatican II, from 897 in 1965 to 938 in 1971. This phenomenon has been investigated by Stark and Finke (2000) who conclude that in conservative Catholic countries, like Spain, Portugal and Ireland, the decline in the numbers of religious lagged behind the ending of Vatican II as many Bishops were slow to implement all of the Council’s recommendations. The decline was not confined to male religious and there is an “immense similarity in the percentages of decline in the numbers of women religious from 51 percent in the Netherlands to 44 percent in France” (p. 125). But this represented the high water mark of membership of the Congregation in Ireland and its numbers have declined during each successive year. The Christian Brothers’ leadership at this time seemed to hold the view that there was no immediate risk to the future strength of the congregation. Additionally, despite the situation facing religious, there was no appetite to include lay teachers in positions of responsibility and they “formed one clearly marginalised group” (O’Donoghue, 1999, p. 111). Another such group were parents who “were almost completely barred from taking any part in the policy process at school level” (ibid, pp. 115-116). The lack of linkage between home and school was also exacerbated by the reality that “those religious not also engaged in social work in the community were not expected to visit the houses of pupils without the express leave of their superiors” (ibid, p. 116).

The response of the Brothers to the report (Christian Brothers, 1973) takes the form of restating the original 15 recommendations from the report, providing a severely critical commentary and making 15 alternative recommendations which are often radically different. It is, in effect, an ‘Anti FIRE Report’, withering in tone. It also extensively quoted from various Vatican documents, such as *Gravissimum Educationis*, to bolster certain

positions, in contrast to the relatively jargon free language in the FIRE Report itself. The response of the Christian Brothers showed that they were keen to maintain an independent line. After the Brothers' strident commentary on the FIRE report they were involved in the authorship of the next document from the CMRS that attempted to encourage the various Irish religious congregations to consider their future in education. *Focus for Action* (CMRS, 1974) was issued by the Men's Section of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS). This report considered appropriate action to be taken by religious in the period 1975-1980. Some of the recommendations seem optimistic at this remove, including the intention of becoming involved in adult education, then largely under the remit of the Vocational schools. The document also recommended that the "integral place of the laity in the Church must be generally and fully recognised, and a true sharing by the laity of the mission of the Church brought about" (II, 7). But little of significance occurred in progressing the recommendations in the report during this period, one during which the number of religious continued to decline while the numbers of lay teachers continued to increase.

It has earlier been noted that the 1980s were a "time of great upheaval and frustrated aspirations in education circles" (Coolahan, 2017, p. 169). Doubtless, the progressive decline in new members was a factor here. By 1980 the number of Christian Brothers in Ireland fell from its 1979 high point of 983 to 800. And by 1990 it stood at 582 (Marino archive). The number actively involved in teaching was lower still.

During the mid-1990s many religious congregations in Ireland were involved in internal debates as to the best way forward for the schools under their trusteeship. Congregational discussions were fed into and became part of various representative bodies' common positions. The successor organisation to CMRS, the Conference of Religious of Ireland (CORI), was particularly active at this time in exploring possible structures for trusteeship. The Christian Brothers took an active part in these discussions. In 1997 CORI issued *The Future of Trusteeship: A Review of some options for the way forward* (CORI, 1997A). It referred to an earlier publication – *Handbook for Trustees* (CORI, 1996) and noted that this had spoken of the need for change in response to four separate factors. These included the declining

membership and ageing profile of the congregations themselves. The other three reflect current concerns: rationalisation, growing pluralism in Irish society and the ongoing efforts encouraging regionalisation of decision making and administration in the education system.

Partly due to the level of inward migration experienced in Ireland after the 1997 CORI publication (CORI, 1997A), there was little rationalisation in the secondary school sector. In fact the demand for school places increased. The White Paper, *Charting our Education Future*, (Government Publications, 1995) contained proposals for regionalisation of decision making and administration in the voluntary secondary education system. But these did not find their way into the Education Act (Government Publications, 1998). Whatever rationalisation at trusteeship level has occurred since then has been confined to the Education and Training Board sector, arising out of the amalgamation of Vocational Education Committees. There has been a limited degree of rationalisation of schools between different congregations such as the amalgamation in 1983 of the Presentation Secondary School, established in 1883, with St Joseph's Academy for Boys, established by De La Salle Brothers in 1893.

There was agreement that a policy of collaboration among the various religious congregations would avoid duplication of effort. This was an aspect not conspicuous by its presence prior to this. Furthermore an uncomfortable view was expressed in the following terms:

that the Catholic faith community in Ireland, as we come now to the end of the 20th century, is contracting, that there is significant leakage, that it is less coherent and less cohesive, that it is less homogenous, less deferential as a whole to religious authority than a generation ago, and certainly less amenable to organisational or communal structures that are hierarchically fixed. (CORI, 1997A, p. 13).

What was made clear, whatever trusteeship structures would eventually emerge, was that "recovering the original mission of their schools and providing for its continuation remained one of the great challenges facing congregations as they plan for the future of their schools." (ibid, p.15). The use of the word "recovering" is telling in that it implies acceptance of the loss in core priorities and values of various original missions, such as that of Rice. The core of the

mission of religious congregations required a process of re-interrogation before any progress could be made in ensuring its continuation.

By way of conclusion the report noted that despite the difficulties which they face:

...religious congregations believe that they can continue to exert a positive and distinctive influence on Irish education. One of the ways in which this influence can be exercised is through the trusteeship of their schools. However, there is also a recognition that the present situation cannot be maintained and that there is a need to provide for the orderly transfer of responsibility for trusteeship to others (p.20).

When a further CORI document was issued in 1997, titled *Religious Congregations in Irish Education; A role for the future? A reflection paper* (CORI, 1997B), it again forcefully reiterated that the level of involvement by religious could not be maintained. It went on to state that the reason was obvious – the ongoing decline in the membership of congregations. It outlined the situation in stark terms:

The situation in Voluntary secondary school is illustrative. In the school year 1969/70 there were 2,300 religious in receipt of salaries as teachers and they represented approximately a third of the total number of teachers in Voluntary schools. In 1995/96 the number of religious in Voluntary secondary schools has declined to 753 (5.9% of the total). In addition, of the religious working in secondary schools, it is estimated that about 40% are within ten years of compulsory retirement whereas less than 5% are aged under 35. (CORI, 1997B, p.8)

It has earlier been observed that it was at this time, in 1997, that the World Congregation Leader, Br Garvey, issued the apology to those who were abused in industrial schools in Ireland. Two years later in May 1999 the Taoiseach issued the State apology to the survivors of institutional abuse. This was the same month that the Province Leadership Teams decided to examine in detail what form of education a Christian Brother school should provide in the future and what form its identity should take.

Undertaken at considerable cost this was titled the *Identity Project* and was carried out by researchers from MIE over a three year period, from 1999 to 2001 and a report emerged in 2002, (Coyle and O'Brien, 2002). On the eve of the millennium, the Christian Brothers were now making a strategic decision for the future of their mission while being, simultaneously, in the eye of public opprobrium arising from the emerging abuse allegations. It was intended that important directions for the future were to be identified by the findings of the *Identity Project*. A number of months later, in November 1999, with the ongoing decline in congregation numbers and with little hope of new aspirants, they also decided to press ahead with an independent Christian Brother Trust that was to become the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

At first glance the two initiatives seemed to dovetail into one another. The Identity Project, initiated in 1999, might have been seen as the bedrock on which the Edmund Rice Schools Trusts foundational document, the Charter, would be based. The second initiative, the creation the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and its canonical *alter ego*, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, had the benefit of the findings from the former. In reality however, the two initiatives did not find common ground and there was no overlap between the individuals in each team. The Identity Project was outsourced to MIE who, in turn, appointed two research officers to conduct the study. By contrast the Edmund Rice Schools Trust initiative was very much under the control of the Project Manager and the Project sponsors, the combined province leadership teams of the Christian Brothers.

The Identity project had four aims; firstly, to explore the distinctive nature of an Irish Christian Brother School and, secondly, to engage the partners of the Christian Brother Network of schools in an active dialogue about the future of the schools. The third was to explore the contribution that a Christian Brother school can make to Irish education in a new century while the fourth was to outline a comprehensive range of supports for the Network of schools particularly in the area of school development planning. The overall objective of the Identity Project was “to enable the school communicate, articulate and discern the contribution which

a clearly defined CB school could make to Irish education in the third millennium” (Coyle and O’Brien, 2002, p. 10).

If the scope and depth of the transfer project was to be realised the *Identity Project* would necessarily explore new envisaged realities. Central among these would be how the new network of schools would carry out their mission as one entrusted predominantly to lay people. Related to this, how would the core values of a Christian Brothers mission be successfully cultivated among lay schools leaders, teachers and the broader school community? The provision of formation mechanisms to ensure renewal of the charism would have to be provided for in new and very different circumstances. The terms of reference for the *Identity Project* were limited and did not address these central concerns.

The reality is that there were no involvement of the Christian Brothers Leadership teams in the subsequent research carried out during the *Identity Project*. This lacuna meant that the Brothers took advice on the future direction of Rice’s vision from an outside agency, albeit one associated with the Christian Brothers. The project itself was to be in two phases. The first ran from June to December 1999 with the publication of an interim report. A final report of the first phase was to be completed by July 2000. This was to focus on presenting a statement of core characteristics of a Christian Brother School. The final version of the *Identity Project Report* was published in 2002 (Coyle and O’Brien, 2002). Their proposal for a second phase, involving more schools, was never implemented.

As the introduction to the final report puts it:

The identification of the core characteristics, ethos and philosophy of a CB (Christian Brother) school in the Ireland of the third millennium was regarded as an essential prerequisite to the formulation of the new trusteeship structures; these new structures will initiate the formation of a significant new layer in the dynamic evolution of CB schools over the past 200 years (ibid, p. 1).

The research team found eight characteristics were they regarded as uniquely distinctive to a form of education inspired by Edmund Rice. So, an Edmund Rice school should:

1. Explore a Catholic ethos
2. Promote care for weaker pupils
3. Create good relationships
4. Understand Edmund Rice and the Christian Brother legacy
5. Demonstrate effective leadership
6. Support the holistic development of pupils
7. Inculcate good discipline
8. Encourage achievement

But, as the overall objective of the *Identity Project* was “to enable the school communicate, articulate and discern the contribution which a clearly defined CB school could make to Irish education in the third millennium” (ibid, p. 10), the outcome can, at best, be seen as only partially successful. However its articulation of the characteristics of a Christian Brother school in the new century is important, particularly as it is an Irish formulation, derived from research in Irish schools.

The *Identity Project* cannot then be seen as a foundational project on which to base the creation of a lay trust. The *Identity Project* did not explore in depth any of the practical implications for schools of the 8 characteristics developed and the range of schools that were involved in the research were not representative of the network, particularly when it came to the participation of the then disadvantaged schools. Additionally the title of the final report *Towards an Identity and a Contribution: Findings from the Identity Project* indicated that the authors did not see it as fully foundational for the future. While the report was subsequently listed as one of the documents informing the ERST Project Team its findings were not acted upon and the report was quickly side lined. The number of schools included in the *Identity Project* was limited and no disadvantaged second level school was involved in the research. While the *Identity Project* was one of the foundation documents which will be referred to in a later chapter, very few of the characteristics of an Edmund Rice School identified in its report were incorporated into the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. With a particular focus on the mission to the poor, the possibilities offered by the *Identity Project* could be seen as a

fuller expression of what might lie at the heart of a renewed apostolate for Christian Brothers' schools in the 21st century. It remains a worthy if limited attempt in attempting to establish what Thornber and Gaffney (2014) refer to as mission-based criteria. These are the "principles of decision making drawn from Catholic social teaching and the special spiritual and religious character and gifts (or charism) that underpin the particular ministry" (p. 206). Despite its incomplete nature, and the non-involvement of key figures from among the Christian Brothers, it is an indication of a genuine intent on the part of the Christian Brothers to re-articulate the essential nature of a Ricean education for the 21st century. The title of the last chapter is 'Passing on the Torch' and this is the source for the title for this research.

While the *Identity Project* was being undertaken in Ireland the Congregation of Christian Brothers at an international level were immersed re-interpreting Rice's charism. A period of intense investigation followed the 1996 Congregation Chapter and the publication of its proceedings, *New Beginnings with Edmund* (Christian Brothers, 1996). McLaughlin was particularly to the fore in this process and he identified "four historical sources that invite investigation as, in the absence of a written tradition from Rice appear to provide the optimum insights into Rice's thinking" (2006, p.2). These are, he notes:

- (1) the specific references Rice wrote into the fly of his bible;
- (2) his own letters;
- (3) chapter of the 1832 Rules, of which Rice was the main author; and
- (4) transcripts from interviewed contemporaries of Rice and / or the relatives of friends of his contemporaries (ibid).

McLaughlin concludes that a modern re-interpretation of Rice's charism "highlights the primacy of God (presence), cultivates a communal ethic of care (compassion), and is committed to humanised action based on justice (liberation)" (ibid, p. 1). This "interpretation concerning the fundamental beliefs emanating from Edmund Rice, that form the bases upon which authentic Edmund Rice Education is generated, is consistent with the Christian Brothers Charism Statement (ibid, p. 25). This re-interpretation gradually emerged at the end of the 1990s but it does not appear to have found its way into the life of the Irish schools, despite the reference to *New Beginnings with Edmund* in the *Identity Project* report (Coyle and

O'Brien, 2002, p. 7). This formulation will be contrasted with that of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter during Chapter Seven.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter set out to briefly chart the events in two contemporaneous, albeit rarely intersecting, spheres. It began with a review and analysis of the developments in State policy in education during the period 1960 to 1998, a year before the Christian Brothers decided to establish a lay trust. The second sphere concerned itself with a review and analysis of the events that impacted the Congregation of Christian Brothers during this time. While the events in both spheres are contemporaneous the reality is that as the impact of State educational apparatus waxed, that of the Christian Brothers waned.

The increased level of State involvement during this time saw considerable alteration in the educational landscape facing the religious congregations. The 1966 O'Malley initiative, providing for universal fee-free second level education, in particular, offered both an opportunity and a challenge for all the parties in the sector. For the religious congregations the major increase in the numbers attending their schools represented a considerable challenge given the reduced number of Brothers available to meet the increased demand. It also meant a considerable increase in the number of lay teachers, with a consequent dilution of the influence of religious along with an increased demand from teacher unions such as the Association of Secondary Teachers (ASTI) for lay teachers to hold management positions. The appointments of lay Principals also gathered pace during this period with twenty-one such appointments in 1990-91 alone (Cunningham, 2009, p. 257).

There also appears to be a distinct reluctance to acknowledge that there was an imminent demise in the involvement of the Christian Brothers in their schools in Ireland. The radically different Irish context was not replicated in other countries where the Christian Brothers also operated, and they continued to exercise an option for the poor in countries such as Liberia

and Peru. The 1990s also saw a distinct disengagement by the Christian Brothers from direct involvement in their schools in Ireland and a more active consideration of the future trusteeship of their schools. By the end of the century they had decided on a course of action that would see the complete transfer of their educational mission to lay hands. The character of the mission that was being transferred had changed in important respects. The centrality of Rice's original commitment to the poor frequently receded from centre stage in the post-Vatican II deliberations of the Irish Christian Brothers. The next chapter will examine how that commitment fared in the preparations for the Edmund Rice Schools trust following the November 1999 decision of the Bi-Province Leadership Teams to establish an independent lay trust.

Chapter 5

The Advent of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust 1965-2008

There are different kinds of gifts, but the same Spirit distributes them. There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord. There are different kinds of working, but in all of them and in everyone it is the same God at work.

(Corinthians; 12: 1-3)

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter traced both the emergence of a more energetic, active response on the part of the Irish State in educational policy from the 1960s onwards and the fortunes of Rice's mission during the same period. This chapter will focus on the era from the end of Vatican II in 1965, a gathering that led to a period of debate within religious congregations (Sullivan, 2002), to the launch of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in 2008. This also marks the end of the congregational phase that began with the establishment of the Pontifical Institute in 1821, following the issuing of the Papal decree in September 1820. The launch of the lay trust in 2008 signified the conclusion of an extended period of consideration and discernment on the part of the Christian Brothers as they passed on their educational mission to lay hands.

In *Perfectae Caritatis (The Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life)* (Paulus VI, 1965B), religious congregations were exhorted to revisit their founding charisms in the light of changing circumstances in order to set new expectations for the future. The term charism has a quite specific meaning in the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church. Conscious of this the first aim is to analyse the concept of charism in the theological doctrine of the Catholic Church to provide a context for the other two aims. The second aim is to assess the statements on the charism of the Christian Brothers that emerged in response to this call for evidence of

mission drift, the “unintentional historical process which causes a school in its practices to move away from its foundational mission principles” (Grace, 2017A, p. 1). Mission drift is not unique to religious congregations and others warn of the same danger in any form of social enterprise (Cornforth, 2014). The final aim will be to trace the development of the charism statement of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This takes the form of its religious and educational philosophy, encapsulated in the Charter document prepared in advance of the launch of the trust in 2008. The Charter began life with a short “Draft Vision Statement” that gradually developed into a “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”. From this statement, and via many iterations, the Charter emerged in completed form in late 2005. It was first published in May 2006 and a revised version, with the text unchanged but with a new graphic design, was issued in 2013.

5.2 Charism in the Discourse of the Catholic Church

The theological study of the nature and organisation of the Catholic Church, its ecclesiology, shows a progressive development over time, reflecting the impact of new encyclicals, such as those promulgated after Vatican II. The focus here will be on the impact of the call from the Second Vatican Council for religious congregations to renew the charism of their founder. For the Christian Brothers this meant a renewed investigation and interest in the founding intentions of Edmund Rice. The religious-spiritual dimension would involve a continual renewal of commitment to the key priorities in Rice’s original charism. It would also embody an educational mission to the less well-off, inspired by Rice’s distinctive orientation within the larger field of Catholic educational endeavour.

Edmund Rice would not be familiar with the concept of “charism”. Although referred to as the Founder by his followers, including McCarthy (1926), the phrases “charism of the founder” or “founding charism” also might not resonate with him. The first occasion on which the term “charism of the founder” was used in a document of the magisterium of the Catholic Church was in *Evangelica Testificatio (On the Renewal of the Religious Life)* (Pope Paul VI,

1971). This document, promulgated six years after the end of Vatican II, attempted to clarify earlier pronouncements of the Council. Two documents published during the extended ecumenical council, *Lumen Gentium (The Mystery of the Church)*, (Paulus VI, 1964) and *Perfectae Caritatis (The Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life)* (Paulus VI, 1965B), were influential in exhorting religious congregations to re-interrogate their histories and began “a period of intense study and research into the charism of their own particular Institute” (Le, 2016, p. 1). In response to this call the Christian Brothers issued a number of statements on their founding charism, the first in 1972 (see Appendix 3 for the full text of this statement) and the second a decade later, in 1982 (see Appendix 4 for the full text), followed by a further statement by the Irish Provinces on their religious and educational philosophy, which was issued in 1986 (see Appendix 5 for the full text).

There are three developmental aspects to the Catholic Church concept of charism. These are the concept of “charism” itself, the “charism of the founder” and a further refinement, that of “founding charism”. These related concepts each require clarification. Speaking of the confusion after the conclusion of Vatican II Schneiders (2000) notes that “one of the most ambiguous contributions of the Council to the renewal of Religious Life was its evocation of the theological category of “charism in relation to the life” (p. 283). Schneiders sums up the post-Vatican II situation (in Le, 2016) in the following terms:

Vatican Council II called all religious congregations (though it had in mind, quite clearly, the traditional orders in the “western Church”) to “return” to and revitalise the living of the “spirit and charism” of their founders / foundations, and to bring their ministries into accord with the renewed theology and spirituality of “mission” propounded by the Council. However, the Council documents, although referring to these categories as something commonly understood, were and are of little help in developing a theological understanding of either concept, “charism” or “mission” (p. viii).

The word “charism”, in the context of the Catholic Church, has had various meanings applied to the term. A literal translation from the Greek (*charismata*) is that charisms are “gifts of grace” (Catholicculture.org). Schneiders (2000) speaks of “a grace given for the sake not only of the recipient but also and primarily for the upbuilding of the Church” (p. 283). McLaughlin

(2007) refers to the “Spirit-quake” (p. 213), that gift granted by the Holy Spirit that impelled Rice to begin his educational apostolate. Charisms are a form of Spirit gift, a gift from God, in the form of the Holy Spirit, which enables individuals to do some good in the name of the Church. From an examination of the writings of St Paul and the Acts of the Apostles it is possible to identify five categories of charisms, namely charisms of instruction, administration, miracles, service and prayer (Corinthians 12:1-14, 40). In the context of Rice’s mission, two forms of charisms, those of instruction and service, are intertwined.

Charisms are gifts granted by the Holy Spirit by which “He makes them fit and ready to undertake the various tasks and offices which contribute toward the renewal and building up of the Church” (*Lumen Gentium*) (*Light for the Nations*) (Paulus VI, 1964, 12). From this it is possible to deduce that there are three features of charisms: (1) they are granted to enable the faithful to be fit and ready to undertake a task, (2) they contribute to the renewal of the Church and (3) they help to build up the Church. The innate abilities of an individual do not, in themselves, constitute a charism. Le (2016) observes that “charisms cannot be simply identified with natural talents, even though natural talents may appear in charismatic activity” (p. 26). The divine aspect, the granting of a charism by the Holy Spirit, is what distinguishes natural and innate ability with a charism. Boff (1985), in developing this aspect, observes that “if the phenomenon comes from God, and is always directed back to God by its receiver, then it is called a charism” (p. 161). Furthermore, Boff contends that a key criterion for discerning a true charism is that of unity. He observes that:

The Spirit unifies the charismatic community... If, with his or her charism, someone divides the community, it disintegrates or creates an atmosphere of division and hatred within it, then the charism loses its nature and becomes a spiritualistic curiosity... Charism is charism through its link with the Spirit of unity... The individual receives the charism and can only legitimately utilize the gift when it is recognized and sent by the Spirit (ibid).

Weisenbeck (2008) suggests that seven indications make it possible to form criteria to recognise a charism. These are, she notes:

1. A dynamic prompting and experience of the Spirit.

2. Fidelity in witnessing to some aspect of the Trinitarian Mystery.
3. The evangelical intentions of the founder.
4. The example of the founder's holiness or the pattern of God's wisdom and power exemplified in human experience.
5. A constant renewal and desire to be conformed to Christ.
6. Ecclesial awareness in serving the mission, responding with genuine creativity, and
7. Openness to discernment and confirmation by the Church (p. 16).

It is evident that Rice, following the death of his wife in January 1789, experienced something profound that gave a new direction to his life, providing him with remarkable moral and spiritual energies. McLaughlin (2007) perceptively calls this a “Spirit quake” (p. 213). It describes the transformation of orientation, generally attributed to the Holy Spirit, experienced by many founders of religious congregations – what is now called a charism. The transformative nature of the granting of a charism to an individual is what sets that person apart in the eyes of the Church.

Evangelica Testificatio (On the Renewal of Religious life) (Paulus VI, 1971) urged religious “to awaken hearts to truth and to divine love in accordance with the charisms of your founders who were raised up by God within His Church” (11). The term is intended for the followers of the original founder, those Christian Brothers who joined the Institute with the intention of perpetuating his mission. The nuanced nature of this call to religious life was developed further in *Mutuae Relationes (Directives for the Mutual Relations between Bishops and Religious in the Church)* (Sacred Congregation for Religious and for Secular Institutes, 1978).

The concept of the charism of the founder is explained as follows:

The very charism of the founders appears as an “experience of the Spirit” transmitted to their disciples to be lived, safeguarded, deepened and constantly developed by them, in harmony with the Body of Christ continually in the process of growth. This distinctive character also involves a particular style of sanctification and of apostolate which creates its particular tradition, with the result that one can readily perceive its objective elements (11).

The two terms, “charism” and the “charism of the founder”, now having sound theological foundations, have, in turn, been further developed and replaced by a succeeding concept, that of “founding charism”. This was first used in *Vita Consecrata (On the consecrated life and its mission in the Church and in the world)* (Johannes Paulus II, 1996) with a reminder that “there is a need for fidelity to the founding charism and subsequent spiritual heritage of each Institute” (ibid, 36). Any attempt to remain true to the founding charism of Rice would then have to be faithful to the vision of the founder and the original Papal Brief establishing the Christian Brothers. Central to these is a concern for the poor. Any deviation from this would be an indication of mission drift.

The period of discernment on the part of religious on the future direction of their Institutes had been difficult. While outside the scope of this study, it appears that discernment and reflection alone have not resolved the issue of the future of religious congregations. As Markle (1998) notes, “we live in a situation of a paradox today. After thirty years of renewal of religious life, its future and meaning stand in question” (p. vii). This is particularly the case for congregations such as the Christian Brothers, who were endeavouring to respond to the call from Vatican II while also simultaneously grappling with a dramatic decrease in their membership. As has been noted throughout this work, they were also facing other, darker, issues with the emergence of abuse allegations (Touher, 2007, 2008), and the subsequent forensic investigation of these in the six industrial schools that they operated (Government Publications, 2009). The scale and nature of the physical, emotional and sexual abuse in these institutions brought the *raison d’être* of the Christian Brothers into question. What is necessary at this point is to focus on the responses of the Christian Brothers to the exhortation to revisit their founding charism in “light of the signs of the times”. This is a phrase used in many Church documents and pertains to the current context and, in the case of the Christian Brothers, within which the congregation operated.

5.3 Charism Statements of the Christian Brothers

The conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Two noted that developments in the religious-spiritual dimension would involve a continual renewal of commitment to the key priorities in Rice's original charism. In particular, it would embody an educational mission to the less well-off, inspired by Rice's distinctive orientation within the larger field of Catholic educational endeavour. In response to *Perfectae Caritatis (Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life)* (Paulus VI, 1965B) the Christian Brothers issued a number of "Charism Statements". The first to be issued, "Statement on the Apostolate", emerged in 1972 (see Appendix 3). It was agreed at the 24th General Chapter of the Christian Brothers held in Rome earlier that year. The "Statement on the Apostolate" (1972) re-affirmed that the education mission of the congregation "is to Catholic boys and young men, with special care being given to the poor, the underprivileged and the handicapped", (Statement of the Apostolate, 1972, p. 1, Appendix 3). The significance of this statement is that it re-affirms the tenets of Rice's founding charism and embodies a commitment to the less well off. Furthermore this statement is in accordance with the precepts of both Catholic Social Teaching and the Vatican documents on the nature of a Catholic school.

The development of the successor to the 1972 charism statement had been proposed at the 1978 General Chapter of the Christian Brothers. The full text was subsequently agreed at an international conference of Christian Brothers in Dublin in 1982, the agreed publication date for this "Charism and Spirit Statement" (see Appendix 4). It was subsequently appended as Appendix 2 of the Constitution of the Institute at the twenty-sixth General Chapter in 1984. By now almost twenty years had elapsed since the ending of Vatican II and the discussion on Rice's charism was still very much alive in the deliberations of the congregation. The 1982 Dublin Conference considered it essential that the 1982 "Charism and Spirit Statement" should be read within the context of a longer description. This notes that:

Deeply aware of the Father's providential presence in his life, Edmund Rice was moved by the Holy Spirit to open his whole heart to Christ present and appealing to him in the poor. He was given the grace to respond by identifying through Christ with the

poor in order to evoke in them a deep awareness of God's loving presence. His example attracted others to share his gospel insight and response in an apostolic religious community which mainly through education would raise the poor to an awareness of their dignity as children of God (Appendix 4, p. 1).

In addition to a statement on charism this document also contains a further component, the Spirit of the Congregation. This notes that:

The spirit of the Brothers – which has its source in that same Spirit of God who anointed Jesus “to bring the Good News to the poor” – is present in its authentic form when it arises out of prayer and contemplative approach to the mission of the Church. With zeal and compassion, they reach out to the needy, especially the materially poor, educating them and awakening in them a consciousness of their dignity as children of God (ibid).

Each of the Christian Brothers General Chapters of 1966, 1972, 1978 and 1984 were influenced by *Perfactae Caritatis (On the Adaptation and Renewal of Renewal Life)*, (Paulus VI) particularly the call to re-interrogate their founding charism. These sexennial assemblies chart the future direction of the congregation. The 1982 charism statement is very important as, on no less than five occasions, mention is made of the poor. The final mention leaves no room for doubt as to the nature of the “poor” in question when it explicitly states “especially the materially poor” (ibid). The significance of the 1982 document is that, at this juncture the charism of the Christian Brothers remains true to Rice's vision and both the precepts of Catholic Social Teaching and Vatican statements on education. Again, there is no evidence of mission drift in this document.

A number of years later, in 1986, the Irish Provinces of the Christian Brothers issued a “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy” (see Appendix 5) of a Christian Brothers school in Ireland. Its guiding inspiration is the 1982 “Charism and Spirit Statement” and it states that the Christian Brother School, inspired by the vision of Edmund Rice, “has a special concern for the poor and under privileged” (Appendix 5, 1.2). This document was forwarded to all applicants for the post of Principal, Deputy Principal and all intending teachers from 1986 until the advent of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in 2008. Applicants could expect to

be questioned as to their commitment to the ideals espoused in this statement of religious and educational philosophy.

In Chapter Three the degree to which the Congregation of Christian Brothers lived, safeguarded, deepened and constantly developed Rice's original charism over a century and half was explored. This indicated that Rice's central concern that of a particular commitment to the poor, was not always as clearly evident as it might have been. But the 1972 charism statement and the 1982 charism and spirit statement, when accompanied by the 1986 statement of religious and education philosophy of a Christian Brothers school in Ireland, reaffirms a commitment to the education of the poor in modern times. These three documents are totemic. They can be seen as foundational documents for the development of a broader systematic approach to guide the educational experience in Christian Brother schools. They also provide an authoritative source of inspiration for a successor body.

By 1999, on the eve of the ending of the congregational phase, the statements of the Christian Brothers detailing their renewed charism are in accord with both Catholic Social Teaching and Church statements on the nature of a Catholic School. They are also true to Rice's founding intention. It might reasonably be expected that there should be a continuing commitment to social justice, promulgated in Catholic Social Teaching, including a commitment to poor and marginalised groups, in the planning for a successor body.

5.4 The Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust

There is no evidence that the Christian Brothers considered establishing a lay trust during the 1980s. But the pioneering work of CORI during the 1990s stressed the urgent requirement to create new forms of trusts. Documents such as *The Future of Trusteeship: A Review of some options for the way forward*, (CORI, 1997A) and *Religious Congregations in Irish Education: A role for the future? A reflection paper*, (CORI, 1997B) pointed out a number of possible

options. The Leadership Teams of both Irish Provinces of the Christian Brothers, true to the long-standing independent stance of the Christian Brothers, decided to establish a completely independent lay trust for their schools in 1999 shortly after the decision to establish the *Identity Project*.

The charism and spirit of the congregation, the guiding principles of their apostolate, was already clearly articulated. It has been noted that there has been a gradual evolution and development in the terminology in this area. It is then legitimate to speak of the “founding charism” of the new trust which is in a condition of being founded. It is, after all, a pontifical foundation itself, and the successor body holding the founding charism of a pontifical institute, that of the Christian Brothers. As Weisenbeck (2008) notes, “it is more precise to speak of the founding charism rather than the founder’s charism because as long as the Institute is alive, it is in a state of founding” (p. 17). The founding charism of the new entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, can now, in canon law, be treated as independent of that of the Christian Brothers. What form it would take had yet to be determined.

The arrangements for establishing the new trust were somewhat involved, and require some explanation. The Christian Brothers were the sponsors of the new entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, and are responsible for its establishment. In late 1999 the province Leadership Teams from St Helen’s and St Mary’s Provinces selected a number from their ranks to form a Project Board. A sub-committee of the Leadership Teams, the Project Board reported directly to the Leadership Teams as well as co-ordinating the work of the other facets of the task. Unlike the *Identity Project*, which was outsourced to MIE, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Project involved a major input from the Christian Brothers. This was an indication of the profound nature of the proposed transfer. In October 2002 the Leadership Teams appointed a senior figure within the congregation, Br John Heneghan, to be Project Manager for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Project. His role was to oversee the establishment of the new trust, closely following a project brief. In early 2003 the Project Manager formed a Project Team, comprising members from the education offices of St Helen’s and St Mary’s Provinces. These offices supplied support services to the schools in the network and were mostly lay

persons. The members of the Project Team devoted 40% of their working week to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Project. This team, which had many changes in personnel during the period 2003 to 2008, met with the Project Manager on a weekly basis and reported directly to him. Development tasks were allocated by agreement and progress reported as appropriate. The Project Manager and the Project Team also had occasional meetings with the Project Board. They in turn reported to the Province Leadership Teams at Bi-Province meetings.

