
Oral History as a Lasallian Research Method: A Case Study of the District of Antilles during a Revolutionary Era¹

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Introduction

When John Baptist de La Salle founded the first community of Brothers, he did so in a particular time and place – pre-Revolutionary France in the early modern era. De La Salle responded to his calling and developed the mission of what became the Institute in a society characterized by great inequalities, a rapidly changing economy, and political turmoil both within the State and the Church. As is well known, he faced numerous challenges during his lifetime that were temporal in nature – not least of which was the opposition from his family, his peers, and even elements within the Church – to his forming a community of lay Brothers into an entirely new kind of teaching Congregation.

Lasallian educator Robert Carrejo – in an article on Lasallian studies in our times – has reflected on how Lasallian research developed in the contemporary period out of a desire within the Institute to understand the Founder by approaching his life through archival research as a means to write more developed biographies, to produce critical editions of De La Salle's writings, and to study his teachings. From this line of research, others have emerged that now encompass a broader definition of the Lasallian experience. Carrejo notes that this is explained in part by

the evolving role of Partners in Lasallian ministries as they introduce into the Brothers' mission paradigm other perspectives that broaden the conversation about where, how and why to bring the Lasallian worldview to bear on society.

In terms of mission, this new type of research speaks to "the creative tension between its moorings to the founding experience and its adaptation to the changing social contexts and conditions."³ In this article, I consider the merits of oral history as a method of research for Lasallian history; and I suggest, by means of a case study of the District of the Antilles during the 1960s, that the method has a unique ability to examine how the bonds of community and sense of mission are formed within a specific historical context and, for Lasallian Partners, to engage them more deeply in understanding the Institute's history and mission.

Oral History as a Research Method

Oral history belongs within the larger domain of social history. Social history assumes that ordinary people shape historical events as much as political leaders or institutions. Oral historians use interviews informed by archival research to gather and interpret the experiences of individuals and communities that otherwise might be lost to the historical record. The interviews produced are collaborations between an interviewer and an interviewee who is commonly

understood by oral history practitioners to be a narrator or co-author of the interview. Interviews typically take the form of life stories, albeit with a particular topical emphasis. The interviews are not, strictly speaking, primary documents in the sense that oral history interviews usually ask narrators to remember and recount the past at a much later date. In other words, the interviews are themselves historical narratives in which the recounted facts of past events may or may not be accurate in their particulars. This is a reason why oral historians must also work with primary and secondary sources to contextualize and corroborate key elements.

While this reliance on memory may sound like a weakness of the oral history interview, it is not. Oral historians view the act of remembering as revelatory of how the narrator understands and evaluates their own past experience. What the narrator chooses to emphasize in their telling of events and how they interpret them open a space in which meaning is made and can be shared across a divide of time, circumstance, and personal experience.⁴ This characteristic of oral history practice, I suggest, makes it well suited to the challenge of discerning the Lasallian experience as a worldwide phenomenon lived by millions in circumstances that are far from those of the Founder and the earliest community of Brothers and yet still bound to them by virtue of shared history and values.

A Case Study: The Exodus of Brothers from Cuba

The oral history project that serves as a case study for this article began in late 2012 and concluded in 2017. It examined the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the De La Salle Brothers of Cuba, the diaspora that formed (a) after many of the Brothers left Cuba in 1961 and the (b) renewal of the District of Antilles in an expanded presence in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico and, much later, (c) a return to Cuba. Ultimately, over five years, I completed more than forty interviews, traveled to eleven cities in five countries, wrote, edited, and produced several hours of audio stories, and created a website in both English and Spanish versions to share the project. Conrad Gleber, then director of La Salle University's Digital Arts program, collaborated with me on the conceptualization and realization of the project and managed its technical aspects, including assembling a team of students who edited both video and audio.