The planning process was hierarchical and compartmentalised but the final decisions resided with the Province Leadership Teams. They rarely met with the Project Team. This meant that the role of the Project Manager was crucial. As a senior figure in the congregation, he held a pivotal role in the upward communication of developments to both the Project Board and the Province Leadership Team and he also directed the activities of the Project Team. The reasoning behind these complicated arrangements lie beyond the sources available to the study. But it is suggested that the energies of the province Leadership Teams at the time were torn in several directions. These would have included responding to the proliferation of abuse cases, already alluded to, and the amalgamation of the Irish Provinces into a single European Province. The former is ongoing to this day while the latter was achieved one year in advance of the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, in May 2007. The ageing profile of the congregation, and the requirement to provide the structures required to care for older Brothers, would also have been a concern to the Leadership Teams during the planning period for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust from 2003 to 2008.

There are three foundation documents that underpin the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and its canonical counterpart, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation. These are the Articles of the Foundation, the memorandum and articles of association of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited and the Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. As the Charter is the most important of the foundation documents in the religious–spiritual dimension, the process that led to its emergence is an important one to explore.

5.4.1 From “Vision Statement” to “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”

The road to the development of the Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust began with the creation of a vision statement for the new trust. The first mention of a draft vision statement for the trust was found in a document titled “Scope Statement and Action Plan”, dated December 2002. This was given to the Project Manager by the Project Sponsors, namely the Christian Brothers. The first of the key deliverables listed in this document was to “Develop a draft core vision”. The first item on a “Next Tasks” list, dated January 3 2003, compiled by the Project Manager, was to develop a “sheet, summarizing the key elements of a vision for the future of the schools should be typed up and used as a draft to be added to, amended and so on”.

What was termed a “Vision Workshop” was held in MIE on February 19 2003. The participants included members of the Province Leadership Teams and representatives from the staff of MIE, including those involved in the *Identity Project*. Following this workshop the Project Manager and a member of the Project Team set about the first task of delivering a draft core vision. Dated March 27 2003 it was called “Towards Formulation of an ERST Vision Statement”. This title harks back to the proceedings generated by the *Identity Project*, *Towards an Identity and a Contribution: Findings from the Identity Project* (2002).

A very short document, less than one A4 page, it outlined five characteristics that would encapsulate and inspire the work of an Edmund Rice school. These were that such a school:

1. Is a faith community that is caring
2. Focuses on the person
3. Is committed to excellence in education
4. Has a concern for the natural and cultural environment.
5. Is committed, through the holistic education it provides, to helping students to full appreciation of their own dignity as persons, particularly those students who are in any way disadvantaged or who have special needs.

Taking its inspiration from the 1986 “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”, this short statement essentially modernised the language used in that document. The reference to the poor has been changed to read “those students who are in any way disadvantaged or who have special needs”. While not as definite as the commitment espoused in the 1972, 1982 and 1986 statements it is a commitment that is relatively consistent with Rice’s founding mission.

The period March to August 2003 was replete with multiple meetings of the Project Team and the Project Board. But the “Draft Vision Statement” does not appear on the agenda for any of these meetings. Yet, on August 22 what was called “Draft 2 of the Religious and Educational Philosophy of Edmund Rice Schools” appeared on the agenda for a Project Team meeting. This short document is identical to the “Vision Statement” of March 27th except in one vital respect. While the first four characteristics of an Edmund Rice School remains unchanged, the fifth has been altered. It now reads that an Edmund Rice School “has particular concern for children and young people who *face challenges in their lives*, (italics added) or who have special needs”. The researcher found no record as to how this change occurred, neither evidence of the personnel involved or the meeting at which it occurred. But the significance of the change is crucial, and cannot be overstated. From August 22 2003 the “Religious and Educational Philosophy of Edmund Rice Schools” in the Republic of Ireland no longer has a central and explicit commitment to the poor, or even a diluted commitment. It was also the case that few of the eight characteristics of a future Edmund Rice school stated in the *Identity Project* found their way into this August 2003 formulation. The loss of two of these eight, firstly, an awareness of the legacy of Edmund Rice and, secondly, an awareness of the legacy of the Christian Brothers, had the effect of further diminishing the previous commitment to the poor.

The August 2003 draft of the “Religious and Educational Philosophy of Edmund Rice Schools” was to form the basis of several subsequent iterations. On November 10 2003 what was called a “Sub-Committee on Vision” was formed, comprising three Christian Brothers and three lay people, one from St Helen’s Education office and another from St Mary’s Education

office. The final lay person was on the staff of MIE but this person had no involvement with the *Identity Project*. The significance of this committee is that it was responsible for the further development of the statement of the August 22 2003 “Religious and Educational Philosophy of Edmund Rice Schools”. It set itself a very short timeline for the task of developing this document and each of the six members had specific responsibilities. The Project Manager was to write the preface and the other two Christian Brothers were given responsibility for the theological aspects and the characteristics of Edmund Rice schools. The lay members were given responsibility for writing the linkages between the various sections and continuity of the Edmund Rice “story” within the document. All contributions were to be emailed to the editor, one of the Christian Brothers, by December 22 2003. The last meeting of this “Vision Sub-Committee” completed a final version of what was the “Statement of the Religious and Educational Philosophy of an Edmund Rice School”. The final version of the latter is dated January 12 2004 and is twelve pages long. The key point is that the characteristics of an Edmund Rice School Trust school remained unchanged from the August 22 2003 version.

5.4.2 “From Religious and Educational Philosophy” to the Interim Charter

The February 2003 Project Brief did not include the development of a Charter, just the development of a core vision statement. The first element of the brief for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, the creation of a core vision statement, albeit termed a “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”, had been completed on January 12 2004. It was now a 12 page document with a preface, a coherent narrative and five key characteristics that might act as an inspiration for the operation of the almost one hundred schools in the Christian Brother network.

It was the intention of the Project Team and the Project Manager to employ two professional writers at a cost of €148,000 to develop the “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy” into a charter for the trust. The fourth draft of their proposal to the Project Sponsors, dated March 28 2004, followed three previous drafts, those of February 9, March

1 and March 15. The fact that this was discussed at a series of meetings (the Project Team met weekly at this point) would seem to indicate that this was a considered proposal. Their proposal to appoint professional writers¹⁸ was later rejected by the Project Sponsors on June 23 2004. The task of finalising the Charter was devolved to the Project Team, an unexpected development for them. The January 2004 “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy” remained in place and, following the June 2004 decision not to employ professional writers, it is simply renamed the Draft Charter and from that point on continues to be developed towards completion.

In an email to an Australian colleague the Project Manager expressed his disappointment with the decision to reject the proposal to employ professional writers to develop the Charter. He was perplexed with the Project Board suggestion that the Project Team “develop the Charter with the future Trustees, who we have urged to have chosen as soon as possible”. While mooted for much of the planning process the reality was that future trustees were not in place until early 2008 but the need for a Charter was now seen as a key priority. Now, with no sign of trustees being appointed and with their proposal for the writing of a Charter having been rejected, the Project Manager and one member of the Project Team set about developing the January 2004 “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy” into the Charter.

On August 20 2004 a newly appointed member to one of the education offices offered a critique of the existing Draft Charter, and observed that a “reading of the Draft Charter (although very worthwhile) leads to the perception (emphasis in original) that it has been written by educationalists who have not been inside the classroom for some time.” This new member was given the task of redrafting the Charter. He presented his draft to the Project Manager on October 26 2004. This contained, for the first time, the five pillar statements that are found in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. This was titled “Draft 3 of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter” and this, apart from minor editing and proofreading,

¹⁸ Document PB4-08.

remained the basis of the published version. A subsequent version, now titled “Draft Three of the Interim Charter”, dated December 2005 closely resembles the October 26 2004 Draft Charter. It differs in only one respect to the final version. For the first time an extract from the Constitution of the Christian Brothers is included on the final page of the Interim Charter.

One of the final changes to the document, in February 2006, saw the word “may” being replaced by the word “will” in the sentence on page 9 that reads - “Originally, the schools were for boys only, but in more recent years girls have been attending some of the schools, and this welcome trend *will* (italics added) become more commonplace in the future.” This version, following a period of proofreading and changes in layout, went to print in May 2006. The Interim Charter was launched in September 2006 and this title occurs in all associated documentation until the Charter was approved by the Irish Episcopal Conference in April 2008. There are two references to the poor in the Charter, one referring to Rice and the other is contained in an extract of the Christian Brothers Constitution. The first of these is on page 9 where it is observed that “Rice had always been a benefactor to the poor, but now he decided to dedicate his whole life to their welfare”. The second reference is the extract from the Constitution and is included as a kind of inspiration statement on the final page.

We are gifted with the charism of Edmund, our Founder, and we are responsible for nurturing it. Empowered by the Holy Spirit we share this gift with our brothers and sisters, but especially with the poor, the powerless and the oppressed.

The only reference to the disadvantaged in the Charter is on page 19 noting that “The hallmarks of an Edmund Rice school are care, especially for those who are vulnerable or disadvantaged in any way, and action for social and ecological justice”. This one sentence has five different themes; care, the vulnerable, the disadvantaged, social justice and ecological justice. It attempts to carry the weight of a number of the characteristics of an Edmund Rice School contained in the March 27 2003 document “Towards Formulation of an ERST Vision Statement”, succeeding only to further diminish the impact of Rice’s legacy and central commitment.

At the turn of the 21st century, in practice most Christian Brothers schools weren't following wholeheartedly Rice's commitment to the poor. But, at an official Congregation level, Christian Brother philosophy internationally had renewed this very commitment a few times since Vatican II. This renewal was also evident in "Towards Formulation of an ERST Vision Statement" of March 27 2003. So there was reason to believe that things were pointing towards a new beginning for the trust. But then something changed and the path that apparently was about to be taken was declined and a different path was laid out for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

From the documentary evidence it seems that this change took place between March 2003 and August 2003. Less clear are the reasons for the change. But there are two factors that may have been influential in leading to a reduced commitment to the poor in the emerging documentation. The first of these dates from early 2003 when one of the two fee-paying schools in the network sought to establish a single school trust, thereby severing their link with the Christian Brothers. On February 23 2003 a very strong delegation of Christian Brothers, including the Project Manager, made a presentation to the Board of the school seeking independence. This presentation included an assurance that fee-paying schools would play an important role in the new trust, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. Another item included in the presentation was the nature of the Charter, which was, at that juncture, in an embryonic state. The attempt by the fee-paying school to sever links with the Christian Brothers was rejected but it is straining credulity that the very attempt had no impact on the thinking surrounding the founding documents. Fee-paying schools do not generally enrol poor pupils.

A second factor is the central involvement of the Presentation Brothers in the planning for a joint congregation trust with the Christian Brothers. As the Presentation Brothers acknowledge Edmund Rice as their founder the new trust was to be called the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. Their involvement began on May 8 2003 and continued until June 2005. They were trustees for eight secondary schools, none of which was in the Disadvantaged Areas

Scheme or became part of the DEIS scheme in 2006. One of their schools also charged fees. The other seven were located in areas of Cork and Wicklow where students from lower income families attended the local Education and Training Board, community colleges or, in the case of Cork city, two DEIS schools in the Christian Brother network of schools. While no written evidence was found during the archival research, once more it is not straining credulity to suggest that they were not as enthusiastic about a commitment to the poor, given the nature of their schools. While participating fully in the planning processes from May 2003, the Presentation Brothers decided not to progress a joint congregation trust with the Christian Brothers and they left the process in June 2005, subsequently establishing their own trust, the "Presentation Brothers Schools Trust". By this point the Charter was practically complete. In any event, the change of direction meant a decisive shift in the character of the mission that was to be handed on – figuratively, the "torch" in the title of this work.

5.5 Conclusion

The lack of engagement with the schools in the Christian Brothers' network of schools, during a crucial period of considerable change in Irish society, was particularly unfortunate for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools in that their voices do not appear in the discourse. This is doubly unfortunate as they are the ones that have remained closest to the founding intention of Rice in modern times. Of further concern is that the compelling nature of the option for the poor taken by Rice when he opened his first school in Waterford in 1802 has not found its way into the religious and educational philosophy of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, its Charter. This particular shortfall is difficult to justify and is of concern for the future development of the trust. As there is no specific commitment in the Charter to the poor and the disadvantaged, there is no reason to expect that such a concern or commitment will emerge in the operation of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in the future. Of serious concern is that this lacuna appears to place the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS secondary schools in a difficult position. As the logical inheritors of Rice's founding mission they can rightfully be viewed as the inspirational focus for other schools in the network and deserving of support, but there is no explicit recognition of this in the Charter.

Without such a clear commitment in the Charter to their centrality in any continuation of Rice's mission, these schools may well become marginalised in the years to come. What emerges in the Charter document is a different founding charism for the new lay entity, considerably at odds with that of the Christian Brothers. It is a misnomer to proclaim that the mission of an Edmund Rice Schools Trust school is in the tradition of Edmund Rice if there is no central commitment to the poor or disadvantaged.

It is now time to turn our attention, in Chapter Six, Planning for the Operation of the Trust 1999-2008, to an analysis of the strategies that were devised for the practical operation of the new trust and its schools. An evaluation of the successes will be accompanied by a critique of the shortfalls and concerns that emerged.

Chapter 6

Planning for the operation of the Trust 1999 – 2008

The apostolate of the laity derives from their Christian vocation and the Church can never be without it. Sacred Scripture clearly shows how spontaneous and fruitful such activity was at the very beginning of the Church. Our own times require of the laity no less zeal: in fact, modern conditions demand that their apostolate be broadened and intensified.

Apostolicam Actuositatem

(On the Apostolate of the Laity), (Paulus VI, 1965C, 1)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter has a threefold aim: the evaluation, under each of the three dimensions of the conceptual framework, of the success or otherwise of the operational provisions made for the transfer to lay hands. The period under examination, like the previous chapter, begins with the decision to establish the trust in 1999 and ends with the launch of the trust in June 2008. The first of the three dimensions, the religious-spiritual dimension, is the most crucial one. Strong support measures for sustaining Rice's distinctive commitment would be called for if that commitment were to be a vibrant and enduring force in the new lay trust. Most importantly the religious-spiritual dimension would encapsulate a continual renewal of a commitment to the key priorities in Rice's original charism. In particular, it would embody an educational mission to the less well-off.

Accordingly, this chapter will first investigate the success and shortfalls in the strategies decided upon to transfer the spirit, or charism, of Rice to a new lay setting. Following this, a similar investigation will be undertaken in relation to the provisions made under the other two dimensions of the analysis: the formation requirements of a lay apostolate and the material resources provided for the lay trust.

In advance of pursuing these three aims, it is appropriate to address the nature of the governance structure that the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was going to replace. Before the amalgamation of St. Helen's and St. Mary's Provinces into a European Province in 2007 each of these had an education office for their schools. St. Mary's also had a sub-office in Belfast for the schools in Northern Ireland. Each of these offices had a small number of full-time administrative staff with specific functions such as school governance and financial reporting. Issues relating to property was the direct responsibility of the Christian Brothers in each province. Each Province had a five member Province Leadership Team (PLT) and members of these teams were available to support the staff members of the education offices.

This issue of support from the Provincial Leadership Teams was raised at a pre-incorporation meeting of the Administrators of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation on March 10 2008. One administrator requested confirmation from staff from the Education Offices about the continuation into the future of the support they currently received from the Provincial Team and whether this support could be quantified. The reply by one member of staff was that "his office relied on the support of two of the PLT team but that one of the five Brothers on the team was always available". It was further noted by one of the incoming Administrators that "in a review of meetings of school amalgamations for just one school that there were 20 meetings which had Trustee involvement, and that this commitment which had been given by the PLT may not be available in the future."

A further concern in this regard was raised at this meeting by the legal advisors to the Christian Brothers and it is included in the minutes of the March 10 meeting as follows:

The work that had been previously carried out by the PLT had been done by members who were aware of all the issues and had experience in relation to the schools involved. Any attendance by Trustees (at meetings) into the future would require more preparatory work as the Member would require time for briefing and additional preparation.

Each of the Provinces held separate annual Principals' conferences and occasional cluster meetings of Principals were organised by staff from the education offices. The Christian Brothers, via the education office, also sought a per capita licence fee from their schools. These funding arrangements were not differentiated. All schools were expected to contribute the same amount, irrespective of their ability to pay. There was occasional financial support available for particular purposes, such as the refurbishment of designated sacred spaces in schools¹⁹. Perhaps the most important element of the support structure available to schools prior to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was the accumulated wisdom of the many Christian Brothers who taught in the schools. As has already been noted in Chapter Four, the numbers of Brothers involved in the schools had declined precipitously (see also Table 5).

When the two provinces were amalgamated on May 5 2007 the new Leadership Team assumed trusteeship responsibilities for their schools. To this end, the members of the new team received a briefing on the emerging Edmund Rice Schools Trust from the outgoing Provincial Leadership Teams on May 1 2007. The new European Province Leadership team also had an extended briefing on the planning process for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust with the Project Manager and the Project Team on May 11 2007. Whatever new arrangements were put in place they were unlikely to have the benefit of the accumulated wisdom of many Christian Brothers who had dedicated their lives to an ideal promulgated by Edmund Rice.

¹⁹ A donation of €10,000 to assist in the refurbish the schools' oratory was made to Synge Street CBS in 2007. This was the last time that the Christian Brothers made such a donation.

6.2 The Religious-Spiritual Dimension

The main concern of this section is an analysis and appraisal of the adequacy or otherwise of the arrangements to hand on to the lay trust an inspiring spiritual-educational vision worthy of Rice. There are two aspects that such an analysis might explore. The first of these concerns the extent to which the vision to be handed on is a vibrant one, true to Rice and proclaimed wholeheartedly by the Christian Brother leadership. The second concerns the adequacy of the arrangements put in place to propagate such a vision among those chosen as the Members and Directors in the course of the transfer and this will be addressed in the next section. If there were shortcomings in the first aspect then, even if the arrangements made in the second aspect were sufficient, the transfer would fall short of what might be achieved if both were strong.

It has been noted in Chapter Three that Rice went to extraordinary lengths to ensure that the congregation he founded would have sound theological and ecclesial foundations so that it could continue its work. He also instigated and developed a stringent *horarium* (daily schedule of prayer and activities). Rice was also centrally involved in the creation of the congregation's first constitution in 1832 that would ensure that the spiritual dimension of the congregation would be a vibrant and distinguishing characteristic of its future operation. Consideration of, and planning for, the religious-spiritual dimension for the new trust during the transfer would then be crucial. The principal strategy adopted to inspire the spiritual orientation of the new lay trust was the drawing up of a Charter for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

Chapter Five traced the development of the Charter of the Edmund Rice School Trust. By the time of its completion it was shown to contain a less than compelling acknowledgement of Rice's mission. Yet the Christian Brothers, in their charism statements of 1972 and 1982 had reaffirmed the commitment to the poor as central to their mission. The commitment was further reaffirmed in the 1986 "Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy" (see

Appendix 5). So if it had been waning prior to the call made by Vatican II, it was rethought and renewed in response to that call. Furthermore the early versions of the Vision Statement for the new trust seemed to have upheld this orientation. But it has also been shown in Chapter five that a decisive change happened²⁰ which resulted in a decisive change between March 2003 and August 2003, the origin of which remains unclear.

The Charter lays claim to Rice and it claims to be inspired by him. While it is a worthy document in many respects all three of the interviewees that were Chairpersons of Board of Managements referred to it being “like motherhood and apple pie”. They took the view that it was difficult to say anything against it but, equally, hard to see it as something that enthused or energised them. Principal C described it as “one size fits all” whereas, in reality “very few ... Christian Brothers schools are the same”. As Principal G concluded, when asked to consider the foundational pillars of the Charter document, they “would certainly be guiding principles for all faith based schools” and not particular to the spirit of Edmund Rice.

It has been shown in Chapter Five that the word “poor” became gradually subsumed into other, less declarative, choices. During the interviews Brother C confirmed and acknowledged that there was a great reluctance to use the word poor in the Charter at all. He went on to say that:

If you go for the poor you are left with the poor. But I know cities where schools went for the poor. I think specifically of the Presentation Sisters in Doyle Street²¹ who went for the poor and they were left with the poor and the rich stayed outside in the suburbs.

²⁰ It will be recalled from the previous chapter that an attempt by one of the fee paying schools to form a separate trust during the early months of 2003 may have had an influence on the diminution of emphasis on the poor and disadvantaged. The Board of Management of this school was assured that fee-paying schools would have an important role to play in the future of the new trust. A second possible reason for this loss of focus may lie with the involvement of the Presentation Brothers, who also acknowledge Rice as their founder, in the planning process for a joint Edmund Rice Schools. None of the Presentation Brothers’ schools were part of the DAS scheme or the DEIS scheme. They decided to part with the Christian Brothers in June 2005, having been involved in the planning from May 2003 and subsequently established their own independent lay trust, the Presentation Brothers Schools Trust.

²¹ The street name has been anonymised.

Brother B offered the following explanation as to why it was not feasible to include a specific commitment to the poor. He observed that:

If by having that in the Charter you ended up with, in Christian Brother Schools anyway, you ended up with nothing only the economically poor, that, to me, would be heading us to educational and social catastrophe. I honestly think that the part of the success, to the extent that we had success, part of the success of the Christian Brothers Schools, was the social mix that they attracted.

While Rice had accepted fee-paying students it was with the radical end, as McLoughlin (2007) observed that “poor boys rubbing shoulders with the middle class would come to realise that the only difference between them and their better-heeled mates was nothing soap could not remedy” (p. 176). By 2008, however, students from poor backgrounds were unlikely to attend the fee-paying schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network, or a large proportion of other Christian Brother schools.

This is not to say that only the DEIS schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network cater for significant cohorts of socioeconomically disadvantaged students. The DEIS scheme is a construct that had been developed with specific criteria for inclusion and, by extension, potential exclusion (Kellaghan et al, 1995). It was often difficult to rationalise the decisions made when it came to excluding certain schools from DEIS scheme that had been part of the DAS scheme. Representative A, with extensive experience of negotiating with the Department of Education on issues of concern to the voluntary secondary school sector, recalls the dismay and confusion over the exclusion of certain schools from the new scheme:

I remember several visits to Roscommon and Sligo²², for example. I still remember very clearly that, at that time, there were eight second level, voluntary secondary schools in Roscommon. Only one of them had been selected for DEIS, whereas in the previous DAS scheme (Disadvantaged Areas Scheme) all but one of them was in it. I always remember in the Rosses²³ peninsula, there were 22 schools; two secondary schools; one vocational school (now ETB School) and one voluntary school, next door to each other in the same town – and twenty primary schools. All twenty primary schools were selected for DEIS. The vocational school was selected for DEIS

²² The names of the counties have been changed.

²³ The name of the peninsula has been anonymised.

– the one out of 22 that had not been selected for DEIS was the voluntary secondary school.

Representative A also noted the opaque nature²⁴ of the decision making process:

So it was a huge issue. We found ourselves up against a stone wall. We went and we challenged the ERC²⁵ – isn't that what they were called? – because it was they who devised the criteria and, if I can remember the criteria, they were based on medical cards, retention rates and exam results. And one of the things we railed against, in particular, was the retention rates. Because if your retention rate was low you were almost automatically in the scheme. If you tried to do what you were supposed to do and keep the kids in school you actually lessened your chances of remaining in DEIS! We went to everybody, including ministers, and asked “please explain it to us?” and we got a whole plethora of what I would call “blather”. It was a huge challenge at the time.

While there was a revision of the DEIS scheme (Government Publications, 2017) only 13 post primary schools were added to the scheme while an additional 78 primary schools were also included. Of the 13 post primary schools included seven were in the voluntary secondary school sector. It is important to acknowledge that there are schools other than the DEIS secondary schools in the Edmund Rice Schools trust network of schools that do cater for disadvantaged students. This study particularly references this small cohort of schools that are in the scheme, in accordance with its title. It is their concerns that find a voice in Chapter Seven.

²⁴ The individual disadvantaged rating, and the relationship of this to that of other schools, is difficult to establish. The Minister for Education, Richard Bruton, in a Dáil Debate on 31 May, 2018, was asked to outline the identification model for inclusion in the DEIS scheme. He made the following reply: “The key data sources used in the DEIS identification process are the DES Primary Online Database (POD) and the Post-Primary Online (PPOD) Databases, and CSO data from the National Census of Population as represented in the Pobal HP index for Small Areas which is a method of measuring the relative affluence or disadvantage of a particular geographical area. Variables used in the compilation of the HP Index include not only single parent rate, but those related to demographic growth, dependency ratios, education levels, overcrowding, social class, occupation and unemployment rates. This data is combined with pupil data, anonymised and aggregated to small area, to provide information on the relative level of concentrated disadvantage present in the pupil cohort of individual schools.

²⁵ The Educational Research Centre was responsible for the original research that led to the compilation of a list of those schools that would subsequently be accepted into the 2006 DEIS scheme.

Despite it being a foundational document for a new era, the Charter was launched into something of a vacuum in September 2006. There was no clear view of the organisation that it presaged or any indication of what form the future trustee arrangements would take. These directions for the future did not emerge for another two years, in June 2008, with the formal launch of the trust. The Charter was not included in the other foundational documents until April 2008. At this point the Charter became part of the memorandum and articles of association of the new company, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited and its canonical *alter ego*, the articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation. This meant that the Charter Implementation Team were also trying to promote a document that had no particular standing in canon law as it was not approved by the Irish Episcopal Conference until April 2008. On the one hand it did not represent the stated philosophy of the Christian Brothers, which was encapsulated in the 1986 Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy and which had not been supplanted by any other document. Nor did the Charter represent any form of statement for the entities it purported to represent as they had not yet been created. But to claim that it is following in a Ricean tradition is to make an erroneous claim. In the first of the concerns previously outlined, what was handed on to the lay trust was not an inspiring spiritual-educational vision aligned with that of Rice. We now turn our attention to the second concern, the adequacy or otherwise of the arrangements to propagate this vision among new the Members and Directors of the new lay trust and the stakeholders in the school communities. There would need to be adequate formation exercises provided for all of these to increase the chance of a successful transfer to lay hands.

6.3 The Formation Dimension

For the transfer of the schools to a lay trust to be successful, formation arrangements, now for leaders of a lay apostolate, would involve something radically new. Provision for such formation moreover would necessarily be very different from the formation traditionally undertaken by the Brothers for, and within, the congregation. It has been seen that the life of a religious begins with the decision to answer a call from God and having discerned the nature of the call the aspirant would generally begin a process of training or formation.

Among the key purposes of a process of religious formation are to internalise a deep understanding of the congregations' central mission, to build a collective commitment to that mission and to cultivate a spirit of fraternity among the congregation. The process of religious formation is an all-pervasive, all-encompassing, lifelong undertaking, preparing the individual for a life dedicated to an educational apostolate.

In addition to being radically new provision for such formation moreover would necessarily be very different from that required for religious. During Chapter Two, when the components of an ideal formation dimension were outlined, it was shown that, in order to have a successful transfer to lay hands, it would be necessary to provide formation exercises for all of the partners involved in the new trust. These included the Members and Directors of the new trust, school Principals and Deputy Principals, members of Boards of Management, teachers and pupils. The formation question would be more important for those day-to-day leaders, Principals and Deputy Principals, than it would be for the members of the trust, who would be leaders at a distance, or even occasional leaders.

The archival research sought continually for evidence on formation arrangements for school leaders. But none was found. Moreover even when suggestions in the area were furnished they were not acted upon. In April 2003 a proposal from MIE titled "Professional Development of Trust Board Members" was received by the Project Manager. Costed at €55,000 for a full year project, it was never progressed or re-visited when Members and Directors were eventually put in place in early 2008. This was a major omission on the part of the Christian Brothers. Moreover consideration of such formation processes was not mentioned in the original brief provided to the Project Manager. That need not have stopped it coming to light as a priority later, as the work of the Project Team proceeded. But the archival records show no trace of it. Bearing these omissions in mind, what will be considered in this section will be the strategies that were put in place in the formation dimension for the Administrators of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation. These were the inheritors of the trusteeship role and the term "leaders" in this context, refers to them alone. At this juncture it must be pointed out that there is an inherent anomaly in this role. On the one

hand Article 18 of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation (the canon law entity) states that:

The Foundation is governed by Administrators who shall consist of the Members and the Directors of the Company. The Congregation shall appoint the initial Administrators of the Foundation and thereafter the Administrators shall appoint new Administrators as vacancies occur or as required (Appendix 7, Article 18).

Yet there is a distinction in the roles of the Members and the Directors according to the Memorandum and Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited, the civil law entity. It is the “liability of the Members” that is limited to €1 - there is no mention of the limited liability of the Directors, yet both categories of Administrators are not differentiated in the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation. As will be made clear the intermeshing of these two entities is rather complex, perhaps unnecessarily so (see Appendix 8 for an overview of the organisational structure of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust).

But how would a collective understanding of what a Rician inspired education involved be passed on to their lay successors? Those charged with responsibility for leading the new trust would, in all likelihood, not have absorbed the cultural understanding of religious life and the dedication to a cause that it involved. A process of formation for those who would be faced with this task would be required. Formation, it will be recalled, is:

...a reflected development on one’s gifts and how the gifts contribute to the need in hand providing an holistic preparation of a person for a role – human, spiritual, intellectual, pastoral – including reflection on the experiences of their own life which might highlight some lacks in development or knowledge that are essential for that need (Thornber and Gaffney, 2014, p. 195).

Formation, in this sense, is a complex undertaking, but one that would be a requirement for the leaders of the new trust in the quest to achieve a successful transfer to a lay entity. The only mention of formation in the foundation documents of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust occurs in the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation (Appendix 7). Article 27 states that:

The administrators shall see that adequate programmes of induction and on-going formation are provided for themselves. These programmes shall address both the spirit of the Foundation and professional responsibility (Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, Articles, 27).

There are no further details as to what form the “adequate programmes of induction and on-going formation” might take. But in order to offer a formation process for lay educational leaders they must first be appointed and the choice of the first generation of leaders would be crucial to the success of the transfer. The process of sourcing trustees dates back to a very early stage of the planning process for the trust. The first mention of sourcing trustees was on February 23 2002 when the Irish Province Leaders asked each Christian Brother community in Ireland to contribute to a list of potential new trustees. Nearly one year later, in January 2003, the members of the newly-established Project Team were encouraged “to start identifying names of possible trustees”, and the call was extended to the school communities. In September 2003, in a risk assessment for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Project, the danger was identified that there may not be sufficient suitable willing people in place to act as trustees. Only a few months later, in November 2003, the legal and financial advisors to the Christian Brothers, Life and Pensions, noted that the “search for trustees may be difficult”. Mention of the sourcing of new trustees continued throughout 2004 and in June 2004 a list of criteria for the selection of new trustees emerged. These included “a feeling for the disadvantaged”. By the end of 2004 a list of potential trustees, comprising 78 names (all male) had been compiled. On February 14 2005 two lists of “probable” and “possible” trustees emerged, with 36 names on the former and 12 on the latter. Little of substance in the search for trustees, or in formation for trustees, took place for over two and a half years from this point. Notwithstanding the many other pressing issues facing the Project Team, this was a major shortcoming, particularly as, from the outset, this task had been prioritised.

Following the amalgamation of the Irish Provinces, and the establishment of the European Province in May 2007, considerable progress on the selection of new trustees was made during the period October to December 2007 and by the end of 2007 the Members and Directors, the nomenclature now favoured instead of the term trustee, had been finalised by

the newly-established European Province Leadership Team. This meant that the timeframe for the pre-establishment formation of the new Members and Directors was confined to a very limited period of six months, January to June 2008.

When this limited timeframe was put to Brother C, he agreed that there was inadequate preparation for Members and Directors and noted that:

They weren't given any specific formation for it but we thought that their lifestyle and their background and their track record, that's how they were selected. And, as I say, they were suggested by the network. Now, in terms of what kind of formation were they given, well, a lot of them had been Principals. Well, one of them was a Christian Brother – we didn't want to have many Christian Brothers – and we knew that they wouldn't be there for long.

It should be said that none of those put forward by school Principals in the network were actually appointed in the first cohort of Members and Directors. While a number of those selected had previously been school Principals, the degree to which even they had any suitable formation in that role is open to question, given that Principal A referred during the interviews to the process of appointment to the role as being akin to the waving of a "magic wand". The various recommendations from the Christian Brothers often mentioned the fact that putative candidates had previously been in religious life. On the question of whether or not the first Members and Directors were preferred if they had an element of religious formation, when they were members of a religious congregation or religious order, Brother B agreed, and said, "Oh yes! I think that's fair to say".

During the interviews Brother B was also asked what key qualities the future educational leaders should possess. He replied that:

The whole question of who is best qualified to be a Director – have they got the capacity and the openness in themselves to govern according to, as it were, to a higher ethos than just one they would create themselves? Something that's above me. Can I manage and rule and govern according to a higher principle?

Acknowledging that previous religious formation would be of benefit to the new educational leaders, in the form of the Administrators of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, was an implicit recognition that there would be inadequate provision of formation processes. It may also have been a recognition that the time available for such exercises was very limited. In only a few short months, from October to December 2007, the initial cohort of Administrators of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, who would also serve as the Members and Directors of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited, had been approached and their agreement to serve in various roles secured. With only a few months to go before the launch of the trust, the first meeting of the Administrators of the Foundation, who, of course, also served as the Members and Directors of the Company, took place on January 24 2008. The agenda was confined to a single item - the delivery of a long presentation by the Project Manager. Then followed a series of what were termed pre-incorporation meetings for the Administrators / Members and Directors. The reason for this term is that both the canon and civil law entities had yet to be formally incorporated. Other pre-incorporation meetings took place on February 11, March 10, April 14 and May 8 2008. The minutes of the March meeting noted "that there was still a lack of clarity in regard to the role of Members".

Thornber and Gaffney (2014) suggest that there needs to be an appropriate means of identifying the particular formation needs of each individual. While a brief biography of each Member and Director was eventually distributed after the trust was established, no evidence emerged of any consideration of the development of an appropriate means of identifying the particular formation requirements of each individual. Another of Thornber and Gaffney's principles stresses that formation for this new form of lay apostolate would involve more than simply going to courses. What would be required was a systematic programme of events similar to those identified in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C). A further important point is that formation courses would be likely to prove more productive if they involved active participation, following adult education patterns. Such patterns enable a more concentrated engagement with new ideas or challenges, and are thus more likely to be transformative for participants (Mezirow, 1991).

In any case there were no courses provided and there was no systematic programme of events. Thornber and Gaffney's penultimate principle stressed that consideration needs to be given to the time commitment required to be successful in the role of educational leader of a lay trust. In quantifying the time commitment demanded of lay trust leaders one of Thornber and Gaffney's (2014) findings was that the role could take up 30 to 40 days a year (p. 216). The Project Manager, clarifying the different roles and responsibilities of Members and Directors in January 2008 noted that:

The Directors will perform most of the functions currently being carried out by the Congregation Trustees in relation to school properties and the education mission / enterprise. The Members will meet once a year for the Annual General Meeting of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and perhaps for an occasional general meeting.

The role of the Board of Directors appears to be the more involved but even their involvement does not appear to be as deep as that envisaged by Thornber and Gaffney. They also stress that the implications of generational change in those taking on lay leadership roles must be taken into account. As they observed, many currently involved in educational leadership are, or have been, "members of religious institutes and have some background in the ministry, governance and the charism" (Thornber and Gaffney, 2014, p. 217). The issue, Thornber and Gaffney suggested, would be that the next generation of educational leaders selected and invited to these roles would not have had some level of mentoring support from religious. As such they would be more dependent than ever on successful formation processes. It has not been possible during this study to determine the depth or extent of the formation processes that are in place for the second generation of Members and Directors, in place since 2015.

The Edmund Rice Schools Trust was formally established on June 18 2008. An assessment of the pre-establishment process of formation for Members and Directors leads to the conclusion that very little by way of meaningful formation had been offered by the sponsoring congregation, the Christian Brothers. That this should have been the case is all the more intriguing since the Project Team had been prioritising the selection of Members and Directors for over five years. The imperative offered in *Apostolicam Actuositatem* that the apostolate of the laity "can attain its maximum effectiveness only through a diversified and

thorough formation” (Paulus VI, 1965C, 28) does not appear to have been heeded. Furthermore no compelling evidence was found to suggest that there was any deliberation on what might constitute an appropriate formation process for the future leaders of the trust. When a proposal to provide such a process was made by MIE it was not advanced. The criterion that seemed to carry most weight in the selection of the new educational leaders is that they should have had an element of religious formation in their previous lives.

Central to the process of promoting and embedding the Charter in the schools was the establishment of a Charter Implementation Project, following a decision at the February 7 2006 meeting of the Project Board and the Project Team. Integral to the operation of this project was the employment of a number of Charter Implementation Officers²⁶. The members of the Charter Implementation Team were charged with responsibility for promoting the Charter throughout the network of schools. This generally took the form of cluster meetings with Principals and Chairpersons of the Boards of Management, using a PowerPoint presentation. Each cluster meeting was of a half-day duration. Such an approach, a “top-down” process of professional development, has been the subject of research for a number of decades and has largely been discredited. Hargreaves and Ainscow (2015) observe that “versions of top-down reform have an Achilles heel: their focus on delivering the details of two or three measurable priorities is suitable only for systems pursuing traditional and comparatively narrow achievement goals” (p. 42). The depth of the transfer to lay hands could not be conceived of in these terms. Others, such as Lieberman and Miller, (2004), Hogan et al (2008), and Starratt (2011) and Hargreaves et al (2014) propose a much more effective approach, from the “middle”, which can lead to patterns of distributed leadership. But there were no meetings with school staffs, with the Principal expected to bring the details of the Charter document back to their school communities, a further extension of a “top-down” approach. This initiative, while worthy, was not sufficient in the circumstances of such a radical transfer to a lay trust. Furthermore, as Fullan (2020) observes, the “more complex society gets, the more sophisticated leadership must become” (p. ix). But the lack of sophistication inherent in the Charter Implementation process was compounded by its being

²⁶ Each of these was offered a three year contract that was to run from June 1 2006 to August 31 2009. The estimated annual cost of this exercise was considerable, at €197,661.

discontinued only one year after the trust was established. Combined with the reduced staff available to the trust after its establishment, the failure to continue with the Charter Implementation Team was another shortfall which demonstrated the lack of ongoing formation for the school communities in the period leading up to, and continuing after, the launch of the trust.

With a less than Ricean inspired Charter having been launched in 2006, the subsequent formation exercises to embed it provided by the sponsoring congregation, the Christian Brothers, fell far short of what was called for if the transfer was to succeed in any decisive sense. They fell considerably short in light of the research of Thornber and Gaffney (2014) encouraged sponsoring congregations to provide. It is surprising that this aspect of preparation for the lay trust received so little attention considering the centrality of formation for religious life.

6.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension

Chapter Two provided some initial indications of what would be required for success in the institutional, financial and support dimension of the transfer. Success in this dimension would call for new forms of resourcing and institutional support to replace the accumulated wisdom and experience of the Christian Brothers and the support structures that were in place during their trusteeship. There was a requirement to establish some form of corporate body. This would need to be supplied with the appropriate resources to enable the new entity to undertake the task with energy, capacity and resolution to meet the challenges of providing a form of education in the Ricean tradition. These relevant aspects would include compliance with the civil and canon law requirements, the provision of necessary forms of expertise, as well as financial resources. In the event of a transfer of property, including schools and all their facilities, there would be implications both in civil and canon law. It was also noted that provision of such supports would not be an end in itself, but rather these would be put in

place to support the work of the other two dimensions. Successful provision here would enable the new entity to be a vibrant and energetic presence in Irish education.

The institutional provision would, of course, have a supervisory and regulatory function. Equally important however, it would need to act as a support, a trusted fount of resourceful renewal for those leading and carrying out the ministry that has been transferred. Provision in the institutional, financial and support dimension for the transfer of a religious educational ministry to lay hands would embody a wide range of features. In Chapter Two seven such features were identified as requiring attention. An evaluation of the actual provision made in the most salient of these areas is now required. Some of these would be regarded as desirable, but not sufficient, to ensure a successful transfer while others would be more central to the likelihood of a successful transition from a religious congregation to lay hands.

6.4.1 The creation of a valid canonical entity: Religious congregations and pontifical institutes with a duly established apostolate and religious mission are required to carry on their work “for the good of the church”. They are recognised by the Holy See and accountable to the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life (CICLSAL). Religious congregations and pontifical institutes would then have to accept and observe the strictures of canon, or Catholic Church, law. The 1983 *Johanno-Pauline* code allows for the possibility of allowing a religious congregation, the sponsors of the process, to transfer their apostolate to a lay entity. While four possible canonical structures are possible one of these, the *public juridic person*, was chosen as the most appropriate way to transfer a network of religious schools to lay hands. Here it is important to remember that a *public juridic person* is not, in fact, a person but a canon law corporate body charged with carrying out some responsibility, or responsibilities.

A canon law entity is unlikely to impinge on the day-to-day operation of the schools within the network and, as such, cannot be regarded as an element of any support structure in such an ambit. But it is evident from the archival research undertaken that the creation of a *public*

juridic person through the granting of the decree by the Irish Episcopal Conference was of pre-eminent significance for the Project Manager and the Project Sponsors. In the context of the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church this is not surprising, albeit a little puzzling to the lay person. The Christian Brothers had trusteeship responsibilities for schools in 19 of the 26 dioceses on the island of Ireland and the Project Manager took the view that to secure their support, it was necessary to meet and consult with all 19 Bishops. These meetings had two purposes: to provide an explanation of what was envisaged by the formation of a lay trust and to alert each Bishop that the Brothers would be seeking to “alienate”²⁷ Church property. This would take the form of passing school properties to the trust.

The process of passing ecclesiastical property from one legal entity to another was one fraught with problems for the Christian Brothers. Both Rayer (1988) and Heintschel (1988) warn of the dangers of alienating Church property without the assent of the competent authority. D’Auria (2010) stresses the need to consult experts in the area. This is due to the “increasing interest of civil courts in the pursuit of compensation for successful litigants” (p. 35) in abuse cases. In this context it should be remembered that the Christian Brothers, along with other Irish religious congregations, were embroiled in ongoing controversies over the various instances of physical, sexual and emotional abuse, particularly in the six industrial schools that the Christian Brothers operated on behalf of the State. The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA), established by statute in 2000, was active during the period of the planning processes for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

The Irish Episcopal Conference and the Brothers, in line with D’Auria’s (2010) advice, both employed canon lawyers to represent their interests throughout the extended process. Eventually formal approval from the competent authority in canon law, the Irish Episcopal

²⁷ The term alienation is the canon law term for giving ecclesiastical, or Church, property, to another entity. Canon 1292 § 1 of the 1983 *Johanno Pauline* code of canon law determines who is the competent authority to allow for the alienation of Church property. In certain circumstances the decision will rest with the Holy See (canon 1292 § 2). While the Christian Brothers would be passing Church property to another entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, nonetheless it was necessary for them to observe canon law requirements.

Conference²⁸, for the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation was received by the Christian Brothers on April 25 2008, satisfying the requirements of canon law. The decree establishing the foundation was issued by the Irish Episcopal Conference on the same day (Appendix 6). The final step in the establishment of the *public juridic person* would be the receipt of a *nulla osta*²⁹ from the Congregation of Institutes of Consecrated Life and Apostolic Life (CICLSAL), indicating that the Vatican authorities had had no objection to the newly constituted corporate body and this was granted on June 23 2008.

But the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, 58 in all, contains no mention of any specific commitment to the education of the poor. While canonically valid, the question of whether or not the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation is in accordance with the precepts of Catholic Social Teaching and the magisterium documents on the Catholic school, is open to doubt. Furthermore Articles 44 and 45 appear to place limits on the ability of the Administrators to act independently when it comes to the alienation of property. Here it is explicitly stated that, in certain circumstances, “the consent of the President of the Irish Episcopal Conference” is required (Article 44) while, in certain other circumstances, “the permission of the Holy See is required” (Article 45). This will undoubtedly limit the agility and ability of the trust in the future if it seeks to dispose of unused school properties to fund its activities. While its creation appears to be completely logical, indeed deemed to be crucial, to a religious congregation, its existence will invariably hinder the development of the trust in the future.

²⁸ The Irish Catholic Bishops’ Conference (also known as the Irish Episcopal Conference) is the assembly of the Bishops of Ireland exercising together certain pastoral offices on the island of Ireland. The Conference enables the Bishops to exchange views, and share their wisdom and experience in order to promote the common good of the Church in Ireland. General Meetings of the Irish Catholic Bishops’ Conference normally take place on a quarterly basis in St. Patrick’s Maynooth. It has five Episcopal Commissions, including one for education (www.catholicireland.net/icbc)

²⁹ Note that the issue of a *Nulla Osta* does not, in itself, imply agreement with the objectives of the new pontifical foundation, merely that CICLSAL had no objection.

6.4.2 The creation of a suitable civil entity: Just as with the creation of a suitable canonical entity, there would be a need for the sponsors to create a civil law entity. This is necessary to ensure that there is limited liability in place for the Members of the lay trust. This means that, in the event of any litigation, the Members would be indemnified. The advice obtained from a senior counsel, in relation to the intermeshed nature of the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Foundation and the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited, stressed the significance of the distinction between the canon law and civil entities. On May 25 2007 the senior counsel acting on behalf of the Irish Episcopal Conference advised that:

It seems to me that in the management of the schools and particularly in dealings with third parties, care should be taken to ensure that contracts are entered into and liabilities are incurred in the name of the Company rather than in the name of the Foundation. The reason for this is simple. If the members and directors act in the name of the Company, liability attaches to the Company rather than to the individuals personally. However, if they act instead as Administrators in the name of the Foundation they run the risk of personal liability to the third party since, whatever the position under Canon Law, the Foundation is an unincorporated association as a matter of civil law with the potential for unlimited personal liability.

There are a number of options when it comes to the choice of a civil company that will provide for limited liability. But the decision-making process in the selection of a civil law entity is much less complicated and the history of companies much more established. The choice taken was the establishment of a company limited by the guarantee of its members. This allows for the possibility of the Members and Directors of the civil law company also becoming the Administrators of the *public juridic person*, the canon law entity. A major disadvantage of this form of company is that, while there is limited liability for the members, there is no underlying share capital to fund the activities of the enterprise. Eventually, following several years of preparation, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited was registered with the competent civil authority, the Companies Registry Office (CRO), in April 2008. Despite the lengthy period of planning this was only a few months before the launch of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in June of that year.

A final comment in relation to the creation of the canon and civil law entities is that the Articles of the Foundation make several references to the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the company, but there is no reciprocal arrangement. Effectively the canon law entity is hidden within the civil law entity. This point was made by senior counsel employed by the Irish Episcopal Conference on May 25 2007, when he noted that “an outsider reading the constitutional documents of the Company would not necessarily be aware of the fact that the Foundation exists in parallel”. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation is effectively sheltered within the civil company, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited. While the implications of this intermeshing may lie far into the future, and may affect, most particularly, the agility of the trust to leverage its property portfolio to possible advantage, there is, unquestionably, an element of shadow ownership of these assets because they are ecclesiastical assets in canon law.

6.4.3 The provision of sufficient capital: There are two components to the provision of sufficient capital to the new trust. The first is to ensure that it has financial resources to allow it to function effectively in supporting Rice’s founding charism. The second is to allow it to support individual schools, should they encounter unexpected financial problems. This would enable the trust to provide a “letter of comfort” effectively acting as guarantor for any financial support that a financial institution might offer.

While there were sporadic attempts made during the period 2003-2008 to quantify the actual cost of running the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, none came to a satisfactory answer. More accurately, none came to an answer that was acceptable to the Project Sponsors. The solutions discussed included the creation of a philanthropic climate among past pupils and the expansion of the school capitation system. The latter suggestion would have involved increasing the amount of a per pupil licence fee, increasing the financial burden on DEIS schools in particular. But in the end no decision was made. This means that the Edmund Rice Schools Trust needed, from its inception, to be supported by regular injections of funds by the Christian Brothers.

The extent of the support required for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was quantified by the Chief Executive in an interview in the *Irish Times* on May 28 2009 (Keena) when he noted that:

The Christian Brothers order has agreed to fund the trust for a three year period. For 2008-2009, the grant from the Christian Brothers amounted to €750,000. For 2009-2010, it is €1.2 million and agreement has yet to be reached for the following year (p. 11).

It has been necessary for the Christian Brothers to continue to support the Edmund Rice Schools Trust since its inception, far beyond the original three-year agreement. Brother C, during his interview said that the total amount of support from the Christian Brothers to the trust was “probably eight or nine million” [Euro], a not insignificant sum.

The reality for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust is that it is not capable of functioning without either receiving further contributions from the Christian Brothers or some other source, such as that received in licencing fees from its schools. The Christian Brothers had hoped that the Department of Education would contribute to the cost of running Catholic school trusts but in May 2008 Brother C, at a meeting of the Members and Directors of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, acknowledged that this hope was not likely to be realised. The proliferation of Catholic trusts was offered by way of explanation for this development.

But more important is the question of how such financial impediments constrain in turn the visionary energies that were part of Rice’s original charism. The sums donated by the Christian Brothers to support the operation of the trust are considerable. Insofar as these donations have allowed the trust to survive, limited success has been achieved. But, over a decade after its establishment, the trust has not been able to demonstrate that it is self-funding. The current funding model, in the absence of a sufficiently large capital sum that would generate income in perpetuity, does not allow for the future viability of the trust. The most recent accounts of the trust acknowledge that there is a need to demonstrate that the entity is viable. The conclusion drawn by this study is that a key ingredient, the donation of a capital sum necessary for the success of Edmund Rice Schools Trust in upholding the

distinctive traditions of Rice is lacking. The failure to endow the trust with a sufficient capital sum remains one of the most obvious failures of the planning processes.

During the first fifteen months of its operations, up to August 31 2009, the running costs for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust amounted to €1,111,456. During this period €156,966 was received in the form of licence fees from schools, representing just over 14% of the total costs of running the trust during this period. If the trust is to be fully funded from licence fees, on the basis of its 2008/2009 accounts, an increase of over 600% would have been required with the individual licence fee then rising from €6 per pupil to €42, a huge further demand on the DEIS schools. It is important to put this into context. For a 250 pupil DEIS school the annual licence fee would rise from €1,500 to €10,500. This would equate to the entire DEIS grant paid to such a school, which is meant to be devolved to alleviating educational disadvantage. The planning on key issues of finance and funding was entirely inadequate to meet the challenges likely to be to be faced by the new trust.

6.4.4 Donation of school properties and facilities Over the two centuries of the Christian Brothers' involvement in Irish education they have acquired, or have received by way of donation, a great deal of property and other associated facilities, such as playing fields that are available for use by their schools. If the Edmund Rice Schools Trust were to be established on a firm financial footing it needed to receive as much of the sponsoring congregation's existing school property and associated facilities as possible. The property issues facing the Project Team were considerable. The legal brief prepared by the Christian Brothers financial advisors, Life and Pensions (L&P), on 16 October 2006, illustrates succinctly the ownership position with regard to school properties, prior to the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust: This notes that:

School properties are currently *de facto* owned by the congregation. *De Jure*, for historical reasons, they are owned by groups of individual members of the congregation who hold the properties in trust under the rules and constitutions of the congregation, but with no declaration of trust on the titles. The congregation licenses the relevant school properties to the Boards of Management of each individual school.

It transpired that many of the title holders were deceased and there had been no systematic process of transferring property titles in place for many years. In March 2003, the Project Manager attempted to compile a list of primary schools under the Brothers' trusteeship, along with the associated four owners who held the title of the school. The handwritten note underneath this document states that "very few schools had four survivors and many had none!"³⁰ Other decisions were required. These included the need to agree which properties were to be transferred into the Trust and whether properties would be transferred by outright donation or by lease. In the end there were a number of different types of transfer. Some schools would be donated directly to the trust while others would remain in the ownership of the congregation as "heritage" sites associated with Edmund Rice. These included Mount Sion in Waterford, the site of Rice's first new building, and O'Connell Schools in Dublin.

The issue of the playing fields best exemplifies the many difficulties encountered during the planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. Planning in the property arena for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust project prioritised the separation of the playing fields and the school grounds. In May 2007 the minutes of a meeting of the newly-established European Province Leadership team decided that the "congregation would retain assets realised on the sale of playing fields". In June 2008 only one playing field was donated to the trust. The remaining forty-six were licenced to Boards of Management on a one-year renewable licence.

Brother C, acknowledged the complexity of the task facing the trust:

Now the task that we gave ERST to do was enormous. I would think that the congregations, if they want the schools to last, they need huge resources. They need to give everything to these schools if they want them to last because who else will? They are our inheritance. And anything that we accumulated – to an extent – accumulated through our association with them. They are the schools that we came up through, they are the schools that we have asked these people to take over. And, if we believe that there is a future in it anything we have, we have to give to them.

³⁰ The use of the exclamation mark is a recurring feature throughout the material examined in the archives. The archivists confirmed that the writing, and characteristic ending, is that of Br Heneghan, the Project Manager.

The intention that the trust would be in a position to realise funds for its operation and support of their schools through the sale of property and land as a result of school closure has not been realised, a position that Brother C agreed was unfortunate. He observed that “we thought that they would be able to make money from redundant buildings, but it is not a great resource”. The lack of capacity to leverage the benefits from the sale of school buildings results in the trust being in a perpetual state of uncertainty regarding its future funding.

6.4.5 Infrastructural provision and human resources: The sponsoring religious congregation would also need to ensure the provision of infrastructural and material resources or ensure that the capacity existed to acquire such resources. Principal among the requirement of a new trust is the provision of a suitable headquarters. The site of the St Helen’s education office, at Clonkeen Road, Blackrock, was chosen for this purpose. The minutes of a pre-incorporation meeting of the Members and Directors held on March 10 2008, notes that there “was some disquiet that the building proposed, the St. Helen’s education office in Blackrock, was over 30 years old and not impressive for a new enterprise”.

While this space was eventually refurbished, it has limited capacity for formation exercises into the future. Like many religious congregations, the Christian Brothers have surplus buildings that were required in the past to house their large numbers. It has been observed in Chapter Two that a successful transfer of the mission would require the transfer of infrastructure that would allow for the possibility of formation exercises for the educational partners to take place on a regional basis. But this did not occur during the transfer process.

A key requirement for the continuity and renewal of the mission lay in the employment of a sufficient number of professional staff. When combined with those already working in the education offices of the congregation, this would enable a successful transition from one regime to the other. Key to the success of this process is an ongoing and thorough sharing of knowledge and inspirations, especially in the years after the transfer. Thorough in this context would mean the wholehearted offering of experience and insight without dominating

the newly-appointed lay leaders. Without this the new enterprise would struggle to establish itself as the legitimate successor. A gradual and gentle disentanglement by religious would also be a feature of this aspect of the transfer process.

Shortly after their appointment, at a pre-incorporation meeting, the newly-appointed Members and Directors were anxious to quantify the amount of support that the Christian Brothers had provided to the staff employed in the education offices. The minutes of the March 10 2008 meeting recorded that each office “relied on the support of two of the PLT [Province Leadership Team] but that one of the five Brothers on the team was always available”. There were only two Christian Brothers appointed as inaugural Administrators of the foundation. One served as a Member for a short period while the second became a Director. While both had experience of trusteeship the fact that there were only two appointments meant that there was limited access to knowledge from this source, this represented another missed opportunity to support the new trust.

The Members reiterated the “importance of the appointment of a Chief Executive Officer as soon as possible” at the same meeting, only a matter of months before the June 18 2008 launch date. This appointment was finally made only a few weeks before this date, in May 2008. The position of existing staff at both education offices was raised by two Members at the March 2008 meeting. One “requested clarification on the integration of the new specialist roles into the Education office and the facilitation of those in the Education Office who have a lot of knowledge and experience”. In response the Chief Executive of the Board of Directors noted that “it was hoped that current Education office staff will apply for the new roles in order to retain the knowledge”. Another member stressed that “the sooner that positions were filled it would be easier to allay the sensitivities of the current staff”. The response by the Chief Executive of the Board of Directors was “that it was the position of the Directors that they were providing opportunities rather than guarantees”.

Despite over five years of planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust a key component, the employment of its professional staff, was compressed into a matter of a few weeks at the very end of the project. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust began its life under the direction of

staff that, in some cases, had no previous involvement with Christian Brother schools. The executive of the new trust consisted of only four permanent personnel. One of these had the title of Director of Ethos. After over two hundred years of involvement with their schools the Christian Brothers had put in place a lay trust where a single person had the task of ensuring that Rice's revolutionary founding charism was maintained and developed in almost one hundred schools.

6.5 Conclusion

The original date set for the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was December 31 2005. It was not launched until June 2008, three and a half years later. This suggests that the complexities of the issues faced by the Project Team were underestimated by the sponsoring congregation, the Christian Brothers. It took eight and a half years to establish a lay trust from the 1999 decision of the Province Leadership Teams. The stated reason in the decree establishing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation was to be in accord with the Vatican call for an increased role for the laity. The reality, at least as far as Brother A was concerned, when he summed up the reasoning behind the establishment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, was that it was established "because we were running out of Brothers". There is little doubt that the dramatic decline in the number of Christian Brothers available to be active in their schools in Ireland ensured that the establishment of a successor trust was required (Tables 5, 6 and 7). There were many issues to overcome and its eventual establishment was an important achievement. When the trust was formally launched in June 2008, it was the only independent Catholic lay trust in Ireland with responsibility for voluntary secondary schools that held a property portfolio.

The most serious of the shortcomings revealed by the review of findings carried out in this chapter was again the failure to embrace wholeheartedly and imaginatively the core of Rice's educational mission, and to follow through fully on this basis. The gradual development of the most important foundational document for the trust, the Charter, is noteworthy for the

relegation of the commitment to poorer and disadvantaged students. Nor is there any mention of the poor in the other foundation documents, the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation and the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Limited. Yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to envisage a Ricean tradition without a specific commitment to the poor.

There are major shortcomings where formation for a lay apostolate is concerned. The operation of the Charter Implementation Project, designed to promote the Charter, was of limited duration, from September 2006 to August 2009. In just a little over one year from the establishment of the trust, the expertise gathered by the Charter Implementation Officers was dispensed with. Even though limited in its scale, it at least provided a uniform message to be delivered to all schools. From this point on each school interpreted the Charter in its own way.

While a student version of the Charter was produced, albeit in limited numbers, no other provision was made for a formation process for teachers, parents and pupils in the schools prior to the launch of the trust. The burden of disseminating the new reality for schools was laid at the hands of school Principals. In an era of increasing accountability for school leaders this represented a dilemma. For, without sufficient formation themselves, they were expected to provide programmes of formation for their teachers, in addition to fulfilling increasingly onerous administrative functions. This was an unreasonable expectation, one that is unlikely to be met, given the other pressing demands of the position.

The most obvious successes during the planning for the Edmund Rice schools Trust lie in the institutional, financial and support dimension. But even here there are shortcomings and concerns. The successes lie in the compilation of the Charter, which allowed the Edmund Rice Schools Trust to act lawfully as trustees for almost one hundred schools. The creation of a valid canonical entity, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, can also be counted among the successes, particularly the perceived need on the part of the Brothers to comply with

canon law. The painstaking process of establishing the Foundation, while ultimately successful, absorbed a considerable amount of energy of the Project Team and the Project Manager. Rather than being seen as a part of the support structure of the new trust, its establishment became an end in itself. Like the Charter, the Articles of the Foundation make no mention of the poor.

The Christian Brothers have continued to support the work of the trust through regular donations. But the trust, as currently financed, is not viable. Where the funding of voluntary schools becomes parlous, the question of interventions from the public purse almost inevitably arises, sooner or later, especially where the teaching staff are already being paid from public funds. But such potential interventions carry implications for the character of the schools' missions in addition to the thorny question of the ownership of schools properties. If the schools are asked to contribute more by way of increased licence fees, the DEIS schools are at a particular disadvantage. The failures in the provision of sufficient capital continued in the lack of provision of other infrastructural and material resources. It has also been noted that the appointment of staff for the trust occurred very late in the planning process. With only a handful of fulltime executives the trust is considerably under-resourced to meet the challenge of a twenty-first century renewal of Rice's founding intention. The final component in the institutional, financial and support dimension was the donation of school property and facilities. The continuing ownership and control by the Christian Brothers of the playing fields, with only one being donated to the trust, is a considerable shortfall that emerged during the planning process. Very little of substance was even considered to support the operation of the trust after it was launched.

It is now time to turn to daily practice in schools catering for disadvantaged students that operate under the trust. The next chapter will accordingly examine the experience of schools in the ERST network that are part of the DEIS programme.

Chapter 7

The Experience of the DEIS schools

Who are the real Edmund Rice boys? Or - what are the real Edmund Rice settings? He fed and clothed the kids and he gave them the opportunity to break out of the cycle of poverty. So, if you ask yourself, which schools do that? Is it the fee-paying schools that help them break out of the cycle of poverty? No! Is it the schools that promote exclusion? So what school in its right mind would promote exclusion? Well, the answer is – quite a lot of them. They deliberately call themselves the exclusive educational setting. They use the phrase “exclusive” meaning that your child will be in there with other like-minded kids and the boys who would hold them back will not be there. So, if you ask “what setting would you find a character like Edmund Rice working in?” It would be in the DEIS schools.

Principal F speaking about the DEIS schools
as the authentic inheritors of Rice’s tradition.

7.1 Introduction

The six main research aims for this study were set out in the introductory chapter. The first four of these have been dealt with in previous chapters while the final aim, to cast an eye to

what the future might hold for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and its DEIS schools, will be the subject of the final two chapters. This chapter will focus on the fifth research aim, to explore how the original vision of the founder of the Christian Brothers, Edmund Rice, is being implemented in practice under the aegis of the new trust and particularly in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools. The perspectives of principals from these schools will be presented to investigate the practical reach of the transfer to lay hands. The perspectives of the DEIS Principals are examined in four strands. Firstly they respond to the spiritual inspirations that are to be found in the current fundamental values espoused by the Christian Brothers: presence, compassion and liberation. These responses are compared with their reaction to the inspirations provided in the Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. Secondly, the adequacy or otherwise of the provision made by the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in the area of formation is explored with the school principals. Thirdly, in relation to finance and resources, the principals' views are ascertained as to what would count as an adequate provision here to enable the schools to educate in Rice's spirit. Finally, the chapter explores the views of interviewees, based on their experiences to date, on the likely future for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

7.2 Religious Spiritual Dimension: The DEIS Schools - An Evolving Rician Tradition?

While acknowledging that it would be unrealistic to expect lay Principals to reproduce the communal spiritual life associated with membership of a religious congregation, it would not be unrealistic for the Principals to endorse and share Rice's spirit. Here this study draws on two formulations of that very thing. One is contained in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter while the other is the twenty-first century statement of the mission of the Christian Brothers, outlined in Chapter Four that emerged in the period after the 1996 Congregation Chapter in Johannesburg. Today they list presence, compassion and liberation as a statement of their three fundamental values. As McLaughlin (2006) noted, such a statement "highlights the primacy of God (presence), cultivates a communal ethic of care (compassion), and is

committed to humanised action based on justice (liberation)” (p. 1). Furthermore, he observes that this “interpretation concerning the fundamental beliefs emanating from Edmund Rice, that form the bases upon which authentic Edmund Rice Education is generated, is consistent with the Christian Brothers Charism Statement “ (p. 25)

When this formulation was put to the DEIS Principals, they were very much at ease with it as a characterisation of the work in their schools today. In particular the concept of education as a liberating force featured strongly in their responses. Principal D began by saying that “children in this area are not born less intelligent than students in a middle-class area”. Principal B elaborated on this by noting that “education is the biggest liberator... you are giving them the opportunity to be able to develop a very different future for themselves”.

Principal K was even more emphatic:

It’s a very important part of the DEIS schools. It’s what we do! To whatever degree of success that we can possibly do it but it’s probably the most important of the three really. You know that we are trying to liberate these kids. A lot of the time we are trying to liberate them from their own heads!

Principal F, with the unique perspectives derived from leading both a DEIS and a non-DEIS school, both in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network, captured the distinction:

You see, in order to achieve liberation you must have something that is holding you back. And I think that it is in the area of liberation that there’s the greatest difference between the work that you do in a non-DEIS setting and the work that you do in a DEIS setting. When I was in Castleroche ³¹ we had something like ninety four, ninety five, ninety six percent of students who were going on to college. So, it was wonderful! They were all going to college. But, sure, they were always going to go to college!

³¹ The non-DEIS setting. The name has been anonymised.

Compassion was a quality that also resonated strongly with the Principals. Many noted that it was possible to weave compassion into aspects of school life that might be seen to be rigid in their application. Principal C provided an illustration of compassion in action:

For example, the Code of Behaviour is the obvious one. If you have to suspend you would always have to look at the family circumstances but not in a judgemental way – if there is no dad on the scene or if dad is up in Riverstown³² (prison).

Principal C had no doubt about the influence of Rice on the operation of the school:

I'd be very conscious of Edmund Rice. I think the one word that you would use all the time in a school such as ours would be compassion; compassion for the pupils. There will be difficulties. There will be classroom management issues for teachers. There will be uniform issues - homework issues. And the bottom line is not to throw the "book" at them initially and always try to encourage them. And that's coming from Edmund Rice.