The oral history project began out of conversations with one particular Brother who was then resident on our campus *at La Salle University in Philadelphia*. Brother had left Cuba in 1961 while still in the novitiate. Our initial research question was straightforward. What had the events of the 1959 Cuban Revolution meant to the Brothers in Cuba? At the start, our plan was to interview Brothers who had been in Cuba at the time of the exodus. By 2013, this included fewer than fifteen people; and those who remained were elderly and lived in scattered locations. Due to the preliminary nature of our initial research question and the need to begin interviewing quickly (due to the advanced age of these Brothers), some of the first interviews we conducted were exploratory rather than focused. The early interviews soon led us to refine the project's essential question. The events of 1959-1961 in Cuba, as the new revolutionary government began to pursue a transition to socialism, were dramatic and led to the exodus of most of the island's Religious – including almost all of the Brothers – some of whom were jailed for a time prior to leaving. We realized our initial interest in how they responded to these events had been too superficial.

It became clear that any meaningful “response” needed to be examined in a longer-term perspective and that, consequently, our research question needed to be framed more broadly. In the early interviews, the narrators connected their experience in Cuba to events that happened later, particularly in the Dominican Republic. Some also referred us to men who had been Brothers at the time but no longer were. We expanded our interviews to include these former Brothers, along with a limited number of lay people and alumni who had been involved in some key developments. So we refined our research question to the following. How did this group of Brothers respond to the ideological, political, and social challenges of the period to core beliefs about their mission?

This question helped me to develop thematic emphases in interviews. What led the person to decide to become a Brother? How did the person, and the community, experience events such as the Cuban Revolution that led the majority of the Brothers to leave the island? Later, when the District of the Antilles was re-founded in the Dominican Republic, how did they experience the events of the 1965 April Revolution, subsequent civil war, and invasion by the United States? In what ways did they take part in or were influenced by currents of reform within the Church and within the Institute in the 1960s? How did they interpret the Brothers’ commitment to work “in the educational service of the poor” – in Brother Bruno Alpagó’s phrasing – particularly in societies where socialism and communism became deeply polarizing ideologies?⁵ What led some Brothers to pursue a return to Cuba while others chose not to participate?

These were not easy topics to explore. For many of the narrators, some of these events had been traumatic. As the interviewer, I could not predict what the emotional valence of my questions might be for each individual. There is always a question of trust in such an exchange. Due to the far-flung locations where potential narrators lived, I (or we) often arrived on short notice after an introduction by a mutual friend or colleague and with limited time available. Part of the process involves explaining the nature of the project and scope of the interview and seeking informed consent, which we did. People could decline to be interviewed (some did); and in one case, it was apparent that a person I had gone to see was not well enough for an interview. I missed other people due to questions of timing and availability. Most of those whom we approached did choose to participate, and many spoke frankly on topics both personal and political.

a. Leaving Cuba in 1961

To give an example of the layered responses that a question might evoke, from the beginning we were interested in asking Brothers about their departure from Cuba. There is an emblematic photograph of a large group of Brothers – most of those who had been in Cuba – deplaning in Miami from a Pan Am jet on May 25, 1961. This photograph usually accompanies any account of the Brothers’ departure from Cuba as a result of the Revolution. One can see in it that they are a wide range of ages. The Brothers are in their robes, but in their midst are a handful of young men in suits. On May first of that year, the Cuban government had nationalized all education in the country and began the process of expropriating private schools, a process that ultimately led to the decision that the Brothers would leave the country.

The day that they left on that flight was the culmination of a period of great tension and some danger. Narrators spoke of this. Prior to leaving, some had been in hiding while others had been

confined to their communities or even imprisoned. That they finally were able to arrive safely to Miami was a cause for celebration. This can be seen in the photograph where the Brothers smile and wave at a cheering crowd of Cuban alumni of their schools who had gone to the airport to greet them. In other ways, some of those in the photograph appear lost and unsure where to go. Although they did not know it at that moment, few of them would ever return to Cuba, a place where many had been born and others had spent most of their careers and expected to live out their lives. Only some would again be in a community together. Within just a few days, many would see each other for the last time.