Principal H felt that DEIS schools exhibited compassion in abundance:

I think it's the compassionate aspect we are very good at. We would often be contacted by people, by education welfare officers³³, and they have a situation where somebody is expelled from school. You certainly wouldn't be pitying them but you would say, sometimes, let's give them another chance and, depending on the circumstance, you listen to it and I think that is compassion...

Presence, in the understanding of the Christian Brothers, "corresponds to the attitude that accompanies and stands by to listen, understand, accept, affirm and protect" (www.edmundrice.net). The DEIS Principals were unanimous that being present in the lives of their pupils was a key attribute in their particular settings. The view of Principal F is a useful illustration of their views:

You have to be there in the lives of your students, I think I am fortunate enough in so far as we have a small school. I have two hundred and seventy five students and it's

³² Again, the name has been anonymised.

³³ Education Welfare Officers are employed by the National Education Welfare Board. They have a particular role in ensuring school attendance and offer assistance to the parents of pupils who have been expelled, often facilitating transfer to other schools or sourcing alternative schooling possibilities. They also represent parents and guardians at Section 29 Appeals when an expulsion is challenged.

possible to do that. I'd imagine that if you were in a bigger school you would not be able to do that. From the point of view of being present, I think I am.

While there was general agreement with the proposition that the essence of the operation of a DEIS school could be encapsulated by the principles of compassion, presence and liberation, there was less certainty about the principles underpinning the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. As the Charter represents the core values approved by the Christian Brothers when handing on the schools to the new trustees, the Principals were asked to review the five principles underpinning the Charter. Most were surprised to be asked about the Charter at all, but Principal A responded as follows:

The thing that struck me about the Charter was how bland it was. It could apply to almost any school. When I read it first I was puzzled. I had to read it a good few times to realise what was missing. There was no mention of the poor or disadvantaged, at least I couldn't find any references. When I noticed this I couldn't take it seriously as representing what Edmund Rice might have recognised. I still don't! To be honest, the Charter is not an inspiring document for me.

Previous chapters have traced the development of the charism of Edmund Rice through two phases, the founding and the congregational phase. Towards the end of the latter phase the Christian Brothers issued a number of key charism statements and a statement of religious and educational philosophy, in 1972, 1982 and 1986. All of these reiterated the commitment of the Christian Brothers to the poor. During the planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust it was found that there was an intentional and systematic loss of focus on the poor and disadvantaged. All of the interviewees, including the Principals, were asked to evaluate the place of the DEIS schools in the context of Rice's work. There was almost universal agreement among all eighteen interviewees that the DEIS schools are the kind of schools that Rice would have cherished. The only mildly dissenting view was expressed by Principal H. Rice, he felt, "would certainly skip past four fifths of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools". But, he continued, "he might be interested in some of the DEIS ones, particularly the ones in the city centre" (of Dublin). Such near unanimity best illustrates the widely-held view that in the Republic of Ireland, the DEIS schools represent the closest approximation in many respects among Edmund Rice schools to what Rice would have desired.

The influence of Rice's legacy on the Principals can be summed up in the words of Principal B when he said that "I believe that the work in DEIS schools is the work that he would be doing himself if he were to be here today". Many responses made mention of the pupils in DEIS schools, with Principal E saying "that was why he set up the schools - to look after our kind of kids". Principal L spoke of the centrality for the mission of the relationship with the pupils:

These kids are very real. That's why I spent so long in the place. It was the kids. I loved them, you know? There were times you wanted to strangle them but they were funny, they were witty, they were sharp. They kept you on your toes, you know? And I think that's why he would want to visit.

Twenty percent of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust secondary schools are in the DEIS scheme and the Principals leading them on behalf of Boards of Management are aware that they are the inheritors of an authentic Ricean tradition. What words alone cannot convey is the conviction that lay behind that assertion during the interview process. They are well aware that not all schools in the network of Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools see themselves following in the same tradition. This is a source of tension between the schools in the network. Principal G had direct experience of this tension at an Edmund Rice Schools Trust Principals' conference. When discussing the possibility of some form of solidarity fund, into which all of the schools in the network would be invited to contribute and which might then support the DEIS schools, Principal G met with an angry retort from another Principal, who said "why should the parents of our school pay for the kids in your school?" Principal G responded by asking "what would Edmund Rice do?" but he received no reply.

All of the Principals expressed the view that their schools catered for the poor in society and believed this to be their mission today even if it is at odds with the practices of other schools in the network. The process of developing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter began with a short vision statement. The first draft of this, titled "Towards Formulation of an ERST Vision Statement" is dated March 27 2003. It listed five characteristics of an Edmund Rice School, the last of which noted that an Edmund Rice School "Is committed, through the holistic education it provides, to helping students to full appreciation of their own dignity as persons, *particularly those students who are in any way disadvantaged or who have special needs*

(emphasis added). It was pointed out to each interviewee that the latter part of this statement did not appear in any subsequent iterations of the vision statement, the August 2003 “Religious and Educational Philosophy of Edmund Rice Schools”. When asked if this was surprising, the responses of the interviewees were revealing, a combination of acceptance and disquiet. Principal K was not surprised, adding:

But sure, you know yourself, you know the schools who are turning those kids away. The Edmund Rice Schools and a lot of others as well! But, seeing as we are talking about the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, there are Edmund Rice Schools who are turning away kids who have special education needs, they don’t want them! They did not fit with their narrative.

This view was supported by Principal A, who was also not surprised about the decisive diminution of a focus on the poor and disadvantaged:

Not at all... the reality is that the DEIS schools in the ERST network are the outliers today. They are very much in the tradition of what Edmund Rice set out to achieve. Today we are something of an anachronism, little more than an inconvenience for the Department and ERST. Maybe the trustees care very little for all of their schools, but they certainly don’t care about us at all!

Principal J summed up the position the researcher found during the archival research when he said “I think that central message, which is a very simple succinct message with which we should be going on, was lost and left behind”. This view echoes previous findings during this study where a diminution of a commitment to the poor emerged. Principal G, after carefully reading the various iterations of the early drafts of the vision statement and noting the diminution of a concern for the poor in the various wordings was visibly deflated and took a while to respond. When he did, he said:

That they would omit that because they were fearful of what it might look like as part of their corporate vision perhaps doesn’t surprise me, it’s disappointing (long pause), very disappointing.

7.3 Formation Dimension – The Magic Wand?

The appointment of a Principal is an important moment for any school, but especially so for a faith school in the voluntary secondary sector with a specific mission, such as one in the Ricean tradition. A thorough approach to formation would mean that preparation for principalship under the lay trust would need to be re-envisaged. What formation was for school leaders in a religious congregation would need to be succeeded by something likely to be effective for a lay body of Catholic school leaders: namely professional development in an energetic spirit inspired by Rice. The interviews with the DEIS Principals sought to establish what formation exercise they had experienced both before and after their appointment.

When asked about the pre-service training for undertaking the role of Principal, Principal A noted its complete absence:

I would describe the process of appointing a Principal as the “magic wand” process. One day you are a teacher absorbed in that practice, the next day the selection committee waves a magic wand and you are the Principal, meant to be endowed with all the answers. The trustees do not provide any pre-service training whatsoever. If you are lucky you might get a day or two from the Joint Managerial Body. But in my case I was appointed during the summer and missed these altogether. It means you learn on the job and it is a case of sink or swim.

One of the formation exercises that is offered by the Edmund Rice Schools Trust is an annual two day conference for its Principals. Each year the theme of the conference is one of the five pillar principles enshrined in the Charter. But only one of the Principals mentioned this aspect of formation in the course of the interviews. Principal C noted that “we have a conference every year, as you know. But it is very much the ethos and the charism and that kind of stuff”.

The provision by the trust for its school leaders of pre-service training or formation falls far short of that envisaged by Thornber and Gaffney (2014) when they noted that formation was

not just about going to courses. When it comes to the formation provision for school leaders in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust there were no courses provided at all. All of the Principals reported an almost complete lack of pre-service formation, as did the Chairpersons of the Boards of Management. Many did mention the role of the Joint Managerial Body in the provision of training. But a review of the courses provided for newly appointed Principals (www.JMB.ie/Training-events) shows that these concentrate on aspects of governance such as child protection procedures and the code of behaviour. Other topics include managing suspensions and expulsions and dealing with complaints and grievances. These are aspects of management that are necessary but not sufficient in a faith school. The faith formation aspect of leading a voluntary secondary school is not emphasised even though the JMB annual conference is operated in conjunction with the Association of Managers of Catholic Secondary Schools (AMCSS)³⁴. While many of the Principals had some form of postgraduate qualification this was usually in the management arena. A number of Principals mentioned the existence of what are called cluster meetings. This is where a number of Principals meet in their schools in rotation, usually facilitated by an executive of the trust. While such meetings offer a fruitful possibility for formation, only Principal H mentioned these meetings in a positive light.

Developments such as Principals' Conferences, formal courses and cluster meetings are to be welcomed and, in time, they may prove to be fruitful for future generations of Principals. This study discovered a serious dearth of pre-service or recurrent formation for the Principals in the Edmund Rice Schools Network, particularly bespoke formation processes that would assist in tackling the many issues surrounding disadvantage. This is a potentially fatal lacuna, one that needs to be addressed in the future in order to support and sustain school leaders in their work.

³⁴ The JMB website (www.jmb.ie) states that "The JMB Council is composed of representatives of the Association of Management of Catholic Secondary Schools (AMCSS and the Irish School Heads' Association (ISA) which represents the Protestant Schools in the State."

The reality was that, right from the original project brief provided to the Project Manager in February 2003, no provision for formation was ever intended. This is surprising given the significance attached to religious formation in the life of a Christian Brother. But it is illustrative of a lack of understanding of the depth and scope of what would be required during such a monumental transfer from the Brothers to lay hands. In order for there to be an adequate provision of formation for existing and future school leaders the new trust would have had to develop, *a priori*, entire new systems suited to this purpose. Given the manifest shortfalls identified in the institutional and resource dimension the trust would always struggle to make any provision in this area. It appears that no meaningful progress, at least in the view of the DEIS Principals, has been made since 2008.

During 2020 the Christian Brothers celebrated the 200th anniversary of the issuing of the Papal Brief by Pope Pius VII. Article 8 of that document, establishing the Congregation of Christian Brothers as a pontifical institute, listed the five vows that an aspiring Brother would take. The fifth of these was a commitment to teach the poor for free (Normoyle, 1979A, p. 94). To prepare for the difficult apostolate that was to follow each aspiring Brother undertook a lengthy period of religious formation. Two hundred years later the DEIS schools, led by their Principals, are endeavouring to provide just such an education and in doing so these individuals evince the same commitment as Rice. One of the most striking aspects of their attempt is that it is being made even if the formation provided for them is so inadequate.

7.4 Institutional, Financial and Support Dimension

On the analysis so far the shortfalls are a more evident feature of the transfer than the successes, especially if faithfulness to Rice's mission is to provide the main criterion for judgement. This section will investigate the Principal's perspectives on the adequacy of the material support arrangements to secure the transfer of a vibrant tradition of Catholic schooling, one that would be true to Rice's original mission. It has already been noted that the trust was not established with an underlying capital fund that would generate enough

annual revenue to fully fund its operations. This means that the schools are expected to help to support the operation of the trust. As a consequence the trust operates a licence system whereby each school pays an annual capitation fee. All schools in the network are asked to pay at the same rate, irrespective of their financial capacity. The requirement to pay this fee was a source of anger and frustration for the DEIS Principals. Principal F's school did not pay this fee at all. He summed up the reply he sent to the trust in the following words: "we are not going to pay you a penny - how dare you even ask us? You shouldn't be asking schools like us". Most of the Principals felt that this fee should either be waived or reduced to a nominal fee for DEIS schools. All agreed that it should not be increased in the future if there is a need for the trust to acquire a larger proportion of their operational needs from this source.

A similar funding model applies to other support services such as that offered by the Joint Managerial Body (JMB). This organisation was established in 1964 and represents the interests of voluntary schools. Principal K made a distinction between the services offered by the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and the JMB:

We pay the JMB the same but at least you got something back from the JMB, you know? They were helpful if you needed advice which could go some way towards helping you. What did you get from ERST for it? Nothing! Nothing! You got absolutely nothing! If you had to replace a Principal or a Deputy Principal they literally tried to take over the process and run the process, and that's all they did.

This stance was echoed by all but one of the Principals. But there was also an acceptance on the part of the trust that the DEIS schools may have some difficulty in paying the licence fee. Principal B said that "there was a year or two when I couldn't pay it... and they didn't look for it!" This statement also reveals a recurrent theme. All the Principals take the financial issues facing their schools personally, even if they do acknowledge underlying structural constraints. While the financial strain facing DEIS schools in particular has been the subject of some research (Darmody and Smyth, 2013), the effects on the work of the Principal in a DEIS school remains relatively under researched.

All of the Principals expressed the view that the inadequate financing of their schools meant that their students were missing out on aspects of school life that would be considered normal in other settings. Certainly there is no room for luxuries, and small things rankle in this regard, exemplified by the view expressed by Principal D:

Maybe two or three years ago they started these cluster meetings. You'd have maybe three or four a year. But instead of going to ERST headquarters, they go to different schools, and you have to provide the tea and the sandwiches and the coffee and the cakes for the various Principals! I'm very tempted to send the bill to ERST. I think that that has been thought out. I think that the view is that "we hold the meetings in the school – the schools have to do that". Maybe I am being over-cynical but I just feel that it was another bill that I could have done without.

The most important institutional arrangement during the planning for the transfer to lay hands was the creation of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust itself. When Principals were asked about the nature of their relationship with the trust the vast majority of responses were scathing. Principal B, when asked about what form of relationship existed with the trust, said:

Well, I just think of email... (Principal B bursts out laughing...) because that's what my relationship is with ERST. It is that, you know, I email in whatever documentation they have requested.

Principal K described the relationship as being "virtually non-existent" and went on to say:

I will put it into context ... I was in headquarters for the first time to have a meeting to discuss the appointment of the interview panel for my successor! The Chairperson of the Board of Management was with me and he said "would it not have been an idea to have brought you out here when you were appointed in the first place?" So – that was the first time I was in Ardcluain³⁵ after thirty two years. The last engagement was pretty apt. They wrote to me inviting me to the ERST (Principals') conference, where they were going to make a presentation to mark my years. They duly forgot about it on the night! (Principal K bursts out laughing)

³⁵ The name has been changed.

Principal E agreed that the relationship was insignificant:

I wouldn't have had any contact. Maybe once a year or a phone call from the office to see how we were getting on. It's not like the Christian Brothers who had a vocation to go out and help the poor. There is no-one there who is driven by a vocation to help the poor. They are there because it is a job and they have a job to do.

Principal E found that there was little empathy from the Brothers after they had disengaged from the school following his appointment. He said that "once a year, I suppose, I got a call. That was with the Brothers. With ERST I wouldn't have had any contact." Principal D agreed, observing that "by and large I can manage the whole year without any contact from ERST. It's certainly not dynamic in the sense of being in the school and it's largely irrelevant to what we are doing". But there was one Principal who found the engagement with the trustees useful in part. Principal H observed that he "would characterise it as mostly helpful, there would be meetings of Principals and we would be sharing best practice. So I think that that would be quite useful".

Principal G's observations on this matter capture a few key points, so it is worth quoting that response in some detail. Principal G summed up the visits by representatives of the trustees as follows:

There is one chap who has visited the school on a number of occasions. He is a former Principal of a private Christian Brothers school and he is a nice man. He had a look around and gave a pep talk and said "I am with you" and, then, he took a little walk, right? (Laughs...) That's pretty much it! But he came and marvelled at the work we do and was fulsome in his praise and, if you were into getting your head rubbed and your back slapped, you know, it was that type of moment. But, with regard to constructive worth and while we all like a little bit of praise and acknowledgement of our work, there wasn't anything of substance there.

Principal J spoke about how the relationship had dwindled in recent years and he reflected that now he seemed:

...to get more documentation from them to fill up. I seem to get things that strike me as just kind of papering cracks... or, you know, we are covering what we are supposed to do (Principal J laughs) and I have kind of, more or less, withdrawn from contact in a way.

Each Principal reported that no Member or Director of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust had ever visited their school in an official capacity. When it came to the Chief Executive, one Principal noted that invitations had been issued to him and to other staff of the trust to visit the school for celebratory events on a bi-annual basis for almost a decade. All but one had not been taken up. In this case the CEO had attended an event promoted by the school at a prestigious venue but not in the school. In response to the question: “has the CEO ever been invited to visit the school?” Principal F answered “No - nor would he be!” Others were equally as vehement that there would be no invitation issued.

The ground has shifted perceptibly for the DEIS schools. Up to the launch of the trust their operation and existence was congruent with the charism statements issued by the Christian Brothers in 1972, 1982 and the 1986 “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”. But from June 2008 onwards, with the dawning of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, their *raison d’etre*, providing an education for the poor in an authentic Ricean tradition, is no longer a central concern in the Charter of that body. Thornber and Gaffney (2014) speak of the problem of second-generation leaders. So it is with the leaders of the DEIS schools. Sooner than might be envisaged a newly appointed Principal to a DEIS school in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network of schools will have nobody on their staff that will remember the involvement of the Christian Brothers. A careful reading of the Charter will not provide much comfort or inspiration to the new appointee. They may well ask the question - why there is so little commitment to the poor in a Charter that declares itself to be in the Ricean tradition?

7.5 The Future for the DEIS schools

A persistent question posed itself as a motivation to conduct this study. It arose out of the researcher's decade long experience as a Principal of a DEIS secondary school in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network. The researcher experienced a sense of unease, especially after the recession of 2008 and the years that followed. The question arose in the mind of the researcher as to what the future would hold for the DEIS schools in this network. It appeared to the researcher that the DEIS schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust were being asked to carry a disproportionate burden in maintaining the charism of their founder, Edmund Rice. At the same time the foundation document for the new trust, the Charter, did not have Rice's vision and central mission to the fore.

Each of the eighteen interviewed for this research study felt that this was case and many were emphatic on the topic. Many Principals used the term "carrying the can" to indicate that they felt that their schools were being asked to bear an additional burden in maintaining the charism of their founder, Edmund Rice. The response of Principal E is indicative of all the responses. When asked about the burden that the DEIS schools faced Principal E said:

Yes, well, they are carrying the can and you can see it. Look at teachers – talk to teachers who are working in, say, our schools. Talk to teachers who were in schools – say, of nice, well, comfortable rural schools or whatever, or a south county Dublin school or whatever it is – and the difference is incredible. I mean, you hear of teachers in schools getting worked up about what we would regard as the pettiest little thing whereas the teachers in our schools would have been stressed out about major issues of family violence or whatever. So there is a major difference between the schools that people don't appreciate.

The pithiest response on the financial strain of being a Principal in a DEIS school came from Principal B who said, "unfortunately, in a DEIS setting, everything comes down to finances - and the absolute lack of them". Principal K, responding to the question about a disproportionate burden, said:

Absolutely! The whole voluntary nature of the thing... like, we have our famous voluntary subscription. We are looking for money off these people because we do not have enough money to keep the doors open, to keep the heat on; to keep the place nice and presentable for the kids in the first place. Money is your god when you are a DEIS Principal.

Principal F provided an enlightening insight into two very different financial realities. He holds a rather unusual perspective, in that this Principal was now serving in a DEIS schools but, prior to this appointment, had held a senior role in another Edmund Rice Schools Trust non-DEIS school. In a vivid comparison of the two situations he made the point that in the non-DEIS setting the school collected €243,000 annually, including a sizeable refund from the Revenue Commissioners, from voluntary contributions from parents. In the DEIS setting only 20% of parents made a voluntary contribution. None of this is tax-deductible as the parents receive social welfare payments and income from this source has not had tax deducted³⁶. Principal G spoke of the various financial stresses and the role played by charities and he said that “St. Vincent de Paul is, probably, one of our biggest contributors into the school”.

There was unanimous agreement that the funding for DEIS schools was wholly inadequate. But the insurance bills proved to be of real concern to the Principals. As the DEIS schools are located in urban areas insurance costs are considerably greater than in rural areas, but the current funding model does not take this into account as capitation funds received are paid at fixed levels. Principal A spoke of the “heart palpitations” that the arrival of the annual insurance bill caused, a view echoed by all. None of the DEIS schools had the financial resources to pay this bill in one lump sum, but usually paid it in instalments, often much later than the due date. All felt that this should be paid for centrally by the Department, as is the case for Community, Comprehensive and ETB schools.

³⁶ Appendix 9 contains a longer quote outlining these two, very different, realities.

The interviewees were all asked to respond to the question as to what the future might hold for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. Principal B spoke about the nature of the DEIS schools and the future of the trust:

Yes, we are already dealing with those in society who are more vulnerable and I suppose, as a group of Principals, we would also feel very, very vulnerable because we are the ones that no-one wants to listen to. And, when we ask the hard questions, no-one wants to acknowledge that. Is there a plan? Is there a vision? What is the long term plan? And the answers to that do not appear to be forthcoming.

Principal H, while agreeing with fellow Principals about an additional burden, also expressed a view as to how the situation could be changed. He said that “a bit like Edmund Rice did himself originally, with his private schools supporting the ones that didn’t charge fees, I think the poorest of the poor of the DEIS schools should be supported by ERST”.

Many felt that an amalgamation of the various Catholic trusts was the most obvious path to the future. Principal F said “it’s inevitable that they will have to consolidate. They will continue to face a culture that is increasingly antagonistic towards their goals”. Representative A said that he saw “the Edmund Rice Schools Trust developing (and) evolving into the future and possibly becoming part of a larger entity”. Principal H offered a variety of scenarios for the future of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, observing that:

It was set up with the intention of the State taking on the funding and the State will not take on the funding. So, therefore, it’s either going to be that they will turn around to the schools and start charging twenty euro per student^{37*} or they are going to just collapse.

Principal C summed up the position as he saw it, “you are being told ‘good luck to you. Off you go. There’s your ship. Set sail’”. Both Principal A and Principal E expressed the view that it may well be the case that all of the schools in the network were equally neglected by

³⁷ As was seen in Chapter Six, if the schools are asked to fund all of the trust’s expenditure, the reality is that the level of increase in the licence fee that would be required would be far in excess of a twenty euro per student level, it would be in the region of €42.

the trust and the latter said “I don’t know, maybe they do neglect middle class schools as much as they neglect the DEIS schools. But they don’t look after their DEIS schools very well.”

Principal K made a distinction between the possible fate of the DEIS schools and their non-DEIS counterparts when he observed that “the churches will fight and hang onto their flagship schools. But the ones where you and I served most of our lives, I think they will be given back to the State”. Brother C, confirming that there was a certain inevitability of the lack of a viable future for the various trusts, struck a pessimistic note when he observed that:

A wish for the future would be the one that we chose in the past, that they be treated the same as the VEC’s [Vocational Education Committees] are treated... the ETB’s [Education and Training Boards]. But (long pause) I believe that that is not going to happen and, even if it did happen, it would be another way for the state buying out the voluntary sector. Because there is no doubt that funding and power and control go together. So, I’d say better keep them struggling.

Rice began his educational apostolate in 1802 with a deep conviction and with the benefit of a considerable fortune arising from his business acumen. During Chapter Three it was concluded that the apogee of his educational endeavour came with the laying of the foundation stone for O’Connell Schools. Paradoxically, despite his popularity, his personal fortune had by then been exhausted. Financial insecurity was a feature of his early establishments, a reality that faced Rice’s followers after his death. Over two centuries later the precarious future for the DEIS schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network mirrors the travails of Rice’s early mission. The difference is that the DEIS schools today are a minority within the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network and, more importantly, in the eyes of their Principals, they are not the core concern of their current trustees.

7.6 Conclusion

All of the interviewees were very receptive to the interviewing process and gave long and considered answers. In many cases the interviewees observed that their point of view on many of the topics engaged with during the interviews had never been sought before. All of the interviews exceeded, by a considerable margin, the allotted time advised to the interviewees. The personal investment from all interviewees was impressive, none more so that the Principals and the researcher formed the view that theirs was akin to a personal crusade.

As regards the spiritual inspirations for the work of the schools the Principals were far more receptive to the Christian Brothers modern expression of their apostolate than they were towards the Charter of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. With its lack of commitment to the poor, it did not resonate with them or capture the essence of the work of their schools. Their comments on the inadequacy of provision for both pre-service and in-service formation is hardly surprising given that it was never envisaged in the first instance. But this area has not been addressed by the trust since its inception in any meaningful sense. The distinct needs of the DEIS Principals have not been identified at all, yet another manifestation of the distancing of the founding inspirations of the trust from its Ricean roots.

The institutional and financial shortfalls that have previously been identified have percolated down to the operation and experience of the DEIS schools. In order to have a lighter moment during the interviews the Principals were asked to provide a short “wish list” were they to be the Minister of Education for a day. Some innovative responses included ring-fencing college and university places for students from DEIS schools and the appointment by the Department of Education of a Liaison person for DEIS schools whereby the individual needs of each school could be assessed rather than the current allocations system. All the Principals felt that the current allocations system for providing staff was too cumbersome and incapable of a rapid

response to the needs of individual schools. What was most striking was that their “wish list” focused entirely on the needs of their pupils.

The interviewees included one Principal in a DEIS school that was not part of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network of schools. The similarity of this Principal’s responses to those of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS Principals was notable. The school, Our Lady of Lourdes,³⁸ is an all-girls establishment but Principal L readily identified with the three characteristics of presence, compassion and liberation. He spoke about the philosophy of the current school trustees, the Sisters of Charity, and their founder, Mary Aikenhead (1787-1858). This was all about, he said;

...giving to the poor what the rich can afford for themselves. You know? Working with the most marginalised and that was what the Sisters of Charity did originally. They worked for the most marginalised in society. They worked with prisoners. They worked with the homeless. They worked in the slums. They visited the slums. They wanted healthcare for the poor.

Responses such as this mirrored those of the DEIS Principals from the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network and are entirely congruent with Rice’s early mission. This suggests that the DEIS voluntary schools often have more in common with each other than they do with their non-DEIS network members. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust Principals consistently drew a direct line back to Edmund Rice and his concern for the poor and disadvantaged, a concern and tradition that they have inherited and fostered. They were also realistic enough to realise that the majority of the schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network of schools did not necessarily have the same concern for this element of that tradition. Many have had the experience of being asked to enrol students who had previously been refused admission or expelled by other Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools. The Principals readily endorsed the principles of compassion, presence and liberation, the underpinning principles that are espoused by the Christian Brothers today. When asked about the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter, the Principals were not convinced that it represented a guiding light for them. The

³⁸ An invented name.

Principals were also uneasy about the commitment of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust executive to their schools. They voiced the concern that that they do not conform to what is required, or at least that they are somewhat anachronistic. All but one Principal regarded the relationship between them and the trust as being of a tenuous nature. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that there seems to be a mutually-distant relationship between the new trustees and their DEIS schools.

The main aim of this chapter was to investigate how well the transfer of Rice's mission to lay hands succeeded when viewed from the perspective of the experiences of the DEIS schools. Viewed from this perspective the transfer from the Christian Brothers to the new trust cannot be seen in a mainly positive light. The secure philosophical underpinning of their existence, a genuine and explicit commitment to the poor, provided by the 1972 and 1982 charism statements, as well as the 1986 "Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy" during the trusteeship of the Christian Brothers, is not evident in any telling sense in the new trusteeship arrangements.

The next two chapters will complete this work. Chapter 8, "Appraisal of the Research Aims", will address the first five research aims while the final chapter, "Looking to the future" will review the final aim.

Chapter 8

Appraisal of the Research Aims

“All these I have kept”, said the young man. “What do I still lack? Jesus told him, “if you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow Me”. When the young man heard this, he went away in sorrow, because he had great wealth.”

(Matthew, 19:21)

8.1 Introduction

This work began with the above passage from Matthew’s Gospel and this chapter opens with the same words. Rice, seeking spiritual perfection, *did* give all he possessed to the poor. Furthermore he utilised all his worldly possessions and his abilities to provide a liberating form of education with a commitment to the poor. His is a true demonstration of Gospel values, acknowledged in him being declared venerable in 1993 and his beatification in 1996. The Congregation of Christian Brothers continued with his mission but with distortions that periodically weakened the resolve that Rice demonstrated. As this study reaches a conclusion, there are two main tasks still to be undertaken. Firstly, to review the first five of the six research aims. A review of the last aim will then be carried out in the final chapter.

8.2 Charism, Fortunes, Charter, Planning and the DEIS schools: Origins of a Lay Trust?

This study has so far undertaken an analysis of five of its six research aims. In the course of that analysis it has explored the nature of Rice's founding charism; the historical fortunes of this through the founding, congregational and trust phase; the development of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter; the planning processes that led to the establishment of the trust and the experience of the DEIS schools, through the eyes of their Principals, under the auspices of the new trust. Arising from these foregoing analyses this chapter sets itself the task of evaluating the findings under each of these five aims.

8.2.1 Rice's Founding Charism

The first research aim sought to examine what was distinctive in Rice's original founding spirit. How this first impulse was instigated serves to ground everything that followed. Rice has emerged as a powerful character with a strong personality, visionary in nature with a degree of perseverance and perspicacity that enabled him to have a determined focus on a central mission. This was the education of the minds and religious sensitivities of poor Catholic boys in an all-embracing supportive environment. All of his endeavours followed from his single-minded pursuit of this goal.

No single event impelled him to begin his mission but rather a series of disparate influences that have been detailed in Chapter Three. But the effect of all these, perhaps inexorably so, led him to initiating an educational mission directed at the poor. As this thesis has argued throughout, it is the radical nature of this commitment that sets him apart from other Christian and Catholic educational figures. Radicalness such as this was not often taken up by other figures, even those declaring an affinity for the education of the poor. One of Rice's contemporaries and admirers, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1775-1842), had a great interest in

national education, and visited two of Rice's schools (McCarthy, 1926, pp. 216-217). However he retained his wealth and place in the ascendancy. Rice's radicalism was never militant in nature. He understood and accepted the ecclesiastical structures and navigated through them with some aplomb, evidenced by his early written correspondence to a bishop and, in 1796, to Pope Pius VI. In this he is marked out as a most singular individual, possessed of a degree of confidence not common in lay people of that time.

Rice was also an eminently practical educationalist but whose pragmatism never allowed him to be deflected from his commitment to the poor. He cannot be regarded as an educational theorist in the same vein as, for example, the Swiss educationalist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), who, while advocating the education of the poor, also left a substantial *corpus* of written works. Another contemporary, the German Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), originator of the kindergarten movement, published *The Education of Man* in 1826, which is well regarded today. Yet, as Keogh (1996) observed, by 1810 Rice had already established a system of education capable of being developed to serve the needs of large numbers of poor boys.

In Chapter Three it was acknowledged that relatively little about Rice the person has been passed down to us and that he is something of an elusive subject. The lack of detail about Rice is due in no small way to the failure to fully comply with the decision taken at the 1841 General Chapter directing those Brothers who knew Rice to record their recollections. Whether this failure was due to the influence of his successor, Br Riordan, is difficult to ascertain, but Riordan had been, in McLaughlin's words, energetically anti-Rice. Just three years before his death, Rice had been excluded from the 1841 General Chapter, a telling rebuke to the founder. Therein lies the mystery surrounding Rice. A towering figure during a difficult period for Catholic education, he also managed to divide his Brothers and his reputation was seriously damaged within the congregation he founded even before his death. That situation persisted into the twentieth century. For instance Bellows (1988) records that the name of Edmund Rice was rarely mentioned during the years he spent in the novitiate in the 1940s.

Rice's mission was quite distinct in that his apostolate was dedicated to those in Irish society who had not been prioritised by the establishment of the time. The Catholic Church was more focused on its diocesan schools and the need to supply candidates for the priesthood. Other religious educational endeavours, such as that of the Jesuits, did not see the poor as suitable subjects. By focusing on the very poor in society, and by attempting to enhance their life prospects through the provision of a unique form of education imbued with a distinctively Catholic outlook, Rice challenged the existing social norms.

A further distinguishing characteristic of the founding charism concerns the far-sightedness of the vision that Rice held for the future of his plans. Conscious of his own mortality, he determined on a path that would see others following in his footsteps as members of a pontifical institute. Furthermore, while his theology was uncomplicated it focused on Gospel values such as charity, compassion and simplicity. The latter quality was best exemplified by his ascetic lifestyle. The impact of his asceticism on his early followers was a notable feature of the fledgling congregation.

There were many occasions when Rice seemed to be about to experience defeat and, while these occasions left him perturbed, he never stepped back from the challenges. Rice met these early setbacks, particularly those that were most keenly felt, with endless belief in the power of prayer and limitless faith in God. The pragmatic nature of his character meant that when the opportunity arose he was not averse to receiving support from the State, even though he did not share the State's educational aims. His early adoption of the National School Scheme of 1832, for example, demonstrated this characteristic. The experience gleaned through his business career provided him with a whole range of sensitivities that he brought to bear. Without compromising his core commitment Rice demonstrated recurring ingenuity in progressing his apostolate despite some daunting difficulties.

Rice's leadership style proved to be particularly inspiring to others, indicated by the Brothers who followed in his path. Counter-cultural characteristics of the daily activities in his early

schools, such as the practice of shaking hands with pupils and strict rules concerning the use of corporal punishment, mark him as an unconventional figure. Rice's contribution in the field of Catholic education has been recognised by the Catholic Church and he was declared to be Venerable in 1993, a key step towards sainthood. In October 1996 he was beatified and is now referred to as Blessed Edmund Ignatius Rice, further recognition of his legacy. Pope John Paul II, referring to Rice on the occasion of his beatification, said that he was "an outstanding model of a true lay apostle and a deeply committed Religious". The valiant, courageous, counter-cultural and pragmatic nature of his enterprise, so successful from the beginning, is worthy of examination today, especially in relation to the nature of the successor body established by the Christian Brothers, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

8.2.2 The Historical Fortunes of Rice's founding charism

Three phases were identified in tracing developments in Rice's founding charism from 1802 to the present day. This extended period does not easily lend itself to a detailed analysis within the strictures required for this study. Several landmark events personal to Rice and the Christian Brothers were selected in previous chapters to illustrate the changing fortunes of Rice's charism. The first of these was the opening of his first school in 1802 while the second was the establishment of a religious congregation, long envisaged by Rice. A third key event was the granting of a Papal Brief in September 1820 which affirmed his central concern – the creation of an educational system that would be free for poor Catholic boys. This is an indication of the boldness of vision that marks him out. As an individual and founder of a religious congregation, he is an exemplar and a difficult one to follow. A fourth personal landmark moment for Rice came with the laying of the foundation stone by Daniel O'Connell for the O'Connell Schools establishment in Richmond Street on June 9 1828. This event marks the zenith of his influence during his lifetime. But from this point Rice became a marginalised figure within the congregation and he lost much of his personal influence.

External forces and events then began to play a more prominent role in how his charisma fared, particularly with the determination of the Cork Brothers to unseat him as the Superior General. Rice's willingness to allow the Brothers' schools to become affiliated to the National Board of Education in 1832 was used as a pretext for their attack. While involvement with this scheme brought much-needed financial support it was perceived by some as an unworthy compromise on a matter of principle. McLaughlin (2007) makes a persuasive case that objections from the Cork Brothers did not always spring from a wholehearted commitment to the founding purposes of the Brothers and were not always made with a pure intent. On that occasion Rice bowed to the will of the majority and the Brothers' schools were gradually withdrawn from the National School scheme. The consequences for the congregation and for Rice were dramatic and difficult and the Brothers established only one new school in Ireland between 1830 and 1840, a major setback for Rice towards the end of his life.

But Rice's most important achievement is that, despite internal conflicts, sometimes even partisan ones, his original mission endured and developed. It held sufficient appeal to enable the congregation to become a distinct and inclusive force in Catholic education, internationally as well as in Ireland. When Br Riordan became the second Superior General in 1838 he seemed to be determined to undermine Rice's position and status and it is hard to escape the conclusion that there was a degree of personal animosity at play. Evidence for this is to be found in the petty insults that Rice had to endure, most particularly when he was refused admission to the General Chapter of 1841. Despite the turbulence that accompanied Riordan's tenure, often arising from a burgeoning membership and an increase in the number of schools, Rice's commitment to the poor endured.

Riordan's ascent to the position of Superior General also marked the beginning of an increasingly nationalistic stance on the part of the Brothers, one that persisted into the twentieth century. Rice, in contrast to Brothers with a more militant nationalistic stance, was more subtle in dealing with those who might, at first glance, be seen as opponents. Rice demonstrated that it is possible to retain a broader vision and this is illustrative of a particular

form of genius that could interact with a world when an avowedly Catholic enterprise was at odds with the establishment.

The Intermediate Act in 1878 had a dramatic impact on the mission of the Christian Brothers, one that did not always augur well for the poor. The Brothers enthusiastically adopted the Payment by Results scheme instigated by the Act, believing that it did not compromise their principles. The outcome was that the Brothers began to open more secondary schools to attract funding that would ensue from the success of their pupils at national examinations. The new emphasis shifted the Brothers' energies however towards the attainment of higher grades and competitive success, an objective that was more attainable among the emerging middle-classes than among the poor. While individual Brothers could, for instance, be committed to helping the poor to succeed in examinations beyond anyone's expectations, it could be argued that, for others in the congregation, this stance is close to a renunciation of the categorical nature of Rice's intention. By availing of the funding available under the Intermediate Act the Brothers also became an integral part of the establishment. Although the 1878 Act never required schools to attract brighter students, such a course of action became increasingly common. In addition, the desire of the Catholic bishops to create a well-educated middle-class also became closely aligned to the *de facto* mission of the Christian Brothers. Today only forty of the schools in the Edmund Rice Schools network are in the primary sector and most of these were established during Rice's lifetime. For many, schooling ended with a primary education and the concentration of the Brothers on secondary education after 1878 represented a considerable deflection from Rice's endeavour.

By the time of Irish independence in 1922, another landmark event for the congregation given its nationalistic stance, the Christian Brothers found themselves *ad idem* with the emerging consensus, close to being theocratic in nature, between Church and State. They also showed themselves to be very adept at navigating the new political establishment that included a great many *alumni* from their schools. Many of their pupils went on to assume positions of authority in the new State. Eight of the twelve holders of the office of Taoiseach (Prime Minister) between 1921 and 2008 attended a Christian Brothers secondary school, a

testament to the political influence that their *alumni* exerted in the independent State. A further testament is the fact that, for a number of years from 1973 the positions of President, Taoiseach and the finance minister were held by *alumni* of one Christian Brother school (Minnock and Ryan, 2015).

But despite the Brothers' increasingly secure place in the educational establishment of the time, there were only four new establishments outside of Dublin by the Christian Brothers between 1900 and 1966. The lack of opportunity for many to attend at second level, the "stain on the national conscience", as Minister of Education Donogh O'Malley declared in 1966, was to be addressed by his free secondary education scheme. On the face of it this would appear to be a cause for joy for any congregation with an educational mission to the poor: a new vista with new challenges, but more importantly, with unprecedented opportunities, and on a nationwide scale. While the O'Malley initiative presented both opportunities and challenges for the Christian Brothers, they established few new schools outside of Dublin in the decade following the introduction of free secondary education. This is evidence of a less than energetic response from the Christian Brothers, a feature that was soon to become a chronic condition with ever reducing numbers of Brothers.

When the Christian Brothers decided to establish the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in 1999 there were few Brothers teaching in their schools and lay people dominated appointments to the role of Principal. Rice's commitment had suffered some serious setbacks. The effect on Rice's original charism of those landmark events during the congregational phase located the mission progressively, if not deliberately, away from the poor. Nonetheless this shift can be regarded as a "drift". Most of the Irish Christian Brothers secondary schools had, in practice, drifted significantly from the path set out by Rice. Yet, in 1972 and 1982 the Christian Brothers internationally, in response to the call from the Vatican to the congregations, reaffirmed their commitment to that original path. The Irish congregations did so specifically with the 1986 "Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy". It is not so much that the poor were abandoned by the congregation but that other commitments assumed, or were accorded, a higher priority.

8.2.3 Developing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter

The third aim of this research is to identify and evaluate issues of concern that led to the drawing up and adoption of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. This is the most important of the foundation documents, encapsulating the founding charism of the new trust. While the word “charism” does not appear in the Charter it figuratively represents the “torch” passed on to the new trust by the Christian Brothers, the subject of this work. Its development of the Charter represented a momentous opportunity to re-imagine the future of the schools under the leadership of the new trust.

But the Charter was prepared in advance of the establishment of the new trust. This decisively reduced the scope of a number of key constituents to influence the tenor of developments. It is a “handed-down” rather than a “lived” document. In reality what has been transferred in the Charter is not evidently Ricean in nature but something quite different. It is, effectively, a set of instructions and its creation was not the outcome of any work by the trust itself. While the document has many worthy features, there is little in it that brings the energy of Rice in an inviting, enlivening and animating sense.

While the development of the Charter was prioritised during the early years of the planning processes, there were further dilutions to a commitment to the poor as it progressed. The key moment occurred sometime between the firsts draft of two similar but different titled documents. The first, the “Vision Statement for Edmund Rice Schools”, dated March 27 2003 contained a specific commitment to the disadvantaged, the new nomenclature for the poor. The second, the “Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy”, dated August 22 2003, did not. From this date onwards the various drafts of the Charter no longer evinced a commitment to the poor or disadvantaged. Despite an extensive search of the archives no firm evidence emerged as to where responsibility lay for this seminal change in the orientation of the new trust that occurred between March and August 2003.

The early iterations of the Charter referenced documents such as the final Report of the *Identity Project* (Coyle and O'Brien, 2002). This project, established by the Christian Brothers in 1999, attempted to answer the question as to what was so unique about Rice that people's hearts could also be affected by the "Spirit quake" referred to by McLaughlin (2007). Over a period of several years, and as part of the work on the *Identity Project*, Coyle and O'Brien (2002) distilled the views of a selection of schools in the Christian Brothers' network of schools in Ireland. The emergent compilation of eight defining characteristics of an Edmund Rice school, considered in Chapter Five, was arguably the main yield of the *Identity Project*. But this eight-point characterisation was marginalised and replaced at an early point in the development of the Charter. The reference to the legacy of Edmund Rice, distilled into one of the eight central characteristics arising from the *Identity Project*, was eliminated from the "Vision Statement" of March 2003 and the "Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy" of August 2003. This represents a lost opportunity for renewing, or reaffirming a central commitment to the poor. The financial cost of the *Identity Project* incurred by the Christian Brothers was substantial and it remains unclear why it did not have a deeper influence on the Charter that emerged.

While the Brothers were facing uncertainties about their future in Irish education, the State was embracing its own educational responsibilities in a more active and decisive way. The details contained in the White Paper *Charting Our Education Future* (Government Publications, 1995) had a major influence on the subsequent Education Act of 1998 (Government Publications, 1998). Having emerged via a consultative process after the poor response to an earlier Green Paper, there is considerable overlap between the White Paper and the 1998 Education Act. The five principles that the Education Act sought to embody – partnership, pluralism, equality, quality and accountability – were clearly rooted in the White Paper. More importantly, they emerged as five key themes from the national consultative debate on education of 1993-94 (the National Education Convention) that led to that White Paper. The influence of the fruits of the *Identity Project*, in contrast, faded out rather than became foundational as the planning process for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust developed.

In Chapter Five, in relation to a commitment for the poor, Brother C, an experienced former Province Leader, warned of the danger that placing an explicit commitment to the poor in the Charter could pose for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust in the twenty-first century. He indicated that there was a great reluctance to use the words “poor” or “disadvantaged”. The open and active practice of, and commitment to, working for the poor in the DEIS schools is in distinct contrast to the vagueness of the Charter on the subject. Not surprisingly, as we saw in Chapter Seven, the DEIS Principals take a critical stance on the Charter, believing it to be neither a source of inspiration nor a reflection of the realities of their settings. For the DEIS Principals, a commitment to the poor is not to be evaded but is to be embraced as an everyday reality.

The planning period for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was a febrile time for religious congregations other than the Christian Brothers. A number of Catholic school trusts were established around the same time such as CEIST (Catholic Education, an Irish Schools Trust). This trust holds the trusteeship for over one hundred secondary schools. These were all established by religious congregations. CEIST also has a charter (<https://www.ceist.ie/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Ceist-Charter-Latest.pdf>). In many respects these schools share a common heritage with those established by the Christian Brothers. As they share the same Catholic inspirations it might then be expected that the CEIST Charter should have much in common with that of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. But there are five explicit mentions of the poor in the CEIST Charter, including one that states that an aim of a CEIST school is “to promote a preferential option for those made poor” (p. 11). There is also mention made of the quality of compassion and providing a liberating form of education. These terms are not to be found in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter. The Charter claims that the trust “is radical in the sense of a return to roots, a return to the idea also repeatedly emphasised in the Second Vatican Council” (p. 7). The research findings of this study do not support this claim in any searching sense, and it is not at all the case when it comes to the central commitment to the poor that defined Rice’s radical new departure in Irish education.

8.2.4 The Adequacy of the Planning Processes for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust

The fourth aim sought to ascertain the adequacy and appropriateness of the planning process for the proposed transfer. The most serious shortcoming of the planning for the new trust lies in the almost total failure to envisage the kind of training or formation called for to renew a Ricean spirit in more secular circumstances. This is surprising given that a lengthy period of formation is a requirement for aspiring members of a religious congregation and such formation processes would be familiar to the Christian Brothers. Nothing as comprehensive as the requirements put forward by Thornber and Gaffney (2014) was even contemplated throughout the planning process. But it has to be acknowledged that the Project Manager or the Planning Team were never asked to consider such possibilities in the first instance. But with a two hundred year old tradition of religious formation the project sponsors, the Christian Brothers, might be reasonably expected to have been aware of the necessity of such exercises. This lacuna meant that the new trust began its life without a clear sense of what was needed for training and preparation purposes. This is a pre-requisite for any enterprise, but especially so for an educational enterprise in the spirit of Rice. The late selection of administrators, the Members and Directors of the new trust company, betrays a crucial lack of attention to detail in this area, again a surprising omission for a religious congregation. What was essential for aspiring religious was, apparently, not deemed to be necessary for the new lay leaders.

The Charter Implementation Team project, although only of three years duration (2007 – 2009) was one instance where the Christian Brothers did put in place a formation exercise. Here a small group of Charter Implementation Officers held seminars to brief school leaders on the new Charter. But even this endeavour was limited in its scope and depth and it was targeted at an extremely limited audience, namely Principals and Chairpersons of Boards of Management. Additionally it can be seen as a “top down” approach, an approach that has for decades been more criticised than advocated, in both research and practice, where the cultivation of leadership and professional development are concerned (Fullan, 1993; Wenger, 1998; Hargreaves and Fink, 2006). There was no attempt to involve other key stakeholders

such as teachers, parents and pupils. There would have been a need for a substantially enhanced implementation team to assist schools in the early years of the new trust, but this did not come to pass and the Charter Implementation Team's term ended on August 31 2009, just over a year after the trust was established.

A recurring theme throughout the entirety of the planning processes is the lack of due regard given to the importance of involving school leaders, teaching staff, parents and pupils. The involvement of a younger community, such as the pupils in secondary schools, would have brought an energetic dynamic to the development of the Charter. But, despite the Project Team asking for more involvement with the schools in the network, this request was, as was noted in Chapter Five, refused on the grounds that there had been enough involvement with schools through the *Identity Project*, although no disadvantaged secondary school was involved in that study.

The 1972 and 1982 charism statements, in addition to the 1986 "Statement of Religious and Educational Philosophy", issued by the Christian Brothers renewed a central commitment to the poor. It could reasonably be expected that these charism statements would be the primary inspiration during the planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The March 2003 "Vision Statement" remained true to this central commitment. The charism statements apply throughout the congregation internationally and they indicate a firm statement of commitment to Rice's intent. But in Ireland, the Christian Brothers appeared to be more at home in schools that did not provide for the poor. This was particularly acute at second level, where 80% of their schools did not become part of the DEIS scheme. The charism statements, while possibly reflective of the Brothers' mission in locations such as Africa and India, found too little resonance in the Brothers' secondary schools in Ireland, with the notable exception of the Christian Brothers schools that were already serving disadvantaged communities and that were to become the DEIS schools.

In other areas, such as in the financial and support dimensions, there were also serious shortfalls in the planning processes. Twelve years after its establishment the new trust is still dependent on financial contributions from the Christian Brothers for its very survival. The ageing profile of the membership of the congregation in Ireland means that they are likely to incur a major drain on their resources in providing for the healthcare and end of life care for its members. It may not be possible for the trust to have a sustainable future without dramatically increasing the licence fee from its schools, a prospect that is likely to alarm the DEIS schools in particular.

8.2.5 Focusing on the DEIS Schools

The fifth research aim was to explore how Rice's original vision is being implemented in practice under the aegis of the new trust, with a particular focus on those Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools that are now part of the DEIS scheme. Viewed through the lens of the DEIS schools, as reviewed in Chapter Seven of the study, Rice's spirit has been seen to be a galvanising force. In the DEIS setting a commitment to the poor manifests itself in a genuine Ricean manner, seeking to secure a better future for their pupils while compensating for the difficult circumstances of those made poor. But the DEIS schools are a small minority within the network of Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools and the energies of the trust seem to be directed towards the majority. The lack of a direct commitment to the poor in the Charter is viewed with dismay by the DEIS Principals. They also feel that they receive little support from the trust, a cause of some regret for them. The DEIS Principals have also been shown to go far beyond what is normally expected of a voluntary school Principal. The extreme difficulties they encounter in "keeping the show on the road", as Brother B, a former Congregation Leader put it, is reflective of a deep and enduring commitment to the poor.

The hollowed out nature of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter, and in particular the absence of a meaningful commitment to the poor, mean that the DEIS Principals do not find it to be an inspiring document. They are of the view that it is not reflective of the more radical

commitment that is to be found in their schools and that they espouse. They see themselves as the inheritors of Rice's tradition but acknowledge that other schools in the network do not share this commitment. The deep reservoir of lived experience that they have accumulated is not being brought to bear on the future direction of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

But whether this radical commitment is indicative of an all-absorbing Catholic evangelical demeanour and a connection to the divine that Rice embodied is less clear. Being able to tread a path in support of the poor without false piety and with a real sense of connection to religious inspirations and true Gospel values is evident to an impressive degree in each of the DEIS schools in this research. What is demonstrably the case is that the turbulence of the world outside a DEIS school is brought into this setting every day. The experience of the DEIS Principals means that they operate in a world that is being "honed in the fire" of a difficult, poverty-afflicted world. Theirs is a radically more challenging environment than that faced by their non-DEIS counterparts in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network of schools.

8.3 What Lies Ahead for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust?

The final research aim of the study was to look ahead to the future of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust and their DEIS schools. The analysis of the planning for the trust during the course of this work has highlighted a number of serious shortfalls that present difficulties for the trust. It is now appropriate to address the question as to how a distinctive educational mission such as that of Rice might best succeed in the educational contexts of 21st century Ireland, one that is more secular in nature and more diverse when it comes to religious affiliations. This will be the task of the final chapter, "Looking to the Future" where two possibilities will be offered, the first looking inwards to internal changes in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, the second looking outward from the trust.

Chapter 9

Looking to the Future

9.1 Introduction

It now remains to address the sixth research question; how a distinctive educational mission such as that of Rice might best succeed in the educational context of 21st century Ireland. An ideal formulation for a properly resourced lay trust would allow for an objective context and allow our thoughts to travel more on constructive paths than dwelling on manifest deficiencies. But as the trust has been established for over a decade this approach is unrealistic and there is no mechanism for so doing. Perhaps a somewhat provocative question might also be posed in addressing the future of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust which could be expressed in the following terms: “If Rice’s vision is to have a future in Ireland, will it have to be outside of the trust?” The great majority of the DEIS schools at secondary level are in the State system and, perhaps, that would be the most appropriate setting for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools. For the moment the restrictions in the Articles of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation would preclude such a possibility but the question remains open.

Working within the strictures of this study and without developing an answer to the question just posed, this chapter will allow for two different perspectives. The first will look internally at the possibility of changes, possible remediating measures that are feasible within the existing legal structures and canonical constraints placed on the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The second will look outwards from the trust and consider those forces that are likely to occur anyway whatever the nature of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

The planning for the trust saw a considerable effort expended in the construction of the civil and canonical entities that gave it life and it would be unrealistic to expect that they would be swept away and a series of new entities would be constructed, however desirable that might be. Three possible remedial measures are proposed that would involve taking the existing Edmund Rice Schools Trust model as a point of departure and examining what kinds of measures might remedy some of the shortcomings identified in previous chapters.

Secondly, this review may also enable us to take stock of social forces that are becoming more influential in the educational arena. That is to say, they are forces that are likely to intervene anyway, regardless of what model of trusteeship is pursued by the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The review begins with some suggestions for remediation of the current iteration of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. This will be followed by looking outwards from the trust and consider societal forces that are likely to impinge on the future for the trust. Recent developments in State policy, such as the new procedures determining the choice of trusteeship for new schools, introduced in 2011, form the backdrop to this emerging landscape.

9.2 Looking Inwards at the Edmund Rice School Trust: Remediating Measures?

The first possibility, exploring remedial measures, involves taking the existing Edmund Rice Schools Trust model as a point of departure and examining what kinds of measures might remedy its shortcomings. This possibility might even bring the trust closer to the ideal lay trust outlined in Chapter Two. In light of the research findings presented during this work a number of ideas suggest themselves, including the notion that the Christian Brothers might, even at this late stage, adequately resource the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. But, given the age profile of the remaining Christian Brothers, this seems unlikely (see table 6). Moreover the advanced age of many of the remaining Brothers means that there will be an understandable need to provide for their care in old-age (see tables 6, 7 and 8.) But three other possibilities will briefly be pursued. Firstly, to reimagine the Charter; secondly, the

creation of a solidarity fund by the Edmund Rice Schools Trust to support the DEIS schools; and, thirdly, the provision of suitable formation exercises for lay educational leaders into the future. Adopting some of the recommendations proposed below would, it is suggested, be of benefit to the trust while maintaining its current structures.

9.2.1 Reimagining the Charter

It is now over fifteen years since the Interim Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter was completed in December 2005. This study has revealed that the DEIS Principals do not find this document to be inspirational or transformative and that it is unreflective of their more categorical commitment to the poor. The overriding emotion among the DEIS Principals was one of regret that the Charter was not something that would animate them or spur on their moral energy. The foundation documents of the trust do not provide for a mechanism for renewing the Charter, but neither is it expressly ruled out. This research suggests that now would be an opportune moment to review the Charter to include a specific commitment to the poor.

A more radical reappraisal would involve something like an intensification, not a departure from, the kind of activity that was discontinued in the *Identity Project* in its second phase. The discussion and debate that would ensue during such a review would be crucial in avoiding the shortcomings of the current Charter. A Rician inspired Charter would not be credible for all the schools in the network without a strong, clear commitment to alleviating the plight of the poor *within* their schools. The researcher can testify that such a discussion is underway, albeit informally, among those who attend the annual Edmund Rice Schools Trust Principals' conference. The current Charter seems to suggest that the poor are only to be found in the *world largely outside of Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools*, a proposition that is demonstrably not the case.

The sources of inspiration for reimagining the Charter are already to hand. As well as the views of the DEIS Principals they would include *The Catholic School* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977) and *Sollicitudo rei socialis (The Social Concern)* (Johannes Paulus II, 1987). Grace (2017A) has concluded that “no school which claims the title “Catholic” can be seriously at odds with the principles proclaimed” (p. 1) in the former document. The significance of the latter is that it developed the principle of solidarity, espoused in *Populorum Progressio (On the development of peoples)* (Paulus VI, 1967). Solidarity is about recognising others as our brothers and sisters and actively working towards their good (Beyer, 2014). The reality is that the DEIS schools only comprise some 20% of the total of secondary schools in the network and that the majority of the efforts of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust lies elsewhere at present. There would need to be a determined refocusing of the commitment of the trust with the exemplar of the DEIS schools to the fore if the Edmund Rice Schools Trust could truly consider itself to be following in a Ricean tradition.

9.2.2 Creating a Solidarity Fund

During Chapter Six the outcome of planning for the institutional, financial and support dimension, was shown to be relatively successful, enabling the establishment of the trust in 2008. But there were also many shortcomings, including the failure to appreciate the widely different natures of individual schools within the network. The DEIS schools, in particular, were regarded in the same light as those in more affluent areas. This resulted in an under-appreciation of the situation faced by these schools. The principle of solidarity, espoused in Catholic Social Teaching, would be particularly pertinent when considering the future for these schools. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust describes the relationship between their schools as being one of “a closely-knit community” (www.ERST.ie) but this is not borne out by the DEIS Principals interviewed for this study, who expressed a very different view.

In order for the network of schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust to become more closely-knit the financial concerns of one would have to be the concern of all. Catholic Social

Teaching, and in particular in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis (The Social Concern)* (Johannes Paulus II, 1987) espouses the cause of a common good. The recognition of interdependence indicates a response, and this encyclical proposes that:

...the correlative response as a moral and social attitude, as a 'virtue', is solidarity. Then it is not a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes of so many people, both near and far. On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good (ibid, 38).

All of the schools in the network then need to be supportive of those schools known to be in a weak position. There was a recurring theme of a sense of financial insecurity throughout the interviews with the DEIS Principals. A practical alleviating measure would be the creation of a solidarity fund by the trust, congruent with the view expressed in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*. This would be more than an expression of mere compassion. Here each of the schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network would support the DEIS schools. This would be of great practical benefit to these schools. It would also be clearly seen as a practical consequence of a requirement for effective solidarity rather the offering of platitudes. There are 37,000 pupils attending an Edmund Rice Schools Trust schools and a small per capita contribution from each of the schools in the network would soon generate considerable funds. This would allow for the possibility of supporting the DEIS schools with donations on a regular basis and assist in fostering warmer relationships between them and the trust.

9.2.3 Formation for Lay Leaders

As Thornber and Gaffney (2014) have observed the “scale, complexity and importance of governance roles in Church ministries raise the question of what constitutes appropriate formation of the laity for undertaking such roles” (p. x). They suggest that knowing the meaning and purpose of formation would be the starting point. Formation programmes have to evolve to meet the changing talents, needs and aspirations of future lay educational leaders. It is important that lay leaders have the capacity to learn continuously (Stoll, 2011). The principles of such processes allow for the unique knowledge and experience of the

participants to shape the future. Keeping Rice's inspiration to the fore, resonating as it does with modern Catholic Social Teaching and the requirements for Catholic schools outlined in *The Catholic School* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977), the possibilities for a twenty-first century re-imagining of what was a revolutionary nineteenth century phenomenon are very real.

Thornber and Gaffney's (2014) principles for formation stress that the implications of generational change should be a priority for the formation of new educational leaders. With the total withdrawal of Christian Brothers from their schools in Ireland the memory of their involvement may rapidly fade from the school communities. The issue of the selection of what Thornber and Gaffney (2014) call "second generation leaders" (p. 217) would require a thorough process of ongoing formation if there is to be a continuing commitment to a genuine Ricean inspired form of education. The Principals report that there is almost no provision for formation prior to being appointed to the role, with one Principal likening the existing structure as being akin to the waving of a "magic wand". If this is to change, the DEIS Principals following official Catholic Church teaching in *Apostolicam Actuositatem (On the Apostolate of the Laity)* (Paulus VI, 1965C) would seek to prioritise their own personal spiritual formation as they lead faith schools. The many forms of formation exercises promulgated in this encyclical include the discernment of world conditions, this being particularly appropriate for Principals in DEIS settings and would resonate strongly with them.

When the DEIS scheme was promulgated (Government Publications, 2005) the Department of Education and Science committed to establishing a "new sabbatical leave scheme for principals and teachers who have served for a defined period" (p. 81) in participating schools in recognition of the unique challenges faced in these settings. A renewed commitment towards the establishment of such a scheme was made during a review of the scheme 2017 (Government Publications, 2017). Unfortunately neither commitment has been implemented to date. But if a sabbatical scheme were to be put in place, as promised, it would offer schools leaders and teachers in DEIS schools the possibility of a period of reflection and the possibility

of pursuing relevant studies. They could then be re-energised for their mission as they return to their schools.

In relation to formation each Principal would plan for their attendance and participation in formation as a matter of routine, building the necessary time commitment into their annual calendars, just as they would with other administrative duties. The distinctive nature of leadership in a faith school setting would require ongoing formation to sustain a commitment to the task in hand and has to be planned for and supported by the kind of trust that is needed at this point.

9.3 The Future of Rice’s Mission in a secular and pluralist society?

The second possibility, looking outwards from the trust, enables us to focus on the likely effect of social forces that are becoming more influential in the educational arena. That is to say, they are forces that are likely to intervene anyway and are already in train, regardless of what model of trusteeship is pursued by the ERST or any of the other bodies which have inherited the educational missions of religious congregations. Principal among these influences are an increasingly secular and pluralist society; the impact of a growing population and the new arrangements for trusteeship that have been in place since 2011 prioritising parental wishes.

The pace of secularisation in Ireland has been marked (O’Doherty, 2008) with the country “losing its faith much more rapidly than any other European country has done before, without a revolution” (p. xi). Furthermore the Irish experience of growth and contraction in its population is remarkable (Linehan, 1991). The census of 1841 found that the population of the island of Ireland had reached 8.1 million. Rice died in 1844, one year before the great famine and Connell (1950) estimated that the population had increased to 8.5 million by that point. Yet, by 1926 the population had fallen to 4.2 million and the 1961 census for the Republic of Ireland revealed that a nadir of 2.8 million had been reached (CSO, 2018). But all

six scenarios that examined future population trends in the Republic of Ireland by the Central Statistics Office (2018) concluded that there would be a continuing increase in the population with the possibility of it rising to 6.7 million by 2051. As Ireland's population continues to grow in the coming decades it is also likely to be of a more secular and pluralist nature and will seek to have educational provision that reflects these different viewpoints.

The society in which Rice operated in the early nineteenth century was radically different from that of today. In Rice's time the vast majority of the population were Catholics. By contrast, in this research the DEIS Principals regularly commented that the proportion of practising Catholics attending their schools was between five and ten percent, indicative of this seismic change in Irish society. Rice dealt with a United Kingdom administration that was firmly attached to the Crown and dedicated to upholding the Anglican Church as the established church in England but the Ireland of today is outward looking and pluralist. A Ricean tradition in such circumstances would necessarily be more ecumenical and involve an active more than a pious form of Christianity, but could be consistent with the tenets of Catholic Social Teaching. The specifically religious aspects of Rice's mission now find much less resonance in a secular society. But an active commitment to the poor may more readily find such resonance as it has an inherent attractive quality.

No evidence was found in the archives that the planning for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust gave consideration to an expansion in the number of schools or the number of students. The *status quo* in the number of schools was the default position. This was unfortunate, particularly in light of the developments in pupil enrolment in the sector since the establishment of the trust and future developments. The numbers attending schools at second level has been rising in recent years and will continue for some time into the future. Some areas of the country experienced growth in enrolments of over 35% in a five year period to 2019 (DES statistics). The only area that showed a decrease in enrolments was the Dublin City area, the location of the majority of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools.

On the 27th of June 2011 “the Minister for Education and Skills announced that 20 new primary schools and 20 new post-primary schools are to be established in the next six years” (Department of Education and Skills, 2012, p.1). He also introduced new procedures that would determine the trusteeship arrangements for new primary and secondary schools. A committee within the Department of Education and Skills, the New Schools Establishment Group (NSEG), recommended that the new procedures would require interested patron parties to have secured support from parents in the proposed catchment areas for the new establishments. The parental declarations, an integral part of the planning processes for new schools, are now heavily favouring non-Catholic patron bodies. Commenting on one of these announcements of the trusteeships for four new secondary schools by the Minister for Education, Joseph McHugh, O’Kelly (2018) noted that “a total of 70% of parents said they wanted Educate Together to run their child's new school. Just 13% said they wanted a Catholic school, while 14% opted for their local ETB” (Education and Training Board).

The New Schools Establishment Group has been involved in deciding the trusteeship of twenty-six secondary schools between 2013 and the most recent announcements of December 2019. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust has been successful in securing the trusteeship of two of these, indicating a degree of acceptance of its requirements. No other Catholic trust has been successful. Educate Together, which offers a multi-denominational education and whose roots extend back to the Dalkey School Project of 1978 (www.educatetogether.ie), was successful on fourteen occasions, including two joint trusteeships with Education and Training Boards. The remaining ten schools come under the various Education and Training Boards (<https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Establishing-a-New-School/New-Post-Primary-Schools.html>).

The pace at which Irish society is changing means that there is little room for complacency among those currently offering a Catholic form of education. At present there is a proliferation of voices in the arena of Catholic education but little cohesion. As an indication of the plethora of interested parties in this arena, the Catholic Schools Partnership has sixty-six members, including 22 dioceses and 44 trusts and religious congregations. This is an

umbrella body that was established by the Irish Bishops Conference in 2010 to “provide a unified voice for Catholic Education in the public forum and with educational bodies and the Government” (<https://www.catholicschools.ie/csp/>). If there is a coherent and influential voice for Catholic schooling, and this does not appear to be the case if the results of parental surveys on trusteeship are an indication, it is not being listened to by large swathes of Irish society (Kelly, 2018). St Paul advises that “whoever sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and whoever sows bountifully will also reap bountifully (2 Corinthians, 9:6). Having sown bountifully in the past there is a distinct danger for Catholic education that it will not be in a position to do so in the future, either through inadequate resources or insufficient demand.