When I asked in interviews how many Brothers had been on that flight, I got different answers ranging from 100 to 125 – an example of the unreliability of memory for questions of fact. This matter was easy to resolve. The flight's manifest is held by the United States' National Archives and Records Administration. The chartered Pan Am jet carried 110 passengers that day, 101 Brothers and seven teenage boys who were aspirants.⁶ For the purposes of immigration paperwork, the Brothers and aspirants had to report their civil name, birthplace, and date of birth. From this information, we can glean important observations. The Brothers ranged in age from quite young to elderly (the youngest aspirants were 14 and the oldest Brother was 87), which is obvious from the photo; but there were also clear generations within the group.

The oldest Brothers were all Frenchmen, part of the wave of Brothers who had left France due to the anti-clerical laws of 1904-1907 that all but eliminated religious schooling. Most were born between 1874 and 1895. The oldest of them had retired from teaching by 1961. Sixty-four Brothers, ranging in age from their 20s to their 50s, were Cuban compared to 28 French and 16 of other nationalities. All but one of the aspirants on the flight were Cuban-born as were almost all of the juniors, novices, and scholastics who had been sent out of the country earlier in January of 1961 due to the worsening political situation.⁷ This information allows us to see what had been a rapid and remarkable Cubanization of the De La Salle Brothers since the founding of their first schools in 1905, three years after Cuba became an independent republic. Cubans were already the majority within the community at the time they left the country and were on track to become by far the largest group. This is important because it belied the critique that radical nationalists had made since Cuban independence of Catholic schools as being under foreign influence and insufficiently devoted to Cuba. This strand of thought informed the developing politics of the Cuban Revolution and was part of the impulse to nationalize Cuban schooling.⁸

While the facts that can be compiled from documentary sources reveal this key change in the makeup of the Brothers as an institution in the country and confirm the remarkable success they had had in Cuba, they tell us little of how the Brothers perceived their changing community or how they experienced the shock of their sudden departure. Here the interviews are of great value. A theme that emerged from the interviews also emphasized the significance of the different generations.

Narrators pointed out that their departure, under tense and uncertain conditions, weighed more heavily on the older Brothers and affected some of them psychologically for the rest of their lives. More than one described the experience as one of becoming lost or disconnected. Several attributed subsequent departures from the Brothers to this state of shock. Brothers who were younger at the time, particularly those still in the novitiate, recount a different perception.

Despite the pain of separation from their families and their country, they looked to the future with a sense of possibility and even adventure.⁹

As it became clear that there would be no immediate return to Cuba, a challenge was to find appropriate destinations for the Brothers who were pre-retirement age and were Cuban nationals (the elderly French Brothers, for instance, traveled on to France shortly after their arrival in Miami). Some would be redeployed to existing schools in Panama, while others would work at a newly founded high school in Miami that primarily served Cuban exile children. Neither of these solutions proved satisfactory. After the unexpected assassination of Rafael Trujillo (the long-time dictator of the Dominican Republic) in 1961 and the subsequent democratic election of Juan Bosch to the presidency, the leadership of the Brothers began to develop and implement a new plan to redeploy the Cuban Brothers to the Dominican Republic, where at the time they had just a handful of Brothers and few schools. This new plan meant recalling not only Brothers from their various assignments but also the novices who had been in formation in Panama since they were sent out of Cuba in January of 1961.

b. Renewal of the District of Antilles

The reorganization of the District of the Antilles, with the Dominican Republic as its center, led to an era of change for the Brothers. The hoped for transition to a stable democracy in the country did not happen, and the United States became deeply involved in Dominican affairs. This background of Cold War politics in the Caribbean coincided with the years of Vatican Council II and the beginnings, in Latin America, of what would later be called liberation theology and the Latin American Episcopate's emphasis on adopting a preferential option for the poor.