In the absence of additional support and understanding it may well be the case that there is no sustainable future for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust DEIS schools within the current trusteeship arrangements. There may be a more hopeful future for these schools within a broader network of schools with a similar profile under a more inclusive form of patronage such as an Education and Training Board. There is strength in numbers and, were there to be a larger group of schools with similar demographics and common issues of concern, that group would have a stronger moral argument to bring to bear on the Department of Education. Alternatively the Edmund Rice Schools Trust might amalgamate with other Catholic trustee groups to provide a more influential force for Catholic schooling in secular circumstances. In both scenarios, the canonical restraints imposed on the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation, the *public juridic person* that gave ecclesiastical life to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, regarding the alienation of Church property, are difficult to overcome but, with goodwill, are not insurmountable.

Radical inspirations such as that of Rice, with a commitment to the poor, still resonate with the Irish public, best exemplified by the continuing strong support of Irish society to humanitarian appeals. On the world stage the Republic of Ireland contributes 0.418% of the budget of the United Nations (<https://www.dfa.ie/pmun/newyork/ireland-at-the-un/irelands-financial-contribution/>), despite having only 0.06% of the world’s population (<https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/ireland-population/>). The Republic of

Ireland contributes 0.32% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to Overseas Development Aid (ODA), ranking 12th in the world, ahead of Australia and Japan (<https://www.irishaid.ie/what-we-do/how-our-aid-works/where-the-money-goes>). By most standards Ireland remains a generous nation demonstrating a degree of empathy for those made poor, evident in the many charities that perform heroic work in underdeveloped regions. Today the State sector accounts for 77% of all DEIS second level schools. Effectively the temporal thrust of Rice's mission – as distinct from the spiritual thrust – is now more in the hands of schools in the State sector than in schools in the Edmund Rice Schools Trust network. A unified, and unifying, voice for the voluntary DEIS schools in the State system may represent a more promising approach in the context of an uncertain future.

9.4 Final Words

Rice began his educational apostolate in 1802 and his followers, the Christian Brothers, held the role of trustee for almost one hundred schools from 1822 to 2008. Including Rice, some 7,417 Christian Brothers continued to devote their lives to a noble cause (table 9.) It was a daunting task for a lay trust to take on this role, the depth and breadth of which was substantially underestimated by the Christian Brothers. The transfer was never bold enough in its design. As a consequence the visionary nature of the type of school envisaged by Rice has not been replicated in its scope and mettle by the new trust. This means that the trust does not have sufficient capacity to detect possibilities and envisage opportunities, nor the resources or moral energy to grasp and pursue these. This is particularly the case when it comes to the establishment of new schools, notwithstanding the few modest successes in this area following the new arrangements for trusteeship introduced in 2011.

Surveying the future landscape it would be possible to envisage a situation where the provision of a Catholic education would become the exception rather than the norm - a norm that has prevailed since the establishment of an independent State. Catholic education in the Republic of Ireland is facing a looming existential crisis because practice in Catholic schools is

so at odds with their founding charisms and Catholic Social Teaching. Very many families have fallen away from the Catholic faith over a number of generations for a wide variety of reasons that are outside the scope of this study. But there is little doubt that these would include revulsion at the revelations all too graphically laid out in the Ryan Report (Government Publications, 2009). The attendance of their children at Catholic schools may well be more a function of their close proximity than an active endorsement of their founding charisms.

While the Edmund Rice Schools Trust had been entrusted with the trusteeship of two new secondary schools since its establishment, other forms of trusteeship are consistently being favoured by parents over Catholic trusts such as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. There is a need for strategic and flexible approaches that would involve the creation of new partnerships with, for example, the Education and Training Boards, or with other Catholic trusts. These would have to be capable of combining worthy ideals with pragmatic considerations, especially in relation to attracting new schools into the network of Edmund Rice schools. The distinctive character of Rice's vision can still be harnessed even in a radically different society such as that of today. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust is the inheritor of a two-century old radical tradition. It is possible for this still to be a vibrant force in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, secular and pluralist society. What is required is a vision for the future of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust that is both audacious and courageous. Rice's boundless faith in God is echoed in Matthew's words, "surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age" (28:20). Those who administer the Edmund Rice Schools Trust now need to have faith in a radical vision for the future. The inspiration is readily to hand – the revolutionary spirit and example of Edmund Rice.

Tables

Table 1

Birth Country of Christian Brothers – 1824

County of Birth	Province of Birth	Number of Brothers
Clare	Munster	2
Cork	Munster	9
Dublin	Leinster	5
Kildare	Leinster	1
Kilkenny	Leinster	10
Kerry	Munster	2
Laois	Leinster	4
Limerick	Munster	4
Louth	Leinster	1
Tipperary	Munster	10
Waterford	Munster	7
Wexford	Leinster	5
	TOTAL	60
Munster		34
Leinster		26

Source: Keogh (1996, p. 45) (Courtesy of Kevin Whelan in that publication.)

Table 2

Selected Statistics of the Growth of the Congregation in Ireland 1810 - 1990

Year	Primary Schools in Ireland	Secondary Schools/Schools with Advanced Classes in Ireland	Residential Schools in Ireland	Pupils in Ireland	Brothers in Irish Provinces	Foundations/Communities in Ireland
1810	3		0	Numbers not available	Numbers not available	3
1840	15		0	"	"	16
1870	69	[some schools with advanced classes]	3	"	"	73
1900	76	[some schools with advanced classes]	10	"	"	77
1906	76	62	10	30,891	"	77
1929	79	65	10	32,139	800 including Novices	76
1940	86	71	9	42,000	922	83
1950	89	74	9	Numbers not readily available	1151	91
1960	103	79	8	57,259	1282 Including Novices	96
1990	75	86	2	60,490	578	97

Source: Marino Archive

Table 3

Numbers attending Secondary Schools 1960 -1980

Year	Number of Secondary Schools	Numbers of Pupils in Attendance	Average Enrolment per school
1960	526	76,843	146
1965	573	92,989	162
1970	599	150,642	251
1975	539	173,630	322
1978	531	196,606	370
1980	524	200,626	382

Source: Department of Education and Skills Annual Statistical Reports: various years.

Table 4

Numbers of Lay and Religious Teachers in receipt of Incremental Salaries

Year	Lay	Religious	Total
1965/66	1,233	968	2,191
1970/71	4,923	2,349	7,272
1975/76	7,455	2,375	9,830
1980/81	9,634	2,106	11,740
1985/86	10,098	1,804	11,902
1990/91	10,375	1,175	11,550
1995/96	11,983	753	12,736

Source: Department of Education Statistics, various years.

Table 5**Number of Christian Brothers 1965 – 2018, with a comparative percentage analysis of the Irish Provinces numbers**

Year	World Congregation Number	St. Helen's Province Number	St. Mary's Province Number	Total of Irish Provinces	% of Irish Provinces of the World Congregation
1965	3,709	521	376	897	24.2
1966	3,682	518	376	894	24.3
1967	3,685	528	387	915	24.8
1968	3,643	517	386	903	24.8
1969	3,552	549	381	930	26.2
1970	3,404	550	386	936	27.5
1971	3,307	565	381	946	28.6
1972	3,224	561	370	931	28.9
1973	3,172	569	369	938	29.6
1974	3,108	569	363	932	30.0
1975	3,059	562	363	925	29.6
1976	2,988	553	352	905	30.3
1977	2,935	545	350	895	33.6
1978	2,888	534	342	876	30.3
1979	2,811	516	331	847	30.1
1980	2,741	503	297	800	29.2

Year	World Congregation Number	St. Helen's Congregation Number	St. Mary's Congregation Number	Total of Irish Congregations	% of Irish Congregations of the World Congregation
1981	2,699	495	291	786	29.1
1982	2,651	477	285	762	28.7
1983	2,592	472	275	747	28.8
1984	2,545	448	272	720	28.3
1985	2,490	439	264	703	28.2
1987	2,363	402	247	649	27.5
1988	2,293	390	231	621	27.0
1989	2,221	377	226	603	27.1
1990	2,148	364	218	582	27.0
1991	2,111	350	217	567	26.8
1992	2,042	338	214	552	27.0
1993	1,973	327	207	534	27.0
1994	1,914	308	195	503	26.2
1995	1,862	296	193	489	26.2
1996	1,807	283	186	469	25.9
1997	1,750	277	181	458	26.1
1998	1,692	264	175	439	25.9

Year	World Congregation Number	St. Helen's Congregation Number	St. Mary's Congregation Number	Total of Irish Congregations	% of Irish Congregations of the World Congregation
1999	1,638	259	159	418	25.5
2000	1,577	248	148	396	25.1
2001	1,538	232	142	374	24.3
2002	1,483	226	134	360	24.2
2003	1,462	209	131	340	23.2
2004	1,420	205	123	328	23.0
2005	1,368	198	112	310	22.6
2006	1,328	185	105	290	21.8

European Province Established on May 5th 2007

Irish Brothers in the European Province

2007	1,227			273	22.2
2008	1,213			258	22.2
2009	1,277			268	20.9
2010	1,213			253	20.8
2011	1,178			245	20.7
2012	N/A			240	N/A
2013	1,148			231	20.1
2014	1,083			223	20.5

Year	World Congregation Number	St. Helen's Congregation Number	St. Mary's Congregation Number	Total of Irish Congregations	% of Irish Congregations of the World Congregation
2015	1,016			206	20.2
2016	942			189	20.0
2017	935			169	19.1
2018	862			166	19.2

Note: Each year the Vatican requires a breakdown of the figures in each congregation on a geographical basis. This is called the '*relatio*'. Note, however, that Brothers studying in other provinces are included in their home provinces. The community residing at the Generalate in Rome are counted separately and are not included in these figures.

Table 6

Age Analysis European Province Membership as at 27th November 2017

(100 years old since March 2017)	Born in 1917	1
	Born between:	Number
1917	1926	15
1927	1936	74
1937	1946	75
1947	1956	39
1957	1966	5
	TOTAL	209
	Ageing analysis	
From age:	To:	Number
91	100	16
81	90	74
71	80	75
61	70	39
51	60	5
	TOTAL	209

Source: Marino Archive

Table 8

**World Congregation Numbers and Average Age by Province / Region as at 2nd
October 2017**

Province / region	Perpetually professed	Annually professed	Total	Average Age	Departures		Deaths 2016
					V*	D**	
Oceania	296	4	300	75.0		2	55
India	77	9	86	51.4	6	6	5
Europe	212		212	78.2			53
North America	176		176	74.1		1	31
Latin America	22	1	23	66.4	5		1
Africa:	72	66	138	45.0	32	10	7
TOTAL	855	80	935	69.0	43	19	152

V* indicates Brothers of temporary profession not renewing vows

V** indicates a dispensation for Brothers finally professed

Table 9

Table of Additional Statistics

Total number of Christian Brothers in Ireland 1802 - 2016:	7417*
Number of Christian Brothers in Ireland at the peak in 1965	1,585**
Number of Christian Brothers worldwide peak (1965)	3,709**
Number of Christian Brothers resident in Ireland as at 11/04/16:	189

*Does not include those who left as Novices

** Including Novices

Source: Marino Archive.

Appendices

Appendix 1



CONSENT FORM

July 2017

Dear _____

You are invited to participate in a research study titled 'Passing on the Torch: A Study of Disadvantaged Voluntary (Non-State) Second Level Schools who are part of the Delivering Equality In Schools (DEIS) Programme, from a Social Justice Perspective'*

*The original title for the research study.

This is a research project being conducted by Michael Minnock, a Doctoral student at Maynooth University, Maynooth Co. Kildare.

Your involvement will take the form of a focused interview which will last approximately 40 minutes. This interview will be recorded using an electronic device which will be transcribed as soon as possible after completion. During the recording your real name will be used, for ease of communication. At the transcription stage an identifier will be employed to protect

your identity. This identifier will be used in all subsequent uses of the data generated through the course of the research and in subsequent publications. The material collected through the interview will be saved in an encrypted file on a password-protected laptop and, subsequently, to iCloud.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You may refuse to take part in the research or exit the survey at any time. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason.

CONFIDENTIALITY

This study will be strongly committed to ensuring confidentiality for the participants involved. As previously outlined, an identifier will be used to anonymise your responses. Therefore, your responses will remain anonymous. No one will be able to identify you or your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study.

This commitment is, nonetheless, subject to the reality that all data gathered will be subject to the requirements of legislation, including the Data Protection Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

In some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances Maynooth University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent. In so doing, research data and

records may be accessed and held by the University (through the President or Vice President for Research) and its legal advisers, to determine their relevance to any proceedings.

BENEFITS

You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help in learning more about the trusteeship structures governing second level schools, particularly those currently applying to voluntary secondary schools.

RISKS

Some of the interview questions asked about your relationship to the Trust may be distressing to you as you think about your experiences.

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact my research supervisor, Dr. Pádraig Hogan via email at Padraig.Hogan@nuim.ie.

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or that your rights as a participant in research have not been honored during the course of this project, or you have any questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator, you may contact the Education Department, Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare.

EXPLICIT AND UNAMBIGUOUS SIGNED CONSENT:

Please sign below if you wish to participate in the study under the terms outlined above.

Please note that by signing below you are agreeing with the following three statements:

- You have read the above information
- You voluntarily agree to participate in the study
- You are 18 years of age or older

Agree

Disagree

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

A copy of this signed consent form will be forwarded to you for your records.

Yours sincerely

Michael Minnock B. Comm., HDE, M.Ed.

Appendix 2

The Edmund Rice Schools Trust Charter

Vision

Promoting full personal and social development in caring Christian communities of learning and teaching.

Mission

To provide Catholic education in the Edmund Rice tradition.

CONTENTS OF CHARTER

Introduction	4
A Proud Tradition Moving Forward	5
The Five Key Elements of the Edmund Rice School	7
1. Nurturing Faith, Christian spirituality and Gospel-based Values	7
2. Promoting Partnership in the School Community	8
3. Excelling in Teaching and Learning	10
4. Creating a Caring School Community	11
5. Inspiring Transformational Leadership	13
The Charter in Action	15
The Challenge of the Charter	16

Introduction

Edmund Rice was that rare combination – a creative visionary who was also immensely practical. From the humble beginnings of the first such school in Waterford in 1802, Edmund Rice Schools have played an important role in the history of Irish education for over two centuries. Today there are over a hundred of these schools in Ireland, and the Edmund Rice mission has extended to all five continents.

Who will ever measure all the good that has come from the spiritual insight warm heart and determined faith of Blessed Edmund Ignatius Rice? Once more Ireland has given the Church and the world a striking testimony of complete fidelity to Christ: “Keep doing all the things that you have been taught by him... Then the God of peace will be with you.” (cf. Phil 3:9)

Beatification message of Pope John Paul II, Sunday, 6th October, 1996

At the start of the new Millennium, the Christian Brothers founded by Blessed Edmund Rice decided to hand on responsibility for the school to a group of lay people. The Edmund Rice Schools Trust (ERST) was established to hold the schools in trust so that they may continue to provide Catholic education into the future of the people of Ireland. This pioneering decision marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of the schools.

The process whereby lay people would take on responsibility for the schools was carefully planned during a long period of discernment. The lively and active participation of the students, staff, parents, trustees and boards of management of the schools over a four period from 1999 to 2003 in an *Identity Project* was a vital part of this preparatory phase. Through reflection and sharing, the school partners sought to reach consensus on what comprises the heart and soul of an Edmund Rice School.

The considered such questions such as:

- What does it mean today to be a school working in the name of Jesus Christ, of the Catholic Church and in the tradition of Edmund Rice?
- What is special about the educational encounter in Edmund Rice schools?
- What do we place at the centre of that encounter, what do we cherish, what do we cultivate and what do we celebrate?

Key elements that characterise the Edmund Rice School were identified. These elements, along with the 1986 statement of *Religious and Educational Philosophy* of the Edmund Rice Secondary Schools, have been the inspiration for this Charter.

The Charter sets out a framework designed to enable Catholic education in the Edmund Rice to thrive and grow into the future.

Inspired, by the Charter, the men and women invited to hold the schools in trust supply the leadership needed to determine the future direction of the schools. However, the success of ERST depends on the commitment, energy and sense of justice of everyone involved as partners in the school communities. As the trustees respond to the needs of a changing world, they and the school communities ensure that ERST schools continue to adapt and re-define themselves, while remaining faithful to their mission and founding vision.

It was as lay Catholics that Nano Nagle, Edmund Rice, Catherine McAuley, Mary Aikenhead, and Margaret Aylward, among others, established their first schools. ERST is radical in the sense of a return to roots, a return to the idea also repeatedly emphasised in the Second Vatican Council, that lay people are called to play a full part in the mission of the church and the evangelisation of the world.

On all Christians ... rests the noble obligation of working to bring people throughout the whole world to hear and accept the divine message of salvation.

Vatican II – Decree on the Apostolate of Lay People, 3. (1965)

In handing on their schools to the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, the Christian Brothers have placed their confidence in a group of people who are deeply conscious of the great heritage of these schools. Faithful to the church and inspired by Edmund Rice's vision, these people ensure the future of the schools as Christian communities dedicated to learning and excellence.

A PROUD TRADITION MOVING FORWARD

Edmund Rice's first school in Waterford was in a renovated stable, and he lived in the Spartan loft upstairs. His new lodgings were in stark contrast to this former as a successful and wealthy businessman. However, for Edmund, this decision was the fruit of a long period of prayer and reflection. More than a decade before, his beloved Mary had died after giving birth to a daughter with special needs. Having ensured proper care for his daughter, he turned his attention to how he should spend the rest of his life. He had always been a benefactor to the poor, but now he dedicated to dedicate his whole life to their welfare. The Presentation Sisters were already educating girls and he sought to provide a similar service for boys. His first care was for the boys' spiritual well-being, but for him there was an artificial separation between the spiritual and the practical. As well as educating boys who were often wild and unruly, he also set up a bakery and tailor's shop to feed and clothe them. Inspired by his vision and mission, many volunteers joined him, and together they formed a community of Religious Brothers based on a deep faith, love of neighbour and the pursuit of justice. Soon, other communities and schools were established throughout the country to further the same mission.

Edmund's life, lived in fidelity to the Gospel, continues today to inspire people in the network of schools that now stretches across five continents. Originally, the schools were for boys only, but in more recent girls have been attending some of the schools, and this welcome trend will become more common in the future.

However, there have been failures at times to live up to the visionary ideals of Edmund rice. Conscious of the hurt and pain caused by these failures, those who now follow in his footsteps have learned from these experiences and seek to live out his founding vision with renewed commitment.

Edmund Rice schools cater for young people from a diverse range of backgrounds and have been quick to respond to the emerging needs of students and communities. The educational approach in the school is neither functional not utilitarian, but subscribes to the holistic vision expressed in the following five key elements:

- Nurturing faith, Christian spirituality and Gospel-based values;
- Promoting partnership;

- Excelling in teaching and learning;
- Creating a caring school community;
- Inspiring transformational leadership.

The school communities have identified these elements as the essential ways in which the founding vision is realised in practice in each school. They represent a commitment to wisdom as well as knowledge. While all the elements are important, the emphasis placed on each one may vary according to the local and social context of each school and the community it serves.

The spirit of the charter also calls on each individual school to identify other key values that are particular to it, to its tradition and to emerging local needs, and to work on sustaining and developing those values.

This Charter provided the guiding principles against which all school and communities of learning in the Edmund Rice network will assess themselves.

God loves nothing so much as the person who lives with wisdom. Wisdom 7:28

THE FIVE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE EDMUND RICE SCHOOL

Christ is the foundation of the whole education enterprise in a Catholic school.

The Catholic School, Rome, 1977.

1. Nurturing Faith, Christian Spirituality and Gospel-based Values
2. Promoting partnership in the school community;
3. Excelling in teaching and learning;
4. Creating a caring school community;
5. Inspiring transformational leadership

1. Nurturing Faith, Christian Spirituality and Gospel-based Values

Edmund Rice Schools in partnership with the home and the parish are dedicated to providing and developing a Catholic education that cultivates a living faith, fosters Christian spirituality and educates people in Gospel-based values.

An Edmund Rice School:

- **Is faithful to the life of Jesus Christ**

Catholic education is a ministry based on Jesus Christ's vision for humanity as expressed in his living and teaching. Christ came that we "might have life, and have it to the full" (John 10:10). The life-journey of each person has the potential to be transformed by a personal understanding of and relationship with the life-journey of Jesus.

- **Develops the whole person**

The Edmund Rice School offers balanced, integrated and innovative teaching and learning experiences. It recognises that the human person has, for example, personal, physical, intellectual, social, spiritual, moral, emotional and aesthetic dimensions and seeks to promote the student's development in all these areas.

- **Promotes a distinctive spirituality**

The Edmund Rice School – in partnership with the home and the parish – seeks to nurture and encourage a distinctive Christian spirituality. Religious education and practice is shaped to a significant extent by the desire to promote growth in spirituality. The spiritual life of each person is developed through reflection, prayer, the sacraments, liturgy, symbols, religious art and music, sacred stories and other rituals, and the services of the school chaplaincy. Celebration of the Eucharist as a school community is a nourishing, living expression of shared faith.

- **Celebrates diversity and values difference**

The Edmund Rice School welcomes students of different Christian denominations and of other religious faiths. It encourages them to grow in their own faith and religious practice while at the same time respecting the distinctive Catholic ethos of the school. It celebrates the richness and diversity of the school community.

- **Fosters a living faith through working for social and ecological justice**

An awareness of social issues and action for social justice permeate the entire curriculum of the Edmund Rice School. A concern for social justice cannot be divorced from a concern for ecological justice. Environmental and justice issues are intertwined in how humans are called to relate to God's creation. Major challenges face humanity, including environmental degradation, limits to material resources, and threats to bio-diversity. The Edmund Rice School encourages the whole school community to work for social and ecological justice in the school and in society generally. The school provided opportunities for people to live their faith by engaging in community and voluntary work and in immersion projects and in the Developing World.

- **Celebrates Mary as model of faithfulness**

Edmund Rice had a great love for Mary the Mother of Jesus who has always been seen as a model of discipleship and the tradition of venerating her has always been strong in Edmund

Rice schools. This Charter challenges the school partners to be like Mary, faithful followers of the way of Jesus.

- **Prioritises resources**

Because of its mission, the Edmund Rice School gives priority to religious education, spirituality, pastoral care and action for social and eco-justice in the allocation of human and other resources.

A school is not only a place where one is given a choice of intellectual values, but a place where one has presented an array of values, which are actively lived. The school must be a community whose values are communicated through the interpersonal and sincere relationships of its members and through both individual and corporate adherence to the outlook on life that permeates the school.

2. Promoting Partnership in the School Community

The partnership that characterises the Edmund Rice School promotes inclusiveness, mutual respect and a sense of inter-dependence of the development of the school as a community where personal growth is facilitated. It fosters a wide network of relationships and is deeply Christian.

An Edmund Rice School:

- **Recognises the value of partnership**

The Edmund Rice School is a welcoming community, where people are actively involved, their views are valued and their contribution is affirmed as they learn and grow together. Working together as partners improves the quality and effectiveness of the school. A spirit of partnership makes it easier to implement decisions and actions needed to achieve excellence.

- **Works in partnership with parents/guardians**

Because parents/guardians have the primary responsibility for the education of their children, they are key partners in the school community. Regular consultation and communication between schools and partners/guardians, active participation of parents/guardians in their child's education and involvement in specific school activities are all crucial to establishing effective home, school and community links.

- **Seeks to build community**

Community lives and grows where people share a common vision and mission, feel they belong, are allowed to contribute, are recognised and consulted and have a say in determining their direction. Partnership enables the Edmund Rice School – management, parents, teachers, support staff and students - to grow in a shared collegial vision of education, giving all involved a real sense that the school 'belongs' to them.

- **Embodies the principles of inclusiveness**

Engagement with others and inclusiveness are hallmarks of a partnership that respects and celebrates diversity of culture, race and creed. The Edmund Rice School reaches out to those who may feel excluded.

- **Respects the earth**

Earth sustains human beings and a myriad of other creatures of all kinds. Education leads people to an awareness of their interconnectedness with the earth and their place in the cosmos. Living in harmony with all of creation, respect and care for the environment, concern when it is threatened with destruction, and excitement in discovering the wonders of the universe are all encouraged. Celebrating the gifts of God in creation and giving thanks for them in prayer and liturgy are valued in the Edmund Rice School.

- **Fosters a sense of belonging to parish**

The Edmund Rice School collaborates and interacts with the many communities and agencies that are essential to the life of the school. It works in partnership with the parish in which it is located and with the other parishes and schools of its catchment area.

- **Promotes networking**

The Edmund Rice School maintains links with various educational, cultural and sporting associations and with religious, charitable and justice organisations. It values its links with the Edmund Rice Network worldwide and assists in the network's involvement in the Developing World. It supports the Church in its worldwide outreach.

The faith of children is best nurtured when home, school and the parish work together in partnership.

Irish Bishops' Pastoral. *Nurturing Our Children's Faith*. (2006)

The lay catholic educator is a person who exercises a specific mission in the Church ...To this lay person, as member of this community, the family and the Church entrust the school's educational endeavour... Lay teachers must be profoundly convinced that they share in the sanctifying, and therefore educational mission of the Church...

Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education.

Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith, 24 (1982)

3. Excelling in Teaching and Learning

The Edmund Rice School is a community of people dedicated to the pursuit of excellence in all its endeavours and in all aspects of its teaching and learning.

An Edmund Rice School:

- **Focuses on purposeful teaching and learning**

Purposeful teaching and learning provide the central focus of a successful and happy school. Such an educational model is characterised by high expectations, inspiring and innovative teaching and learning methodologies, together with regular evaluation. The creation of an orderly, safe and positive learning environment enables the Edmund Rice School to attain excellence in all dimensions of education.

- **Nurtures the holistic development of students**

The school nurtures the full potential of students, so that they may be healthy both in mind and body. It recognises the need for spiritual growth and an informed conscience. It aims to help students become better people who relate well to others and who have a keen appreciation of beauty. The lifelong process of becoming active citizens who work for justice begins in practical ways in school.

- **Recognises the uniqueness of every student**

Students are helped to grow through educational processes that are sensitive to their developmental stage and their social and cultural backgrounds. The Edmund Rice School designs an educational environment that respects and facilitates different types of intelligence and learning styles.

- **Promotes personal and professional development**

Members of boards of management, governors, principals, staff and all members of the school community are encouraged to engage in ongoing personal and professional development so as to enhance their own lives and the educational environment in their schools.

- **Raises awareness of the interconnectedness of the world in which we live.**

The Edmund Rice School raises awareness about the universe of which we are a part, the earth in which we live and about the diversity of race and religion that characterises our world and our schools today. It prepares pupils to be confident about their identity and to be respectful of others, while also giving them a sense of belonging to a wider Irish, European and global community.

In fulfilling her mission on behalf of the human family, the Church is a willing partner in that deep and respectful dialogue between science and faith which makes us all servants of the truth which sets us free.

Pope John Paul II to members of the American Philosophical Society and the Italian 'Accademia dei Lincei', 21 May 1996.

- **Uses information technology creatively and responsibly**

The Edmund Rice School incorporates up-to-date technologies in its methods of teaching and learning and ensures that students are critically aware of the creative opportunities and challenges presented by new technologies.

- **Responds to a changing world**

The Edmund Rice School responds to the evolving needs of the students in a changing world through ongoing review, evaluation and assessment and by engaging with best educational practice.

Glory be to him whose power, working in us, can do infinitely more than we can ask for or imagine.

Ephesians 3.20

4. Creating a Caring School Community

The hallmarks of an Edmund Rice school are care, especially for those who are vulnerable or disadvantaged in any way, and action for social and ecological justice.

An Edmund Rice School:

- **Develops a sense of community**

The Edmund Rice School fosters in its members' the sense of care, compassion and community that characterised Jesus' life. These values are reflected in the quality of relationships between all the school partners, and in every interaction between the school and outside agencies and communities.

- **Identifies and serves the needs of students**

The Edmund Rice School recognises the uniqueness of each individual. It identifies the educational needs of each student and puts in place appropriate resources, curricula, programmes and methodologies to enable everyone to achieve his/her full potential. Gifted children and students with learning difficulties in a particular subject are supported, while students with other special educational needs are welcomed and provided with special assistance in so far as is practicable. There is breadth and balance in the curriculum, while an extensive range of extra-curricular activities encourages participation and positive relationships, a healthy lifestyle and the holistic development of the person.

- **Promotes care and responsibility**

The Edmund Rice School develops and implements an effective Pastoral Care programme to promote the personal, social, spiritual, emotional, moral, educational and vocational needs of each student. The school's policies and practices reflect an environment that is welcoming and inclusive. Students are encouraged to take responsibility for their own behaviour and learning, and to help create a healthy, safe and happy environment, in

which everyone can learn and develop. Student leadership and innovation are encouraged and promoted.

Talk to your children about what you do so that they will understand that caring for others is an expression of your faith. Time given to others is not time taken away from ourselves, but enriches all our lives.

Irish Bishops Pastoral – *Nurturing Our Children’s Faith* (2006)

- **Works for social justice**

The school partners seek to live by Christian values and are encouraged to stand in solidarity with those in society who are powerless and marginalised.

Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appeared to us as a constitutive dimension of preaching of the Gospel.

Justice in the World, Synod of Bishops, Rome, 1971.

- **Fosters care for the environment**

All members of the school community are encourage to take an active interest in respecting, appreciating, enjoying and preserving the natural environment and the wonders of God’s creation.

- **Seeks to provide a safe and respectful working environment**

The school partners seek to promote personal dignity and safety so that all members of the school community may work and learn together, free from harassment, bullying or disruption. In a true spirit of partnership, team-work is encouraged, and the dignity and diversity of each individual is respected and celebrated.

Were you to know the merit and value of only going from one street to another to serve a neighbour for the love of God, we should prize it more than silver and gold.

Blessed Edmund Rice

My prayer is that your love for one another may increase more and more and never stop improving your knowledge and deepening your perception so that you can always recognise what is best.

Phillipians 1:9

5. Inspiring Transformational Leadership

An Edmund Rice School:

- Fosters visionary leadership

Outstanding leaders have a vision for their school – a clear picture of a preferred future – that motivates staff, parents and students to develop, to share and to own the vision so that it permeates all facets of school life. The purpose is to inspire people to think about what the school community needs in order to thrive and grow. This vision is translated into practical actions to transform structures and systems for everyone's benefit.

- **Encourages ownership of the vision**

In their commitment to leadership, all members of the school community – the Board of Management, parents, staff and students – take ownership of the vision so that it becomes a reality in their school.

- **Shares leadership roles**

The Board of Management governs the school on behalf of the Trustees. The day-to-day management, which calls for special leadership skills, is delegated to the Principal, who consults where appropriate and assigns tasks to his/her team. Leadership may be assigned or delegated to, shared with or inspired in others. Some aspect of leadership pertains to every member of the school community.

- **Encourages the active participation of parent/guardians**

As a parent himself, Edmund Rice recognised that parents/guardians (as family and community leaders) have a crucial role to play in the life of the school and in the education and welfare of their children. The active engagement of parents/guardians is central to the student's educational development.

- **Welcomes innovative leadership of teachers**

Inspirational leadership by teachers in the classroom, in extra-curricular activities, and in a great variety of other activities helps the school to achieve the excellence to which it is committed.

- **Elicits leadership and responsibility in students**

The student takes responsibility for his/her own learning, development and behaviour and displays leadership in many very active ways in the school, in the local community and through the Students' Council.

- **Promotes spiritual and moral values**

School leaders, staff and members of the school community promote and exemplify spiritual and moral values and ensure that the school operates according to the religious and educational philosophy outlined in the Charter.

- **Inspires courage and confidence**

Leaders require courage in responding to a changing world. They act as role models and provide leadership by inspiring confidence, gaining acceptance and bringing people with them towards a better future.

This is what Yahweh asks of you: only this, to act justly, to love tenderly and to walk humbly with your God.

Micah 6:8


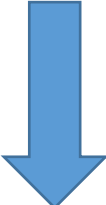


Have courage; the good seed will grow up in the children's hearts later on.

Blessed Edmund Rice

Your light must shine in the sight of people, so that, seeing your good works, they may give the praise to your Father in heaven.