Within the Institute, the meeting of the 39th General Chapter resulted in a transformative document, *The Brother of the Christian Schools in the World Today: A Declaration* (1967). As Brother Charles Henry describes in a foreword to the document, the meeting of the General Chapter was preceded by extensive self-study and discussions at the regional and local levels. He writes of the process by which the *Declaration* emerged and the questions that this raised. It had become clear that

it was on the fundamental questions of our identity and our purpose that light must be cast. What is the meaning in the light of today's needs of traditional words like "schools" or "the poor"? What are the apostolic works that today's Brother can accomplish? Which apostolic forms are compatible with the purpose of the Institute? What is the meaning of religious consecration to today's world? What is the relation of this consecration with the apostolate and the profession of the Brother? How shall we preach the Good News of Jesus to peoples in various stages of belief or of unbelief? How can we best respond to the appeals of peoples of developing areas, to the needs of the missions?¹⁰

In the Dominican Republic, which had become the center of the District of the Antilles after the departure from Cuba, these years saw the founding of numerous free schools and social centers that served impoverished neighborhoods and the development in the later 1960s of a new approach to education known as "Educación en la libertad" [Education in Liberty].¹¹

Representatives from the District played a role in the 39th General Chapter; and their practice, in turn, reflected the changing dynamic within the Institute.

How, though, had individual Brothers experienced these events? What did they contribute to them? How did they work within their communities? How did they understand their mission and interpret the vows that they had taken? These questions informed my interviews of those Brothers or former Brothers who were in the Dominican Republic in these years.

Here, too, there was a theme of generational difference; and this was accompanied by differences of nationality and of political outlook broadly defined. Approximately sixty Brothers who had left Cuba in 1961 were called to the Dominican Republic where there were only a handful of Brothers who were Dominicans. Among the Cubans, a number of the younger men had come, in part, to be Brothers because of their participation in Cuban Catholic Action groups. In Cuba, Catholic Action had grown out of the efforts of Brother Victorino Arnaud Pages (whom Pope Francis declared Venerable for this work in 2019). Consequently, Catholic Action had been strongly associated with the De La Salle Brothers. This had led many to be involved in Catholic social reform efforts during the 1950s, at the same time that resistance to the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista became an armed conflict and one in which young men of that generation were often involved. The participation of Catholic Cubans who were motivated by their faith and social consciousness is a recognized feature of the anti-Batista insurrection.¹² The struggle against Batista ultimately led to his departure in 1959 and the assumption of power by Fidel Castro.

These prior experiences affected how the Cuban Brothers in the Dominican Republic responded to a similarly polarized political situation. The assassination of dictator Rafael Trujillo had given way to the presidency of a reformer, Juan Bosch; but conservative elements in the Dominican Republic, along with the government of the United States, feared that Bosch would move toward socialism – as had happened in Cuba. Bosch’s government fell to a military coup; and later, in April of 1965, a different faction of the military rose up to demand Bosch’s restoration. This “April Revolution” led to an invasion by the United States Marines on the orders of US President Lyndon Johnson, who was anxious to head off a “second Cuba.”

These events literally put many of the Brothers on the front line of the conflict. The Brothers’ school in Santo Domingo was located in the international corridor that the Americans had established between the two sides of the civil conflict. Interviewees who were there recounted that for some Brothers, particularly those who were part of the older generation, finding themselves in the midst of a revolution a second time was re-traumatizing. A number of them accepted an American offer to be evacuated and left on a carrier ship bound for Puerto Rico. The younger Brothers who were finishing formation were sent to a peaceful area of the country. A small group of Brothers stayed in the capital. One Brother worked as part of a mediation effort led by the Apostolic Nuncio. Others organized services for people from both sides who were fleeing the conflict. One ran an ambulance service. The school became a refugee center. According to one interviewee, experiences such as these had a radicalizing effect.

The armed conflict ended and a new, conservative, and sometimes authoritarian president was elected. The context of dramatic change in the Church and Institute, along with intense political

polarization in the country affected individual Brothers differently. It also affected how they worked with each other in community and what they understood their mission to be. As one Brother commented on this time, even seemingly minor matters became difficult to agree upon.

[All] the Brothers used to have desks in the same room or work together in silence. We got rid of those spaces, our own spaces, we got rid of those spaces and we had our desks in our own bedrooms, we worked from our bedrooms, we don't need to be together all the time. We turned some other bedrooms into chapels, into meeting rooms, so there was a lot of tension. Everything became an issue.¹³

Another interviewee recounted how the question of wearing the robe at all times, according to the longstanding rule of the Institute, became another point of contention. In photographs of the communities from the mid-1960s, some Brothers began appearing in white robes rather than black in recognition of the reality of life in a tropical climate. The first time a Brother was allowed to wear civilian clothing to teach in a classroom in the Dominican Republic came about because the Brother had recently arrived from the United States where he had finished his university studies with just two robes, one wool and one synthetic. By his third day in the classroom, neither was usable due to the heat. He asked for and received permission from the Provincial to try teaching in regular clothing as an experiment, one that ultimately led to a transition to this as a regular practice.¹⁴

Narrators revealed that such matters of everyday life were being debated along with a deeper discussion – one that is reflected in the themes of the Institute's *Declaration* of 1967 – about what it meant to be a Brother in the world today. Those who felt strongly about their social obligation to found free schools and to do pastoral work outside of the classroom believed that a new way of being a Brother was integral to these commitments. In the words of one, this started to change

the behavior of the Brothers, and the title of “Brother,” what the Brother brought to young people. He became a dynamic, apostolic Brother who was particularly concerned with pastoral work, concerned with the effectiveness of education and of catechism.¹⁵

While this reflected a major new tendency within the larger community, another group argued that Brothers should continue with their traditions in their behaviors, schools, classroom practices, and social relations. On the other side of the spectrum, a small faction wanted the Brothers to become directly engaged in the social struggles of the Dominican people; and they translated this belief into action by engaging in community organizing, particularly among poor, urban youth.

These years in the second half of the 1960s pushed Brothers to make difficult choices both as communities and as individuals. A significant number left the Brothers. This was part of a broader phenomenon in the world at that time for Catholic Orders and Congregations, a change that has been attributed to declines in support for organized religion in post-industrial societies, a weakening of the internal culture of Religious Orders and Congregations in the wake of Vatican Council II, and – at the same time – retention of the traditional vows of celibacy, poverty, and

obedience.¹⁶ Another feature of Vatican Council II was an expanded role for lay people. As one Brother noted, after Vatican Council II,

lay people began taking new roles and they could choose to take on part of the mission of the Brothers. And they might do that as well as a Brother. So that aura that protected you [as a Brother] wasn't so obvious anymore.¹⁷

Another commented that it was an era of so much novelty and freedom that it seemed like the structures had fallen away, “and then everything had to be your personal responsibility.”¹⁸ Some opted to leave the Brothers for the chance to marry and have a family; a few left the Brothers to become ordained as priests.

Among the Brothers in the Dominican Republic, the intensity of the political and social climate added to the pressure of the changes within the Church and the Congregation. In the later 1960s, the involvement of some Brothers in what appeared to the Dominican government to be illegitimate political activism provoked a crisis that led to the expulsion of two Brothers from the country on the grounds that they were communists.¹⁹ Decades later, the events of those years still evoked strong feelings in those I interviewed. Their accounts of what had happened, or what was alleged to have happened, differed in important ways, including in how they assessed whether other Brothers were motivated more so by political ideology than by their religious convictions. One Brother described this time as one in which “people questioned the authenticity of your beliefs” and asked whether “what we were doing was right.”²⁰

These experiences would later inform the effort by the Brothers in the Antilles to work toward a return to Cuba. While there was consensus around wanting to reclaim what had been lost when the Brothers had left Cuba in 1961, there were doubts about whether the time was right or whether to accept the restrictions on their activities that the Cuban government would impose. Private schooling had been eliminated by the government; and in the later 1960s and 1970s, religious activity was severely curtailed. Cubans who openly declared themselves as Christians faced discrimination in employment and education. Further, the Cuban exile community in Miami – that included many alumni of the Cuban La Salle schools – generally did not support efforts to dialogue with the Cuban government or to travel to the island during this time period. On the other hand, in both the Caribbean and Latin America, the shift toward liberation theology by some sectors of the Church led toward greater acceptance of the Cuban Revolution and its social reforms that addressed some of the sources of poverty and exclusion in Cuba.