Matthew, 5:16

The Charter in Action

		Creative Trusteeship		
	Promoting ongoing development of school management and leadership		Identifying and serving the needs of students and community	
Providing Faith formation and development with a commitment to social justice	<p style="text-align: center;">The Charter promotes the full personal and social development of each member and seeks to establish caring Christian communities of learning and teaching</p>			Engaging in school development planning and quality assessment
Caring for the environment and preserving the integrity of God's Creation			Enhancing Teaching and a commitment to lifelong learning.	
Appreciating cultural heritage				Providing for personal and professional development, pastoral care and guidance.
	Engaging with the Edmund Rice network worldwide		Engaging with the local Church	Upholding values specific to each individual school
		Fostering effective partnerships.		

THE CHALLENGE OF THE CHARTER

We are gifted with the charism of Edmund, our founder, and we are responsible for nurturing it. Empowered by the Holy Spirit we share this gift with all our brothers and sisters, but especially with the poor, the powerless and the oppressed.

Constitutions of the Congregation of Christian Brothers

Each Edmund Rice Schools seeks to interpret faithfully the mission of Jesus Christ and the charism of Edmund rice in its educational community according to this Charter.

The Charter seeks to inspire and to challenge the whole school community to work with a shared vision and in a true spirit of Christian partnership. Its objective is to enhance the education and development of the students while also supporting the professional personal growth of all who work in the schools.

The charter provides the guiding principles against which each school community measures its mission, performance and priorities. It is used to reflect regularly on their performance, to celebrate achievements, to recognise developmental needs and to re-commit to the spirit of the Gospel.

Whole-school review and developmental planning, consultation and motivation, personal and professional growth, and fostering partnerships are all key to enhancing the schools as centres of excellence and Christian communities of learning.

As a Charter that challenges current reality and practice in the schools, it will continue to evolve through constant careful review and reflection. As the demand of changing times are experienced and interpreted the Charter must always remain faithful to Gospel values.

Reflecting a desire to nurture the full development of every member, this Charter will help to ensure that the schools will continue to be place of hope, happiness, courage and honest struggle, where everyone is valued and respected and where the mission of the Edmund rice Schools Trust is realised.

The will of God be done in this and everything we undertake.

Blessed Edmund Rice

Appendix 3

The 1972 Charism Statement of the Christian Brothers

Christian Brothers

Via Della Maglianella, 375

No. 93

00166 Roma (Italia)

STATEMENT ON THE APOSTOLATE:

The XXIVth General Chapter of the Christian Brothers, assembled in Rome, re-affirms the dedication of the Brothers to the apostolate of the Christian education of youth in Catholic schools.

The Brothers provide this apostolic service to the church in the context of their religious vocation to live the Christian life fully, dedicating themselves wholly to the service of God.

In the spirit of Edmund Rice, Founder of the Congregation, and after consideration of the changing sociological and educational positions of the present time, the Chapter re-affirms further that the education mission of the Congregation is to Catholic boys and young men, with special care being given to the poor, the under-privileged and the handicapped. It follows from this that the Brothers do not take part in co-education.

When the missionary needs of the Church require, the Congregation may also conduct schools attended in large numbers by non-Catholics and non-Christian. In these schools such pupils are given a course in moral instruction emphasising God's love for mankind and the consequent obligation on all to love God and their fellow men.

Further, by way of special exception, where the pressing needs of the Church prompt both and Bishops and parents to seek the Congregation's participation with the Sisters in co-instruction, the Superior General and his Council, after carefully considering the recommendations and commitments of the Provincial and Council for the area concerned, may authorise the appointment of suitable trained Brothers to teach mixed classes at the upper secondary level.

The Chapter resolved further to maintain the present commitments within the context of the organisation of Catholic Education insofar as urgent needs may require a re-allocation of resources.

23rd May 1972 J.L. Kelty (President) H.P. Smith (Secretary)

Appendix 4

1982 Charism and Spirit Statement of the Christian Brothers

(Proposed at the 1978 General Chapter and agreed at the 1982 International Conference held in Dublin and then adopted at the twenty-sixth General Chapter (1984).)

APPENDIX TWO (of Constitutions)

The Twenty-fifth General Chapter of our Congregation (1978) resolved:

“That, if feasible, an International Conference be held on the spirituality of the Christian Brother in its origins and development”.

The Conference took place in Dublin in 1982 after two years of preparatory work in the provinces. In an atmosphere of prayer and discernment, the Conference reached agreement on statements on our charism and spirit.

The Twenty-sixth General Chapter (1984) expressed its appreciation of the work of the Conference and accepted its statements as significant contributions to the continuing study of our spirituality. It directed that these statement be printed as an appendix to the Book of Constitutions.

Charism Statement

EDMUND RICE WAS MOVED BY THE HOLD SPIRIT TO OPEN HIS WHOLE HEART TO CHRIST
PRESENT AND APPEALING TO HIM IN THE POOR

The Conference considered it essential that this short statement be read within the context of a longer description. The longer description is:

Deeply aware of the Father's providential presence in his life, EDMUND RICE WAS MOVED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT TO OPEN HIS WHOLE HEART TO CHRIST PRESENT AND APPEALING TO HIM IN THE POOR.

He was given the grace to respond by identifying through Christ with the poor in order to evoke in them a deep awareness of God's loving presence.

His example attracted others to share his gospel insight and response in an apostolic religious community which mainly through education would raise the poor to an awareness of their dignity as children of God.

Spirit Statement

The spirit of the Congregation is that spirit of faith which leads the Brothers to surrender to the Father's will, relying joyfully on his providential care. They see the mystery of the loving God, present in all things, most fully revealed in Jesus Christ who is "the way, the truth, and the life". One in mind and heart with Christ and imitating his spirit of prayerful detachment, the brothers strive to see people, events, and things as gifts coming from God and leading to his glory.

The spirit of the Brothers – which has its source in that same Spirit of God who anointed Jesus "to bring the Good News to the poor" – is present in its authentic form when it arises out of prayer and contemplative approach to the mission of the Church. Thus empowered by the Spirit and radically committed by the vows, the brothers grow in freedom to risk all for the sake of the Kingdom in response to the "signs of the times".

United by their shared experience of Christ in community, they are called by the Christ in others to apostolic service. With zeal and compassion, they reach out to the needs, especially poor, educating them and awakening in them a consciousness of their dignity as children of God.

Appendix 5

Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Congregation of Christian Brothers (1986)

CONGREGATION OF CHRISTIAN BROTHERS

CHRISTIAN BROTHER SCHOOLS IRELAND

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

SCHEDULE 2

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Section 1 - The Christian Brother School

- 1.1 The Catholic Church has received the mission of proclaiming and establishing the Kingdom of God among all peoples. The specific mission entrusted to the Congregation of Christian Brothers by the Church is the evangelization of youth through the apostolate of Christian education. It is for this purpose that the Christian Brother Schools exists.

- 1.2 Inspired by the vision of Edmund Rice, the Christian Brother School:

- Gives priority to education in a living faith whereby students grow to appreciate the life and mission of Jesus Christ with a view to being committed to the world as he was;
- Has a special concern for the poor and under-privileged;
- Is challenged to develop a curriculum which promotes the harmonious growth of the whole person.
-

1.3 The Christian Brother School works at forming a community composed, teachers, parents, management and other staff. This community:

- Seeks to live by Gospel values
- Recognised the dignity of each individual
- Contributes to the building of the local community
- Works for peace and justice in society
-

Section 2 – The Student

2.1 The central purpose of the school community is the religious, moral, intellectual, physical and social education of the students. The community seeks to create the atmosphere of Christian care and concern in which the student can grow to maturity.

2.2 The school is committed to:

- respect the dignity of the student with his/her background, tradition and belief; valuing the potential of each and encouraging the strong to support the weak;
- enabling the student to develop a healthy self-image and to form positive relationships with others
- encouraging in the student a sense of creativity and of collaboration with others;
- promoting the student's appreciation of his/her cultural heritage;

- preparing the student through academic and technical training for his/her vocational role in life;
- providing opportunities for the student to experience God in the wonder of creation, in worship and in service to others;
- developing a critical sense in the student, helping him/her to challenge the forces that threaten human life;
- providing a disciplined atmosphere in which the student is encouraged to grow in freedom and to take increasing responsibility for his/her own education and for the life of the school community.

Section 3 – The Teacher

3.1 The Principal and teaching staff have a central role in implementing the philosophy of the Christian Brother School.

3.2 Teachers are encouraged to:

- Embody this philosophy in their professional relationships with the students, with each other and with all members of the school community;
- Participate in the varied aspects of school life; religious, social, cultural and academic;
- Avail of suitable opportunities to further their professional and personal development;
- Place their expertise at the service of the students;
- Co-operate with other educational agencies in developing, implementing and evaluating curricula which respond to the needs of the students and correspond to the philosophy of the school.
-

Section 4 – The Parents

- 4.1 The primary right and obligation to educate young people belongs to their parents. In choosing a Christian Brother School, parents subscribe to its philosophy.
- 4.2 Parents are encouraged to exercise their rights and obligation by:
- Giving the school their trust and co-operation
 - Ensuring that their children respect, obey and co-operate with the teachers
 - Supporting the varied activities of school life
 - Taking responsibility in collaboration with others in the school community for the quality of education and for the character of the school
 -

Section 5 – Management

- 5.1 The Christian Brothers School is the responsibility of the Trustees of the Congregation of Christian Brothers who seek to protect and further the apostolic purpose of the congregation. The Trustees delegate the management of the school to a local management authority. In accepting the role of management, the local management authority acknowledges the apostolic purpose of the Congregation and the responsibility entrusted to it by the Trustees. The day-to-day management is delegated to the Principal.

5.2 In the appropriate exercise of their authority, those responsible for the school ensure that:

- The philosophy of the Christian Brother School is adhered to ;
- Professional standards of education and manage obtain in the school;
- Appointments and promotions of all staff are made impartially and in the best interests of the school,
- Suitable co-operation in educational matters is maintained and developed with the State with its civil and municipal authorities.
-

This statement of philosophy declares the apostolic purpose of the Congregation of Christian Brothers and enunciates the principles informing education in the Christian Brother School.

May 1986

Appendix 6

Text of the Episcopal Decree establishing the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation as a public juridical person

The Congregation of Christian Brothers founded by Blessed Edmund Rice in Waterford in 1802 has played an important role in Catholic Education in Ireland for over two centuries. After careful consideration and discernment, the Congregation has decided to hand on responsibility for the schools to a group of lay people who will take up trusteeship of these schools. This group is known as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The Trust will carry out its activities as a registered company established by means of Memorandum and Articles of Association.

The Congregation requested that the said Edmund Rice Schools be established as an autonomous Foundation in Canon law (cf. canon 115 §3). The Bishops of the Irish Episcopal Conference examined and approved the Statutes of the aforementioned Foundation at their meeting of June 2007. By virtue of this present Decree, in accordance with canon 116 §2 of the Code of Canon Law, we, the undersigned, on behalf of the Irish Episcopal Conference, hereby establish the Edmund Rice Schools Trust as a public juridical person (*universitas rerum*) in Canon Law and, in accordance with canon 117 of the Code of Canon Law, we declare that the canonical Statutes of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust are approved.

Consequently on behalf of the Irish Episcopal Conference, we declare that the Edmund Rice Schools Trust is a Public Juridical Person in Canon law and is thus authorised to carry out its activity in the name of the Church (cf. canon 116 §1).

This 25th day of April 2008.

+ Sean Cardinal Brady

The Most Reverend Sean Cardinal Brady

Archbishop of Armagh President of the Irish Episcopal Conference

+ Leo O'Reilly

The Most Reverend Leo O'Reilly

Bishop of Kilmore

Chairman of the Episcopal Commission on Education

Aidan O'Boyle

The Reverend Aidan O'Rourke

Secretary of the Irish Episcopal Conference

Appendix 7

Statutes of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation

Public Juridic Person (*universitas rerum*)

DECREE

The Congregation of Christian Brothers founded by Blessed Edmund rice in Waterford in 1802 has played an important role in Catholic Education in Ireland for over two centuries. After careful consideration and discernment, the Congregation has decided to hand on responsibility for the schools to a group of lay people who will take up trusteeship of these schools. This group is known as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The Trust will carry out its activities as a registered company established by means of Memorandum and Articles of Association.

The Congregation requested that the said Edmund Rice Schools be established as an autonomous Foundation in Canon law (cf. canon 115 §3). The Bishops of the Irish Episcopal Conference examined and approved the Statutes of the aforementioned Foundation as their meeting of June 2007. By virtue of this present Decree, in accordance with canon 116 §2 of the Code of Canon Law, we, the undersigned, on behalf of the Irish Episcopal Conference, hereby establish the Edmund Rice Schools Trust as a public juridical person (*universitas rerum*) in Canon Law and, in accordance with canon 117 of the Code of Canon Law, we declare that the canonical Statutes of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust are approved.

Consequently on behalf of the Irish Episcopal Conference, we declare that the Edmund Rice Schools Trust is a Public Juridical Person in Canon law and is thus authorised to carry out its activity in the name of the Church (cf. canon 116 §1).

This 25th day of April 2008.

+ Sean Cardinal Brady

The Most Reverend Sean Cardinal Brady

Archbishop of Armagh President of the Irish Episcopal Conference

+ Leo O'Reilly

The Most Reverend Leo O'Reilly

Bishop of Kilmore, Chairman of the Episcopal Commission on Education

Aidan O'Boyle

The Reverend Aidan O'Boyle, Secretary of the Irish Episcopal Conference

STATUTES OF THE EDMUND RICE SCHOOLS TRUST FOUNDATION

PUBLIC JURIDIC PERSON

(UNIVERSITAS RERUM)

PREAMBLE

- 1 The Congregation of Christian Brothers (“the Congregation”) founded by Blessed Edmund Rice in Waterford in 1802 has played an important role in Catholic education in Ireland for over two centuries. The Congregation opened schools in many parts of Ireland and its mission in Catholic education gradually extended to all five continents.

After careful consideration and discernment, the Congregation decided to hand on trusteeship of the schools in Ireland to a lay trust. A company, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, has been established to hold the schools in trust so that they may continue to provide Catholic education in the spirit and tradition of Blessed Edmund Rice into the future for the people of Ireland. This continuity is ensured primarily by the exercise of trusteeship in the schools in accordance with the requirements of civil law through the Company, the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, and with the requirements of Canon Law through the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation.

DEFINITIONS

- 2 In these Statutes:

“the Administrators “ means those persons appointed as Administrators of the Foundation in accordance with Statute 18.

“the Charter” means the Charter for the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

“the Company” means the Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

“the Congregation” means the religious institute founded by Blessed Edmund Rice and known as the Congregation of Christian Brothers.

“the Directors” means the Directors for the time being of the Company.

“the Diocese means the diocese in which one or more of the Schools of the Foundation are located.

“the Foundation “ means the Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation.

“the Members” means the members of the Company.

1. “the Schools” means the colleges, schools and other education projects owned or operated by the Company in accordance with the religious and education philosophy of the Company as stated in the Charter.

“the Secretary” means the person appointed to perform the duties of the Secretary of the Foundation who is also Secretary of the Company.

“the Standing Committee” means those persons appointed as members of the Standing Committee in accordance with Statute 38.

“the State” means the Republic of Ireland.

“the Statutes” means the statutes of the Foundation as set out hereinafter.

“lay trust” means the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, a Company Limited by Guarantee, of which all or the majority of members are lay people and all or the majority of the directors are lay people.

- 3 The Foundation known as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust was set up by the Christian Brothers and formally constituted by decree of the Irish Bishops’ Conference, dated the _____ day of _____ 200__ in accordance with canon 116 §2.
- 4 Since the Foundation is present and active in dioceses throughout Ireland, the same Bishops’ Conference is the competent authority to approve the statutes of the Foundation (cf. Canon 117)
- 5 By virtue of the decree of establishment and the approval of the statutes, the Foundation is a public juridic person in Canon Law and this carries out its activity in the name of the Church (cf. Canon 116 §1).

- 6 The Foundation consists of Schools which are listed in Appendix A, which were transferred to the Company on its establishment and any other Schools subsequently transferred to or established by the Company.
- 7 The Foundation was established in order to ensure the continuity of Catholic Education in the tradition of Blessed Edmund Rice in the colleges, schools and other educational projects in Ireland founded, owned or operated until now by the Christian Brothers. This continuity will be ensured primarily by the exercise of Trusteeship in the aforementioned colleges, schools and educational projects in accordance with the requirements of Irish civil law.
- 8 The Foundation has been established at the same time as the Company, which is the civil legal entity known as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust. The Company was established on the _____ day of _____ 200__ and a copy of the Memorandum and Articles are attached hereto in Appendix B.
- 9 The Congregation does not exercise any form of jurisdiction or control over the Foundation other than reserved to the Congregation in the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company.
- 10 The Foundation respects and upholds the distinctive heritage and tradition passed on to it by the Congregation founded by Blessed Edmund Rice.
- 11 The Foundation shall endeavour to work closely with the individual diocesan Bishops or their representatives in whose Dioceses the Schools are located.

- 12 The Foundation shall seek to collaborate with other Catholic Schools Trusts in Ireland.

- 13 The Foundation shall endeavour to be aligned with other similar Foundations of Blessed Edmund Rice Schools elsewhere in the world by means of confederation or other form of association.

- 14 As a public juridic person, the Foundation has the right to acquire, possess, administer and alienate goods in its own name. The administration of the temporal goods of the Foundation shall be conducted in conformity with the canons of the Code of Canon Law and the relevant prescriptions of civil law prevailing in Ireland.

- 15 If any dispute or difference of any kind whatsoever arises or occurs in relation to anything or matter arising under or out of or in connection with these Statutes or the memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company, the parties shall appoint an arbitrator and submit such dispute or difference to such arbitrator whose decision shall be binding. If the parties to the dispute, fail to agree on the appointment of an arbitrator within one (1) calendar month of the date on which such dispute or difference arises either party may, on giving one (1) calendar months' notice to the other party, refer such dispute or difference to arbitration under the Arbitration Rules of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators – Irish Branch. Arbitration shall be in accordance with the provisions of the Arbitration Acts 1954 to 1998 and any / or statutory re-enactment or modification thereof. (Canon 1446 § 3 and 1713 -1716)

THE FOUNDATION ETHOS

- 16 The ethos, values, policies and procedures of the Foundation shall be in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, a copy of which is attached hereto in Appendix C.

HEADQUARTERS

- 17 The Foundation has its headquarters in the City of Dublin.

ADMINISTRATORS

- 18 The Foundation is governed by Administrators who shall consist of the Members and the Directors of the Company. The Congregation shall appoint the initial Administrators of the Foundation and thereafter the Administrators shall appoint new Administrators as vacancies occur or as required.
- 19 The term of office of an Administrator who is a Member of the Company shall be in accordance with the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company. The term of office of an Administrator who is a Director of the Company shall be in accordance with the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company.
- 20 The Administrators shall consist of not more than twenty persons who will represent the Foundation in accordance with canon 118 and these Statutes.
- 21 Every person to be appointed as an Administrator shall be subject to the Statutes of the Foundation and to the rules, byelaws and regulations of the Company.

22 To be admitted as an Administrator of the Foundation, an individual must possess the following characteristics or attributes and must:

22.1 be a Catholic and must be person of integrity and uprightness who is faithful to Gospel values;

22.2 be committed to maintaining the Catholic ethos of the Schools operated by the Foundation;

22.3 be conversant with the tradition of Blessed Edmund Rice and of Edmund Rice schools in Ireland;

22.4 be committed to upholding the religious and educational philosophy contained in the Charter for Edmund Rice Schools; and

22.5 possess the experience, skills and requirements set down for Members and / or Directors of Company.

23 The Foundation in its government is collegial. The Administrators manage its activity by participating actively in making decisions. The conduct of its activity is governed by canon 119, the Charter and by the provisions of the Memorandum and Articles of Association.

24 The Foundation is responsible for the Schools as listed in Appendix A (appended hereto) and which are subject to agreements between the Congregation, the local diocesan Bishops, and the relevant Departments of the Government of the State. The Foundation agrees to adhere to these agreements provided that any such agreement is not in conflict with these Statutes, the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company or the Charter.

- 25 The Foundation acknowledges the role and responsibility of the local Bishop with respect to the Catholic schools in his diocese. He is the competent ecclesiastical authority in deciding if a school in his diocese shall bear the title “Catholic school” (cf. canons 803 and 806).
- 26 New projects may be taken up by the Foundation at the invitation of the local diocesan Bishop or by the Foundation, after obtaining his approval to enter the diocese to respond to a need that has been identified.
- 27 The administrators shall see that adequate programmes of induction and on-going formation are provided for themselves. These programmes shall address both the spirit of the Foundation and professional responsibility. The programmes shall be reviewed and updated at intervals specified by the Standing Committee.

RESIGNATION, CESSATION AND EXCLUSION OF ADMINISTRATORS

- 28 An administrator shall cease to be an Administrator if the individual in question:
- 28.1 dies;
- 28.2 becomes of unsound mind;
- 28.3 Resigns by notice in writing to the Secretary (without prejudice to Statute 42.4);

- 28.4 is not discharging his/her duties in accordance with the ethos, mission and philosophy of the Charter or has failed or is unwilling to discharge his/her duties as an Administrator of the foundation and the dismissal of that Administrator has been approved by a two thirds majority of the Administrators at a properly convened meeting of the Foundation;
- 28.5 has been absent from two consecutive Annual General Meetings of the foundation without good cause:
- 28.6 shall be adjudged a bankrupt, or shall make any composition or arrangement with his/her creditors or being engaged in any profession shall on account of misconduct be prohibited by the governing body of such a profession from continuing to practise under its regulations, s/he shall *ipso facto* cease to be an Administrator of the Foundation.
- 28.7 is convicted of an offence punishable by imprisonment or is convicted of an indictable offence other than an offence under the Road Traffic Acts not punishable by way of imprisonment.

MEETINGS OF THE ADMINISTRATORS

- 29 The Administrators shall hold an Annual General Meeting each year in addition to any other meetings of the Administrators in that year.

30 The business to be conducted at the Annual General Meeting of the foundation shall include the following:

30.1 the adoption of the minutes of the preceding Annual General Meeting and of the any other meetings held since the preceding Annual General Meeting;

30.2 the receipt and consideration of the annual report from the Standing Committee;

30.3 the receipt and adoption of the financial report and the audited accounts of the Foundation;

30.4 the appointment and removal of Administrators;

30.5 the appointment and removal of the Standing Committee;

30.6 the appointment of the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Administrators and Standing Committee;

30.7 the appointment of the Secretary;

- 30.8 the appointment of the Auditor;
- 30.9 Consideration of and decision on any resolution of which due notice shall have been given.
- 31 The rules and regulations governing the meetings of the Members of the Company shall be adhered to by the Administrators of the Foundation.
- 32 Meetings of the Administrators shall be chaired by the Chairperson of the Foundation and in his/her absence by the Vice-Chairperson of the foundation. In the absence of both the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson, the Administrators present will designate a substitute.

CHAIRPERSON OF THE FOUNDATION

- 33 The Chairperson of the Foundation shall be the chairperson of the Company.
- 34 The Chairperson for the time being of the Foundation represents the Foundation in all matters concerning canon law and civil law.
- 35 Each year, the Chairperson of the Foundation shall submit to the Irish Bishops' Conference a detailed report of the activity of the Foundation during the previous year. This annual report shall be accompanied by a copy of the audited accounts of the Foundation for the previous year.

- 36 In order to ensure that the integrity of faith and morals is maintained and that abuses of ecclesiastical discipline do not occur, the Chairperson of the foundation and a representative of the Administrators shall meet with a representative or representatives of the Irish Conference of Bishops at least once a year.

VICE-CHAIRPERSON OF THE FOUNDATION

- 37 The Vice-chairperson of the Foundation shall be the vice-chairperson of the Company and shall assist the Chairperson of the Foundation and act on the Chairperson's behalf in cases of absence or inability to act. Service as vice-Chairperson shall not be a condition precedent to service as Chairperson and the Vice-Chairperson shall not automatically succeed the Chairperson.

STANDING COMMITTEE

- 38 The Standing Committee of the foundation shall be comprised of those Administrators who are the Directors of the Company.
- 39 The Standing Committee shall manage the business of the foundation and shall have the same powers, role and responsibilities as set out in the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the company for the Directors of the Company.
- 40 The Standing Committee may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit.
- 41 The Standing committee shall keep an up to date register of the Schools and the properties of the Foundation.

DISQUALIFICATION AS MEMBER OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

42 An Administrator's membership of the Standing Committee shall be vacated if that member:

42.1 dies;

42.2 shall cease to be an Administrator;

42.3 becomes of unsound mind;

42.4 resigns by notice in writing to a general meeting of the Administrators and which resignation is accepted by a majority of those present;

42.5 is adjudged bankrupt;

42.6 is convicted of an offence punishable by imprisonment or is convicted of an indictable offence other than of offence under the Road Traffic Acts not punishable by way of imprisonment;

42.7 becomes prohibited from being a Director of the Company by reason of any of the provisions of the Companies Acts 1963-2005;

- 42.8 being engaged in professional misconduct prohibited by the governing body of such profession from continuing to practice under its regulations;
- 42.8 in the opinion of the majority of the Administrators, not acting in accordance with Articles 46 and 47 of the Articles of Association of the Company or the Charter;
- 42.10 has been absent from three consecutive meetings of the Standing committee without good reason.

ALIENATION OF PROPERTY

- 43 For acts of extraordinary administration, for alienation of property and for the contracting of debts above the value of the sum established by the Irish Episcopal Conference, a meeting of the Administrators of the Foundation shall be convened by at least 21 days' notice in writing and must be approved by a two third majority of the Administrators present at a properly convened meeting.
- 44 For similar acts where the property value is between three quarters and the total sum established by the Irish Episcopal Conference, the consent of the President of the Irish Episcopal Conference is also required.
- 45 For acts of extraordinary administration, for alienation of property and the contracting of debts in excess of the sum fixed for Ireland by the Irish Episcopal Conference, the permission of the Holy See is required.

CHAIRPERSON OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

- 46 The chairperson of the Standing Committee shall be the chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Company and shall have the same role and responsibilities as those of the Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Company as stated in the Articles of Association of the Company.

VICE-CHAIRPERSON OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

- 47 The Vice-Chairperson of the Standing Committee shall be the Vice-Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Company and shall have same role and responsibilities as those of the Vice-Chairperson of the Board of directors of the Company as stated in the Articles of Association of the Company.

SECRETARY OF THE ADMINISTRATORS

- 48 The Secretary of the Administrators shall be the Company Secretary and shall have the same role and responsibilities as those of the Company Secretary as stated in the Articles of Association of the Company.

SECRETARY OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

- 49 The Secretary of the Standing Committee shall be the Board Secretary and shall have the same role and responsibilities as those of the Board Secretary as stated in the Articles of Association of the Company. The Secretary of the Standing Committee shall ensure that the agenda for each meeting is made available to the members of the Standing Committee at least 7 days in advance of such meeting. The minutes of each meeting of the Standing committee shall be sent to the members of the Standing Committee within 14 days after the said meeting.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

- 50 The Standing Committee shall appoint the finance Officer of the company to be the Treasurer of the Foundation who shall administer the finances and accounts of the Foundation in accordance with these Statutes.
- 51 In the administration of the temporal goods of the Foundation, the Treasurer shall be assisted by a Finance Committee.
- 52 The Standing Committee shall appoint a Finance Committee which shall also be the Finance Committee of the Company and which shall consist of persons with particular professional skills who may be co-opted from time to time in accordance with the Memorandum and Articles of Association.
- 54 A financial report shall be given by the Treasurer or a member of the Finance Committee at least four times each year to a meeting of the Standing committee. The annual report, the financial report and the audited accounts shall be presented by the Treasurer or a member of the Finance Committee each year to the Administrators at the Annual General Meeting.

AMENDMENTS TO STATUTES

- 54 In the event of the discovery of any lacuna in the canonical provisions of these Statutes, the Irish Episcopal Conference is competent to repair the lacuna by means of a decree which is in accordance with these Statutes, and the provisions of the

Memorandum and Articles of Association, and following on consultation with the administrators.

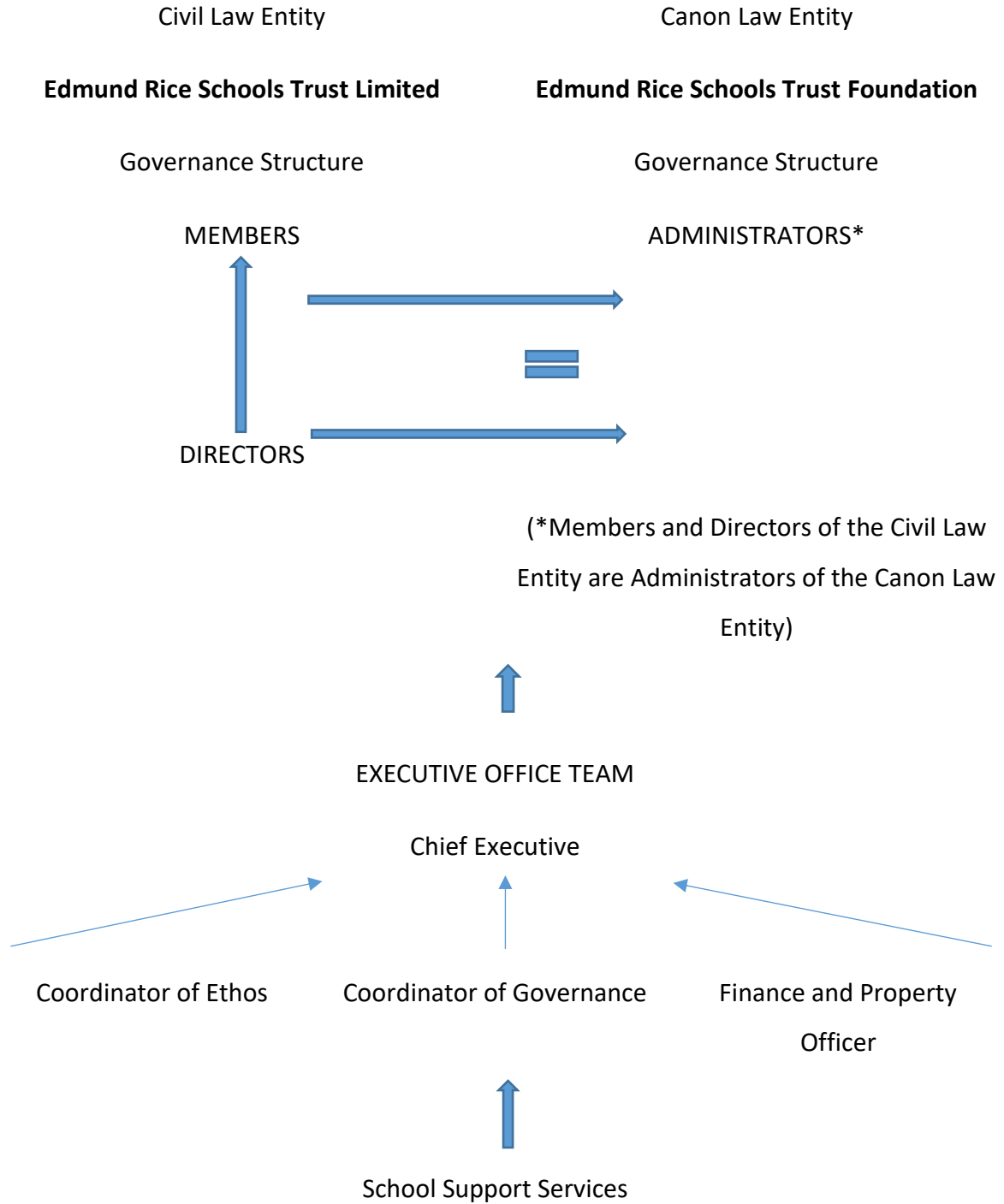
- 55 No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made to or in the provisions of these Statutes for the time being in force unless the same shall have been previously approved by a two-thirds majority of the Administrators and shall subsequently have been approved by Decree of the Irish Episcopal Conference.

WINDING UP OR SUPPRESSION OF THE FOUNDATION

- 56 For a grave reason, having informed the Chairperson and the Administrators and having afforded them an opportunity to respond, the Irish Episcopal Conference can suppress the Foundation. In the event of suppression, the Administrators can have recourse to the Holy See.
- 57 Should the Foundation be suppressed or should it cease to exist in any other way, its temporal goods shall be disposed of in accordance with the provisions of the Company, provided that the necessary approvals of the competent ecclesiastical and civil authorities have been obtained.
- 58 If at any time, legislation is enacted in Ireland which conflicts with the main objects of the Company or is likely to make the Charter or this Foundation inoperable or ultra vires legislation, and the Company is wound up or ceases to exist, then the necessary steps shall be taken to suppress this Foundation in accordance with Canon Law.