c. Returning to Cuba

In the 1970s, some groups of Religious made brief trips to the island for the purpose of starting a dialogue between the Church and Cuba. By the 1980s, the Cuban government began to lift some restrictions on religious expression and activity. It was in this context that some Brothers began working toward a return to Cuba, first by participating in short visits and later by entering into discussions with the government. The Brothers were assisted in their efforts to organize a return by a Lasallian alumni association in Santiago de Cuba. In 1989, a small handful of Brothers, including just one who had been a Brother in Cuba prior to the Revolution, were permitted to return and to work with the seminary. In subsequent years, the Brothers were able to start two

centers for adult education, one in Santiago and another in Havana, to begin offering workshops for teachers, and to expand their pastoral and catechetical work among both youth and adults. To do this work, they counted on a number of lay Partners.

Opening schools was out of the question due to Cuban law. Instead, the Brothers were able to draw from the experiences of the 1960s and 1970s that had led them to a broader definition of educational work that was in line with the values expressed in documents such as the *Declaration* of 1967. The circumstances under which the small group of Brothers worked always seemed precarious. One Brother who was there observed that during the historic 1998 visit of Pope John Paul II to Cuba – when the Pope addressed Cubans and told them, “do not be afraid” – the Brothers on the island took that message to heart as if it had been meant for them.²¹ However challenging, this return to Cuba represented a significant renewal of and recommitment to their mission on the island.

Conclusion

The experiences presented above are a brief narrative that I was able to reconstruct from the interviews I conducted, published accounts, and archival sources. The Brothers in the District of Antillas wrote and published their own account of the District’s history from its founding through 1978 in *El itinerario de los hermanos de La Salle en el distrito de las Antillas*.²² Other published accounts appeared in Lasallian journals, alumni magazines, or newspapers. In addition, I was able, with the gracious permission of and assistance from Brothers Avelino Guerrero and Pedro Acevedo, to consult an extraordinary collection of unpublished, archival documents that are held by the Central Office of the District in Santo Domingo. Brother Pedro organized a collection of documents that had been brought from Cuba, including the house journals of different communities and an extensive collection of photographs, along with similar types of documents produced by the communities in the Dominican Republic. Although our focus was on only part of the time period, it is worth noting that the materials date back to the founding years in both Cuba and the Dominican Republic and are of significant historical value especially as they document a time period that is now well beyond that of living memory.

It is a fraught process to interview members of a community of which one is not a part. It raises questions of legitimacy as far as who can speak meaningfully about a community. As oral historian and theorist Alessandro Portelli has written,

the interview could not happen unless there was common ground ... [but] what the interview is about is the distance we have to cross in order to speak to each other.

He concludes, “[similarity] makes the interview possible, difference makes it meaningful.”²³ The distance and difference are even greater when one seeks to interpret the history of a community that ceased to exist as such. This was the case of my interviews with Brothers, former Brothers, and some lay people about an original community – that of the Brothers in pre-Revolutionary Cuba – that had disintegrated due to historical circumstances beyond its control.

Similar tensions characterize relationships within the very large and broad community that Lasallians have become during late 20th and early 21st centuries. It is not only that its institutions

span the world but that Brothers now make up a minority within most Lasallian schools, universities, and centers. The collaboration between lay Partners and Brothers has forced questions about how the charism and tradition of the Institute will be continued in such radically changed circumstances from the first three hundred years of its existence. While this project is but a minor example of a dialogue across significant divides of time, experience, and status within the larger Lasallian community, I believe it suggests the ways in which the space created within and by oral history interviews can make meaning across such divides.

¹ The author acknowledges that many individuals and institutions contributed to the oral history project that is the case study featured in this article. It would have been impossible without their support. I thank the District of Antilles/ South Mexico and the District of Eastern North America of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos de los Colegios De La Salle in Cuba, and the La Salle Educational Center in Homestead (FL). Major financial support was provided by a grant from The Spencer Foundation (Chicago, IL). Additional funding was provided by Leaves and Grants, the Kelly Social Justice Research Center, and the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences, the Digital Arts and Media Design Program, and the Department of History, all at La Salle University. And the article is dedicated in loving memory of those who we interviewed who have since passed away.