Appendix 8

Organisational Structure of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust



Appendix 9

Contrasting Parental supports in a DEIS Edmund Rice Schools Trust School and its non-DEIS counterpart

(The response from Principal F when comparing his experiences in two different settings.)³⁹

“Well, if you take the first inequity... it is that the voluntary secondary schools receive less funding than the other sectors and, then, they tend to compensate for that by a variety of different parent funding structures – be it voluntary subscriptions or initiatives. But, if you take those just to start off with. The first one is, when I was in Castleroché, it had the benefit of taking in a very large voluntary subscription from just over 80% of the children, of 450 Euro. Once the parents gave 450 Euro they were then invited to sign a form which allowed Castleroché College to claim back their revenue contributions, effectively turning that €450 into €620, at no extra cost to the parent, by claiming back the tax that the parent was paying – Castleroché made about €162,000 every year from its voluntary subscriptions and made an additional €81,000 on top of that out of the State by simply getting the parents to sign that form. In addition to that it had a Past Pupils’ Union that were able to do tremendous fundraising activities every year from golf classics to various other things. You then had the parents association who were very active and were always organising activities. So they were all the compensatory things for that inequity and it did very well; trust me, it did very well. You then compare that to the DEIS school in the voluntary secondary sector. The DEIS school that I am in at the moment has a voluntary subscription which is taken up by 20% - none of them are prepared to sign the (tax) form; there is no point in them signing because they are all unemployed. There is no active Parents’ Association in the school despite every effort by me to bring one up. We get one or two parents who are very happy to do it but they are always fighting an apathy, a malaise within the community to get involved in things like that. There is no past pupils’ union. But as well as that, even if we go out

³⁹ Note - Castleroché College is the non-DEIS school and Phoenix is the DEIS school.

fundraising... when I went to a fundraising in Castlerock you had the community around us who were all very much supportive of us. The businesses were very supportive of us. I look abroad at where we are at the moment, in Phoenix, and there are very few businesses that would be happy to support us ... because we are not part of the ... that *milieu*, that sector of society. So you are fighting on every front when you are in a DEIS setting in the voluntary secondary sector”.

Bibliography

Abeles, J., (2008), "Leadership formation: A Call to action: How can the next generation of leaders carry Jesus' healing ministry in Catholic health care?" *Health Progress*, Volume 89, Issue 2, pp. 32-27.

Ainsworth, M.A., Ortlieb, Cheek, E.H., Simnacher Pate, R., and Feters, C., (2012), "First-grade teachers' perception and implementation of a semi-scripted reading curriculum", *Language and Education*, Volume 26, Number 1, pp. 77-90.

Akenson, D. H., (2012), *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge (originally published in 1970).

Akenson, D. H., (1975), *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland 1922-1960*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Arbuckle, G.A., (1987), *Strategies for growth in religious life*, New South Wales, St, Paul Publications.

Arbuckle, G.A., (1993), *Refounding the Church: Dissent for Leadership*, London, Geoffrey Chapman.

Aubert, R., Boileau, D.A., (2003), *Catholic Social Teaching: An Historical Perspective*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press.

Bellows, G. R., (1988), "Characteristics of Christian Brothers' Schools", *Christian Brothers Educational Record*, pp. 184-191.

Beyer, G.J., (2014), The Meaning of Solidarity in Catholic Social Teaching, *Political Theory*, Volume 1, Number 1, pp. 7-25.

Blake, D., (1996), *Man for our Time; A short life of Edmund Rice*, Dublin, Veritas Publications.

Boff, L., (1985), *Church Charism and Power: Liberation Theology and the Institutional Church*, London, Crossroad Publishing Company.

Bracken, W., (1981), "A Study of the Contribution of the Christian Brothers to the Development of Irish Education", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

Bradley-Levine, J. and Carr, K.A., (2015), "Critical Theory and Catholic Social Teaching: A Research Framework for Catholic Schools", *Journal of Catholic Education*, Volume 18, Number 2, pp. 27-43.

Brannigan, C.G., (1982), "Quaker Education in Ireland 1680-1840", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

Brookfield, S.D., (2005), *The Power of Critical Theory for Adult Learning and Teaching*, Berkshire, Open University Press.

Bryk A. S., Lee V.E., and Holland P.B., (1993), *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Byrne, G., (1989), *The Time of My Life: An Autobiography*, Dublin, Gill and MacMillan.

Byrne, D., McGinnitty, F. and Darmody, M. (2010), "Immigration and school composition in Ireland", *Irish Educational Studies*, Volume 29, Number 3, pp. 271-288.

Burton, D., (1964), *Edmund Rice – Merchant Adventurer*, London, Sands and Co.

Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, (1997), *The Common Good in Education*, London, Catholic Education Service.

Clarke, M., 2010, "Educational reform in the 1960s: the introduction of comprehensive schools in the Republic of Ireland", *History of Education, Journal of the History of Education Society*, Volume 39, Issue 3, pp. 383-399.

Code of Canon Law (*Codex Iuris Canonici*), (1982), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Coldrey, B., (1988), *Faith and Fatherland: The Christian Brothers and the Development of Nationalism, 1838–1921*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan.

Coldrey, B., (1992), "'A most unenviable reputation': the Christian Brothers and school discipline over two centuries", *History of Education*, Volume 21, Number 3, pp. 277-289.

Coldrey, B. M., (1993). *The scheme: the Christian Brothers and childcare in Western Australia*. Argyle-Pacific Publishing, O'Connor, Western Australia.

Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS), (1973), *Report of the Working Party on the Future Involvement of Religious in Education*, (FIRE Report), Dublin.

Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS), (1974), *Focus for Action*, Dublin.

Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS), (1992), *Education and poverty: Eliminating disadvantage in the primary schools years*, Dublin, Elo Press.

Conference of Religious of Ireland (1991), *The Catholic School in Contemporary Society*. Dublin, CORI

Conference of Religious of Ireland (1996), *The Trusteeship of Catholic Voluntary Secondary Schools: A handbook for the leaders of religious congregations*. Dublin: CORI

Conference of Religious of Ireland (1997A) *Religious Congregations in Irish Education: A role for the future? A reflection paper*, Dublin, CORI.

Conference of Religious of Ireland, (1997B) *The Future of Trusteeship: A Review of some options for the way forward*, Dublin, CORI.

Congregation of Christian Brothers, *History of the Institute*, (n.d.), Dublin, Marino.

Congregation of Christian Brothers, (1832), *Constitution of the Institute*, Dublin, Marino.

Congregation of Christian Brothers (1944), *Centenary of the Death of Edmund Ignatius Rice*.
Dublin: Cahill & Co.

Congregation of Christian Brothers, (1972), *Statement on Charism*, Rome.

Congregation of Christian Brothers (1973), *Response of the Congregation of Christian Brothers to the FIRE Report*, Marino, private circulation.

Congregation of Christian Brothers, (1982), *Charism and Spirit Statement*, Rome.

Congregation of Christian Brothers, (1986), *Religious and Educational Philosophy (Schedule 2)*, Dublin.

Congregation of Christian Brothers (1996), *New Beginnings with Edmund: 28th Congregation Chapter*, Rome, Palombi Editori.

Congregation of Christian Brothers (2008), *Dare to be Disciple: Passion and Possibility (The Report of the Congregation Leadership Team)*, Rome, Palombi Editori.

Congregation of Christian Brothers Archives (2010), *Personal papers of Brother John Heneghan*. Dublin, Marino: Private circulation.

Congregation of Christian Brothers (2015), *Drawn By Mystery, Destined for Life (Reflections on the Nairobi Chapter) Volume II*, Dublin, Cluain Mhuire Press.

Coolahan, J., (1981), *Irish Education: its History and Structure*, Dublin, Institute of Public administration.

Coolahan, J., (ed.) (1994), *Report on the National Education Convention*, Dublin, Convention Secretariat.

Coolahan, J., (2017), *Towards the Era of Lifelong Learning: A History of Irish Education 1800-2016*, Dublin, Institute of Public Administration.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008), *Basics of qualitative research; techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Coriden, J.A., Green, T.J., Heintschel, D., (Eds.), (1985), *The Code of Canon Law: a Text and Commentary*, New York, Paulist Press.

Corish, P., (1995), *Maynooth College 1795-1995*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan.

Cornforth, C., (2014), *Understanding and Combating Mission Drift in Social Enterprises*, Social Enterprise Journal, Volume 10, Number 1, pp. 3-20.

Corston, W., (1840), *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Joseph Lancaster: Including the Introduction to his System of Education*, London, Harvey Darton.

Coughlan, V., (2011), *The Bicentenary Book: from the Kildare Place Society to the Church of Ireland College of Education (1811-2011)*, Rathmines, Dublin, Church of Ireland College of Education (CICE).

Coyle, T., O'Brien, S., (2002), *Towards and Identity and a Contribution: Findings from the Identity Project*, Dublin, Marino Institute of Education.

Cameron, J., (2021), *Boy 11,963: An Irish Industrial School Childhood and an Extraordinary Search for Home*, Dublin, Hachette.

Cullen, L.M., (1981), *Population Growth and diet, 1600-1850*, in *Irish Population, Economy, and Society*, pp. 89-111, Goldstrom J.M and Clarkson L.A., (eds.), Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Cullen, P., (June 19, 2008), *Control of Christian Brothers Schools handed over to trust*, Dublin, Irish Times.

Cunningham, J., (2009), *Unlikely Radicals: Irish Post-Primary Teachers and the ASTI, 1909-2009*, Cork, Cork University Press.

Curran, C.E., (2002), *Catholic Social Teaching 1891 – present: A Historical Theological and Ethical Analysis*, Washington D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Darmody, M., Smyth, E., (2013), *Governance and Funding of Voluntary Secondary Schools in Ireland*, Dublin, Economic and Social Research Institute.

D’Auria, E., (2010), *Alienation of Temporal Goods in Roman Canon Law: A Potential for Conflict*, Ecclesiastical Law Journal, Volume 12, Number 1, pp. 35-52.

DeBerri, E.P., Hug, J.E., (2003), *Catholic Social Teaching: Our Best Kept Secret*, Washington D.C., Orbis Books.

Department of Education and Skills, (2004), *Funding of Second-Level Schools*, (Blackstock Report), Dublin, DES.

Department of Education and Science, (2005), *DEIS (Delivering Equality in Schools): An Action Plan for Educational Inclusion*, Dublin.

Department of Education and Skills, (2012), *Report for the New Schools Establishment Group: Patronage for the New Post-Primary Schools for 2013 and 2014*, Dublin.

Department of Education and Skills, (2017), *DEIS Plan 2017: Delivering Equality in Schools*, Dublin.

Dewey, J., (1938) *Experience and Education*, New York City, Kappa Delta Pi.

Dorr, D., (2016), *Option for the Poor and for the Earth: From Leo XIII to Pope Francis*, New York, Orbis books.

Duignan, P., (2005), "Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets, and Morality, by Gerald Grace", *Journal of Catholic Education*, Volume 9, Number 1, pp. 124-126.

Earl, H.P., (2008), *Faith Formation of the Laity in Catholic Schools: the influence of Virtues and Spirituality Seminars*, Charlotte, Information Age Publishing.

Edmund Rice Schools Trust Foundation Statutes. (2006), Marino, Dublin, Private Circulation.

Edmund Rice Schools Trust, (2018), *Nurturing the Seed: The First Ten Years of the Edmund Rice Schools Trust, 2008-2018*, Dublin, Edmund Rice Schools Trust.

Evangelica Testificatio (On the Renewal of the Religious Life), (1971), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Faggioli, M., (2012), *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning*, New York, Pauline Press.

Farrell, A.P., (1970), *The Jesuits Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, Washington D.C., Conference of Major superiors of Jesuits.

Feherty, J. P. (ed.) (1995), *Education and the Family: Papers to mark the 150th Anniversary of Edmund Ignatius Rice*. Dublin, Veritas.

Fitzpatrick, J.D., (1945), *Edmund Rice: Founder and First Superior General of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland*, Dublin, M.H Gill and Son.

Fleming, B., Harford, J., (2014), Irish Educational Policy in the 1960s: a Decade of Transformation, *History of Education*, Volume 43, Issue 5, pp. 635-656.

Fleming, B., (2016), *Irish Education 1922-2007: Cherishing all the Children?* Dublin, Mynchen's Field Press.

Franciscus, (2015), *Laudato si* (Praise Be To You; On care for our common home), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Franciscus, (2020), *Fratelli Tutti* (All Brothers), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Freire, P., (1996), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, London, Penguin Books.

Freire, P., (2016), *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fullan, M., (1993), *Change Forces: Probing the Depths of Educational Reform*, London, The Falmer Press.

Fullan, M., (2020), *Leading in a Culture of Change* (2nd edition), California, Jossey-Bass.

Gaillardetz, R.R., in Himes, K., (Ed.) (2005), *Commentary on Catholic Social Teaching*, Washington D.D., Georgetown University Press.

Gaillet, L.L., Eidson H.D. and Gammill, D., (Editors) (2016), *Landmark Essays on Archival Research*, Routledge, New York.

George, F.E., (1977), "Founding Founderology: Charism and Hermeneutics." *Review for Religious*, Volume 36, Number 1, pp. 40–48.

Gergen, K. (1999), *An invitation to social construction*, London, Sage Publications.

Government Publications Office, (1936), *Commission of Inquiry into the Reformatory and Industrial School System, 1936-1938 (The Cussen Report)*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office (1958), *Programme of Economic Expansion*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1963), *Second Programme for Economic Expansion*, Dublin.

Government Publications, (1965), *Investment in Education: Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister of Education in October, 1962*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1970), *The Reformatory and Industrial School Systems Report (The Kennedy Report)*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1980), *White Paper on Educational Development*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1984) *Programme for Action, 1984-1987*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office (1985), *Partners in Education – Serving Community Needs*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1992), *Education in a Changing World*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1995), *Charting our Education Future*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1998) *The Education Act*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (1999), *The New Deal: A Plan for Educational Opportunity*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (2005), *Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS); The Action Plan for Educational Inclusion*, Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (2009), *Report of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA) / (The Ryan Report)*, (2009), Dublin.

Government Publications Office, (2017), *DEIS Plan 2017: Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools*, Dublin.

Grace, G., in Leithwood, K., and Hallinger, P., (eds) (2002), *Mission Integrity: Contemporary Challenges for Catholic School Leaders, Second International Handbook of Catholic Educational Leadership and Administration*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Press.

Grace, G., (2017A), *Do our Schools have Mission Integrity?* London, Catholic Union Charitable Trust.

Grace, G., (2017B), *Vatican II and new thinking about education: Aggiornamento thinking and principles into practice* (pp. 13-22) in Whittle, S., ed. *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, London, Routledge.

Graham, J.D., (2011), *Daring to engage: religious and spiritual formation of lay Catholic educators in Australia*, *International Studies in Catholic Education*, Volume 3, Number 1, pp. 25-39.

Grant, M.K., Vandenberg, P., (1998), *After We're Gone: Sustainable Sponsorships*, Mishawka, Indiana, Ministry Development Resources.

Gurrin, B., (2018), *Population and Emigration, 1730-1845*, In Bartlett, T. (Author), and Kelly, J. (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, (pp. 204-230), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Gutiérrez, G., (2001), *A Theology of Liberation*, London, SCM Press.

Hargreaves, A., and Fink, D., (2006), *Sustainable Leadership*, San Francisco, Jossey Bass.

Hargreaves, A., Boyle, A., Harris, A., (2014), *Uplifting Leadership: How Organizations, Teams, and Communities Raise Performance*, California, Jossey-Bass.

Hargreaves, A., & Ainscow, M., (2015), *The top and bottom of leadership and change*, Phi Delta Kappan, Volume, Volume 97. Number 3, pp. 42-48.

Heintschel, D., (1988), "Alienation of church Property under the New Code of Canon Law", *The Catholic Lawyer*, Volume 31, Number 2, pp. 156-161.

Herron, Donald (1983), "The Christian Brothers' Disconnection from the National Board" In *Irish Educational Studies*, Volume 3, Number 2, pp. 37-56.

Hickey, F. R., (1982), "The First History of the Congregation," *Christian Brothers' Educational Record*, Rome.

Hislop, H., "The 1806-1812 Board of Education and Non-Denominational Education in Ireland", *Oideas*, Volume 40, Spring 1993, pp. 48-60.

Hogan, P., Brosnan, A., deRóiste, B., MacAlister, A., Malone, A., Quirke-Bolt, N., Smith, G. (2008), *Learning Anew: Final Report of the Research and Development Project 'Teaching and Learning for the 21st Century' 2003-07*, Maynooth: Education Department, National University of Ireland Maynooth.

Holland S., (1979), *Rutland Street: The Story of an Educational Experiment for Disadvantaged Children in Dublin*, Oxford, Pergamon Press.

Hussey, G., (1985), *Dáil Proceedings*, Volume 373, Number 8.

Hyland, Á. & Milne, K., (editors) (1987), *Irish Educational Documents* (Volume I, A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from the earliest times to 1922). Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education.

Hyland, Á. & Milne, K., (editors) (1992), *Irish Educational Documents* (Volume II, A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from 1922 to 1991 in the Irish Free State and the Irish Republic), Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education.

Imenda, S., (2014), "Is There a Conceptual Difference between Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks?", *Journal of Social Sciences*, Volume 38, Number 2, pp. 185-195.

Jacob, P.B., (1979), *Edmund Ignatius Rice*, Dublin, Irish Messenger Publications.

Johannes XXIII, (1961), *Humanae Salutis (Human Health/Salvation)*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Johannes XXIII, (1963), *Pacis in Terris, (Peace on Earth)*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Johannes Paulus II, (1987), *Sollicitudo rei Socialis (The Social Concern)*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Johannes Paulus II, (1992), *Pastores Dabo Vobis, (On the formation of priests in the present day)*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Johannes Paulus II, (1996), *Vita Consecrata (On the Consecrated Life and its Mission in the Church and in the World)*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Johannes Paulus II, (2000), *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, London, Geoffrey Chapman.

Johannes Paulus II, (2004), *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Keena, C., (2009), *Edmund Rice Schools Trust explains its accounts*, Dublin, Irish Times, May 28 2009.

Kellaghan, T. and Greaney, B.J., (1993), *The Educational Developments of Students following Participation in a Pre-School Programme in a Disadvantaged Area in Ireland*, Dublin, Educational Research Centre / The Hague, Bernard Van Leer Foundation.

Kellaghan, T., Weir, S., Ó hUallacháin, S., and Morgan, M. (1995), *Educational disadvantage in Ireland*, Dublin, Department of Education / Combat Poverty Agency / Educational Research Centre.

Kelly, F., (2014), *Secondary School Management is at Breaking Point*, Dublin, Irish Times, January 14 2014.

Keogh, D., (1996), *Edmund Rice 1762-1844*, Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Keogh, D., (2008), *Edmund Rice and the First Christian Brothers*, Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Keogh, D., (2015), "Our Boys: the Christian Brothers and the formation of youth in the 'new Ireland'", *History of Education*, Volume 44, Issue 6, pp. 700-716.

Keogh, D., (2016), "Forged in the Fire of Persecution: Edmund Rice (1762-1844) and the Counter-Reformatory Character of the Irish Christian Brothers", pp. 88-103, in *Essays in the History of Irish Education*, ed. Walsh, B., London, Palgrave.

Keogh, D., McDonnell, A., (Eds.) (2008), *The Irish College, Rome and Its World*, Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Kent, J.E., (1988), "The Educational ideas of Edmund Rice, founder of the Presentation and Christian Brothers", Unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University College Cork.

Lave, J., Wenger, E., (1991), *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Le, L., (2016), *A Reflective Examination of its Charism and Mission for Today*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Leo XIII, (1891), *Rerum Novarum* (On the condition of Workers), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Lieberman, A. & Miller, L. (2004), *Teacher Leadership*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Linehan, T. P. (1991), "History and development of Irish population censuses", *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, Volume 26, Number 4, pp. 91-132.

MacEoin, G., (1967), *What Happened at Rome? The Council and Its Implications for the Modern World*, New York, Echo Books.

Madaus, G.F., Ryan, J.P., Kellaghan, T., Airasian, P.W., (1987) "Payments by Results: An Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Performance-Contracting Programme", *The Irish Journal of Education*, Volume 21, Number 2, pp. 80-91.

Maguire, M.J. and Ó Cinnéide S., (2005), “‘A Good Beating Never Hurt Anyone’: The Punishment and Abuse of Children in Ireland”, *Journal of Social History*, Volume 38, Number 3, pp. 635-652).

Markle, J., (1998), *A Different Touch: A Study of the Vows in Religious Life*, Minnesota, Liturgical Press Collegeville.

McCarthy, W.M., (1926), *Edmund Ignatius Rice and the Christian Brothers*, Dublin, M.H. Gill and Son.

McDonnell, A.M., (2010), *The life and Times of Br John Jarlath Heneghan 1934-2010*, Marino, Christian Brothers.

McGrath, T., (1999), *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

McGinnity, F., Darmody, M., and Murray, A., (2015), *Academic Achievement among immigrant children in Irish primary schools*, Dublin, Economic and Social Research Institute, Working Paper Number 512.

McKinney, S.J., (2018), “The roots of the preferential option for the poor in Catholic schools in Luke's Gospel”, *International Studies in Catholic Education*, Volume 10, Number 2, pp. 220-232.

McLaughlin, D., (2006), "The Education Charism of Blessed Edmund Rice", *Australian ejournal of Theology*, Issue 7, June 2006, pp. 1-26.

McLaughlin, D., (2007), *The Price of Freedom: Edmund Rice Educational Leader*, Victoria, David Lovell Publishing.

McLaughlin, D., (2008) "The Irish Christian Brothers and the National Board of Education: Challenging the Myths", *History of Education*, Volume 37, Number 1, pp. 43-70

McRedmond, L., (1991), *To the greater glory: A history of the Irish Jesuits*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan.

Mezirow, J., (1970), *Towards a theory of practice in education with particular reference to the education of adults*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Paper presented at an Adult Education Conference.

Mezirow, J., (1991), *Transformational Dimensions of Adult Learning*, Oxford, Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J., (2007), "Adult Education and Empowerment for Individual and Community Development", (pp. 9-18) in Fleming, T., McCormack, D., Connolly, B., and Ryan, A., (Eds.) *Radical Learning for Liberation*², Maynooth, Maynooth Adult Education Centre (MACE).

Minnock, M., (1988) "Growing Together; An Ethnographic account of a newly-appointed Principal in a new Community College", Unpublished MEd. Thesis, Maynooth, St. Patrick's College.

Minnock, M., (2015B), "Removing Fear - the enduring legacy of John Boland", in Minnock, M. and Ryan, S., (eds.), *Never A Dull Day: 150 Years of Synge Street CBS 1864-2014*, Drogheda, Anglo Press, pp. 46-48.

Minnock, M., (2015C), "40,000 sandwiches and not a single one thrown out!", in Le Chéile, *Journal of the National Association of Principals and Deputy Principals*, Issue No. 9, November 2015, pp. 76-81.

Minnock, M. and Ryan, S., (eds.) (2015), *Never A Dull Day: 150 Years of Synge Street CBS 1864-2014*, Drogheda, Anglo Press.

Morrissey, T.J., (2000), *William J. Walsh; Archbishop of Dublin, 1841-1921: No Uncertain Voice*, Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Newman, J., (1962), "Patterns of Vocations", *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Volume 98, Number 2, pp. 67-82.

Normoyle, M.C., (1976), *A Tree is Planted: The Life and Times of Edmund Rice*, Marino, Private Circulation, Congregation of Christian Brothers, Second Edition.

Normoyle, M.C., (Ed.), (1977), *A Companion to a Tree is Planted: the Correspondence of Edmund Rice and his Assistants 1810-1842*, Marino, Congregation of Christian Brothers.

Normoyle, M.C., (Ed.), (1979A), *The Roman Correspondence: treating of the early years of the Institute of Edmund Rice 1803-1844*, Marino, Congregation of Christian Brothers.

Normoyle, M.C., (1979B), *Memories of Edmund Rice*, Marino, Congregation of Christian Brothers.

O'Doherty, M., (2008), *Empty Pulpits: Ireland's Retreat from Religion*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan.

O'Donnell, J.A., (1984), "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum", *Phillipine Studies*, Volume 32, Number 4, pp. 462-475.

O'Donnell-Gibson, P., (2011), *The Red Skirt: Memoirs of an Ex-Nun*, California: Stuart Rose Publishing.

O'Donoghue, T. A., (1999), *The Catholic Church and the Secondary School Curriculum in Ireland 1922-1962*, New York, Peter Lang.

O'Donoghue, T., (2012), *Catholic Teaching Brothers; their Life in the English-speaking World, 1891-1965*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Donoghue T., Harford J., (2016), Secondary School Education in Diocesan Colleges in Ireland, 1922–1962. In: *Secondary School Education in Ireland*, pp. 34-54, London, Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Donovan, P.F., (2017), *Stanley's Letter: The national School System and Inspectors in Ireland, 1831-1922*, Galway, Galway Education Centre.

O’Kelly, E., (2018), “Four new secondary schools to open under patronage of Educate Together”, <https://www.rte.ie/news/education/2018/1031/1007729-new-schools/>. Accessed August 18 2020.

O’Malley, D., (1966), Dáil Proceedings, Volume 225, column 1854, 6 December.

O’Malley, J.W., (2008), *What Happened at Vatican II*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), (1991), *Review of Irish Education*, Paris.

Örsy, L.M., (1969), *Open to the Spirit: Religious Life After Vatican II*, London, Geoffrey Chapman.

O’Toole, A.L., (1984), *A Spiritual Profile of Edmund Ignatius Rice, Volume One: More than Gold or Silver*, Bristol, Burleigh Press.

O’Toole, A.L., (1985), *A Spiritual Profile of Edmund Ignatius Rice, Volume Two: Rooted in Love*, Burleigh Press, Bristol.

O’Toole, J., (2000), “Early Childhood Care and Education in Ireland and the Challenge to Educational Disadvantage”, *Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies*, Volume 2, Number 2, pp. 125-148.

Parfitt, B., (1996), "Using Spradley: an ethnosemantic approach to research", *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, Volume 24, Number 2, pp. 341-349.

Paulus VI, (1964), *Lumen Gentium* (The Mystery of the Church), Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Paulus VI, (1965A), *Gravissimum Educationis* (Declaration on Christian Education), Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Paulus VI, (1965B), *Perfectae Caritatis* (The Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life), Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Paulus VI, (1965C), *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (On the Apostolate of the Laity), Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Paulus VI, (1967), *Populorum Progressio* (On the Development of Peoples), Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Perko, F.M., (1987), "With All Those Nuns Watching You: Popular Literature and the Culture of Catholic Schooling 1900-1970", *U.S. Catholic Historian* 6, no's 2-3, pp. 199-212.

Peters, E.N., (2001), *The 1917 or Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Ponzo, J., (2020), "The Case of the "Offering of Life" in the Causes for Canonization of Catholic Saints: The Threshold of Self-Sacrifice", *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, Volume 33, Number 4, pp. 983-1003.

Power, P., (2008), *Once a Brother: An Irish Christian Brother's Story*, Belfast, Appletree Press.

Quane, M., (1964), "Quaker Schools in Dublin", *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Volume 94, Number 1, pp. 47-68.

Rafferty, O.P., in Keogh, D., McDonnell, A., (eds) (2011), *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, pp. 61-77, Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Ratzinger. J., (1966) *Theological Highlights of Vatican II*, New York. Paulist Press.

Rayer, T.A., (1988), "Alienation of church Property under the New Code of Canon Law", *The Catholic Lawyer*, Volume 31, Number 2, pp. 150-155.

Rushe, D., (1995), *Edmund Rice: The Man and His Times*, Dublin, Gill and MacMillan.

Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, (1977), *The Catholic School*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, (1997) *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Twenty First Century*, Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Sacred Congregation for Religious and for Secular Institutes, (1978) *Mutuae Relationes* (Directives for the Mutual Relations between Bishops and Religious in the Church), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Schneiders, M., (2000) *Finding the treasure: Locating Catholic Religious Life in a New Ecclesial and Cultural Context*, New York, Paulist Press.

Scupoli, L., (2013) *The Spiritual Combat*, Charlotte, North Carolina, Tan Books, Charlotte.

Senge, P., Scharmer, C.O., Jaworski, J. and Flowers, B.S. (2004), *Presence: Human Purpose and the Field of the Future*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Society for Organizational Learning.

Shelly, J., (1863), *Edmond Ignatius Rice and the Christian Brothers.*, Coyle Brothers Printers, Kilkenny.

Smith, A., (2006), *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, San Paulo, MetaLibri (original publication 1759).

Spencer, M., (2012), *What is spirituality? A personal exploration*, Royal College of Psychiatrists, London.

Spiteri, L.J., (2014), *Canon Law Explained: A Handbook for Laymen*, New Hampshire: Sophia Institute Press.

Spradley, J.P., (1979), *The Ethnographic Interview*, Chicago, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Spradley, J.P., (1980), *Participant Observation*, California, Wadsworth.

Stark, R., Finke, R., (1993), *The Churching of America 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.

Stark, R., Finke, R., (2000), "Catholic Religious Vocations: Decline and Revival", *Review of Religious Research*, Volume 42, Number 2, pp. 125-145.

Starratt, R. J., (2011), *Refocusing School Leadership: Foregrounding Human Development Throughout the Work of the School*, New York, Routledge.

Stoll, L., in Robertson, I., and Timberley, H., (eds.) (2011), *Leadership and Learning*, pp. 103-117, London, Sage Publications.

Sullivan, M. (2002), *101 Questions and Answers on Vatican II*. New York: Pauline Press.

Tanyi, R. A., (2002), "Towards clarification of the meaning of spirituality", *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, Volume 39, Number 5, pp. 500–509.

Thornber, J.H., Gaffney, M., (2014), *Governing in Faith: Foundations for Formation*, Ballarat, Victoria, Connor Court Publishing.

Tillard, J.M., (1971), "The Theological Viewpoint: Religious Life, a choice Rooted in Faith", in *Faith and Religious Life*, Tillard, J.M. et al (eds) Ottawa, Canadian Religious Conference, 1971, pp. 13-36.

Titley, E. Brian (1983) *Church, State and the Control of Schooling in Ireland 1900-1944*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Touher, P., (2007), *Fear of the Collar: My Terrifying childhood in Artane*, O'Brien Press, Dublin.

Touher, P., (2008), *Scars that Run Deep: Sometimes the Nightmares Don't End*, Ebury Press, London.

Touhey, D., (2013), *Denominational Education and Politics: Ireland in a European Context*, Dublin, Veritas.

Tuite, K.P., (2007), "Making the Edmund Rice ethos a reality: A case study in the perceptions of principals in Christian Brothers' Schools in Queensland", Ed.D dissertation, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, (2005), *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, Washington D.C., United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Van der Weldt, G., (2020), "Constructing conceptual frameworks in social science research", *Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Volume 16, Number 1, pp. 1-9.

Vercruyse, R.J., (2004), "The Congruency of Blessed Edmund Rice's charism with the essential elements of a Christian Brother Education in Christian Brothers' owned secondary schools in the United States", unpublished PhD thesis, University of San Francisco, Faculty of the Schools of Education, Department of Catholic Educational Leadership.

Walsh. T., (2007), "The Revised Programme of Instruction, 1900-1922", *Irish Educational Studies*, Volume 26, Number 2, pp. 127-143.

Walsh, T., (2016), "The National System of Education 1831-2000", pp. 7-43, in *Essays in the History of Irish Education*, ed. Walsh, B., London, Palgrave.

Weir, S. (2003), *The evaluation of Breaking the Cycle: A follow-up of the achievements of 6th class pupils in urban schools in 2003: (Report to the Department of Education and Science.)*, Dublin, Education Research Centre.

Weir, S., (2004), *A Commentary on the Implementation of Giving Children an Even Break: Report to the Educational Disadvantage Committee*, Dublin, Education Research Centre, Dublin.

Weisenbeck, M., (2008), "Understanding Charisms", *Health Progress*, November-December 2008, pp. 16-17.

Wenger, E., (1998), *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Whittle, S., (2017), *Speaking up for Gravissimum Educationis* (pp. 23-26) in Whittle, S. ed. *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, London, Routledge.

Wittberg, P., (2006), *From piety to professionalism and back? Transformations of organized religious virtuosity*. Lanham, Maryland, Lexington Books.

Wolcott, H.F., (2003), *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography*, Lanham, Maryland, Altimira Press.

World Synod of Catholic Bishops, (1971), *Justicia in Mondo* (Justice in the World), Vatican City, Liberia Editrice Vaticana.

Zenchoff, M., (2017), *The In-Between Years: A Former Nun's story of life in a convent*, Pasadena, California, Bookstand Publishing.