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³ Robert Carrejo, "Lasallian Studies in Our Times" in *De La Salle Today* (RELAN, Spring 2015), pages 10, 12.

⁴ Alessandro Portelli, "Living Voices: The Oral History Interview as Dialogue and Experience" in *The Oral History Review*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2018), pages 239-248.

⁵ Bruno Alpago, FSC, *The Institute in the Educational Service of the Poor*, translated by Allan Geppert FSC (Rome: Brothers of the Christian Schools, 2000).

⁶ A mother and daughter made up the final two passengers. They likely had some connection to the Brothers. Charter Flight (Pan Am), May 25, 1961; File Unit May 25-30, 1961 (one of five); Passenger and Crew Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at Miami, Florida, 12/1957 – 11/1969; A3995, Roll 281 (National Archives Microfilm Publication); Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85. Record accessed online at: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/227982705>.

⁷ The remaining 16 were from Mexico (9), Spain (5), Colombia (1), and Germany (1). The 101 Brothers on the flight accounted for most, but not all of the Brothers who had been in Cuba. One Cuban Brother was in Rome at the Generalate. The novices had been accompanied by two

Brothers when they left for Costa Rica and at least one other Brother had had to leave the country earlier. Five Brothers, four French and one Cuban, remained in Cuba and never left.

⁸ Laurie Johnston, “Nationalism and Responses to Private Education in Cuba” in Will Fowler (editor), *Ideologues and Ideologies in Latin America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997), pages 31-34.

⁹ See the project website – “Revolution, Diaspora, and Return: The Journey of the Cuban De La Salle Brothers” – which can be found online in both English and Spanish versions at <https://www.revolution-diaspora-return.com/>

¹⁰ Charles Henry Buttimer FSC, “Foreword [to the original English edition]” in *The Brothers of the Christian Schools in the World Today: A Declaration*, revised English translation 1997 (Rome: Brothers of the Christian Schools, 1967, 39th General Chapter, Second Session), page 3. Accessed online at: <https://lasallianresources.org/product/the-brothers-of-the-christian-schools-in-the-world-today-a-declaration-1967/>

¹¹ Colegio Dominicano de La Salle, *Educación en la libertad y para la libertad: Análisis de una experiencia educativa* (Santo Domingo: Editora de La Salle, n.d.).

¹² Margaret E. Crahan, “Catholicism in Cuba” in *Cuban Studies* 19 (1989), pages 3-4; Manuel Fernández, *Religión y revolución en Cuba* (Miami: Saeta Ediciones, 1984), pages 14-19.

¹³ Interview, Brother Miguel Campos, May 2, 2014, Philadelphia, PA.

¹⁴ Interview, Agustín Domínguez, June 27, 2014, Miami, FL.

¹⁵ Interview, Father Raul Pérez, January 7, 2015, New York, NY.

¹⁶ Richard Rymarz, “Religious Vocations Today” in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, vol. 93, no. 3 (July, 2016), pages 277-291; “Catholic Religious Vocations: Decline and Revival” in Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Exploring the Human Side of Religion* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) pages 150-169.

¹⁷ Interview, Brother Ángel Suárez, May 29, 2015, Bayamón, Puerto Rico.

¹⁸ Interview, Father Raul Pérez, January 7, 2015, New York, NY.

¹⁹ “Iglesia: Crece la protesta” in *¡Ahora!* 348 (July 13, 1970), pages 5-7.

²⁰ Interview with Brother Ángel Suárez, May 29, 2015, Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

²¹ Interview with Brother Ramiro Velastegui, July 2, 2014, Havana, Cuba.

²² Alfredo A. Morales FSC, *Itinerario de los hermanos de La Salle en el distrito de las Antillas, 1905-1975 [The Journey of the De La Salle Brothers in the Antilles District]* (Santo Domingo: Amigo del Hogar, 1978).

²³ Portelli, “Living Voices,” pages 241-242.