

# **BILLBOARDS FOR EDUCATION: THE FUNCTIONALIST SCHOOL OF FRANK CULLEN**

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My doctoral research project to date has revolved around my particular interest in a cluster of schools that architect Frank Cullen built for the Catholic Church. It explores the values that these schools represented for the Catholic Church by tying together the strands of modern architecture, modernity, secular education and the Catholic campaign for State aid to tell a good story.

During the period 1938 to 1955 Queensland architect Frank Leo Cullen (1909-1991) built amongst his many ecclesiastical and educational works, a series of fifteen modern brick schools and church-schools for the Catholic Church, that either contained modernist design elements, or were fully formed exemplars of modern functionalist design. These fifteen schools represented ahistorical functional designs that displayed minimal ornament.

They were constructed in most instances in face brick or were cement-rendered and painted. Most of the modern schools displayed asymmetric massing of simple interlocking cubic forms with a strong horizontal expression, accentuated with continuous cantilevered concrete window awnings, horizontal banks of windows, and parapet copings. These schools utilised either flat or hipped roofs, or a combination of both. Villanova College, the last produced of this group of schools, was the only one to be symmetrically massed, and expressed the strongest verticality in the form of a centrally place tower. To date, my research indicates that the number of modern schools that Cullen designed in this cubic style is unparalleled elsewhere in Australia.

Frank Leo Cullen was born in 1909 in Brisbane, Queensland, the youngest in a strongly religious Irish Catholic family. His uncle, James Duhig, the archbishop of Brisbane from 1917, developed a long and sustained building campaign for the Catholic Church in Queensland, until his death in 1965. Duhig was an influential force in Cullen's architectural career.

Cullen registered as an architect in June 1935, in the middle of the Great Depression, and apart from a brief partnership, worked mostly as a sole practitioner, gradually taking on 'assistant architects' from the mid-1950s until he expanded the practice into a multi-partner firm from 1961. He continued to work until his retirement

in 1982. Historical reconstruction of output from Cullen's various practices has identified a large body of work of over 3500 buildings, mostly for the Catholic Church. Schools were the dominant building type, followed by churches. Other Catholic Church building works included ten Catholic institutional buildings that comprised aged care homes, residences, parish buildings, a university college and a hospital. Cullen's work also encompassed 47 commercial and domestic architectural projects including banks, hotels, fire stations, private residences, flats, shops, hostels, small factories and workshops.

Prior to their modern school designs, Cullen and his early partner, Desmond Egan (1906-1941), had produced designs that followed historicist architectural styles. During 1937 they built the brick schools of St Sebastian's at Yeronga, and the Holy Spirit at New Farm, incorporating Romanesque and classical architectural elements that were common to many Catholic Church buildings in Queensland. Plain conventional styling was used for small timber or brick schools. Stylistic variations followed that introduced geometric 'art deco' brickwork elements on the façade, stepped parapets, and vertical rectangular panels of glass bricks on stairwells. Some of these elements are found at the 1938 school of St Joseph's at Chinchilla, and St Patrick's, Gympie, and also in the 1939 St Mary's School at Beaudesert.

Post 1953, Cullen's earlier school designs were superseded by a preference for more diverse contemporary architecture which formed the bulk of his educational building *oeuvre* to 1982. This resulted from:

- (1) Archbishop James Duhig's dissatisfaction with modern architecture for church school designs – in late 1953, he expressed a wish for a return to classical Italian designs.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) The influence of contemporary architecture which Cullen observed during a Catholic Pilgrimage and other travel through Ireland, the UK and Europe in 1954; and
- (3) The different design influences of architects who had gradually joined Cullen's practice from the mid-1950s.

Schools were the major building type that sustained Cullen's practice, of which at least 128 were erected from 1936 to 1980. They ranged as far north as Longreach and reached south across the New South Wales border as far as West Kempsey. Churches were also important, and although second in number to schools, became predominant as the Great Depression eased pre-WW2. During the post-war period, school building came to the fore. Information about the firm's output post-1972 is uncertain due to lack of records.

Cullen's first functionalist school *design* was for the Christian Brothers at Greenslopes. The project was advertised early in 1940 but was unrealised due to

insufficient building funds and wartime building restrictions. Mt St Michael's College, Ashgrove, built mid-1941 represents Cullen's first school that displayed functionalist elements. Two other functionalist designs were prepared for a Marist Brother's College at Rosalie (c.1944-1945), but again these were not used due to wartime building restrictions. From 1942 to post-war 1951, various electrical substations and pump stations were designed by Frank Costello, the Brisbane City architect. These were produced to support the expansion of the Brisbane tram infrastructure and sewage network. The designs produced during this time by both Cullen and Costello were considered exemplars of the modern Functionalist style.<sup>2</sup>

Previously, ecclesiastical building by the Catholic Church in Queensland had followed historicist Gothic revival architectural styles during the late 1800s (as preferred by Queensland Archbishop Dunne), changing to the Romanesque style in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century as favoured by Archbishop Duhig).<sup>3</sup> The association of the Catholic Church with modern architecture is interesting, considering that the various Modernist cultural movements had grown from secularist theories produced by the intellectual movement of the European Enlightenment in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries, which challenged religious orthodoxy, and rejected the Christian doctrine of a personal god.

Prior to the appearance of Cullen's modern schools, Catholic schools in Queensland were very church-like in appearance. In fact, many were former church buildings that had been repurposed as schools. Cullen's new schools looked more like factories, appearing strikingly modern, rational and scientific, and geared to the efficiencies of production. The old timber church of the Holy Rosary at Rosalie, that had served the parish since 1898, and from 1918 in a new location as a school, was in such a seriously poor condition that it was demolished during July 1947. In 1949, it made way for a new modern school that was juxtaposed against the existing traditional-styled buildings of the parish precinct (i.e. church, presbytery, monastery and convent). At the school's opening, however, it was touted as '... the teachers ideal of a school and ... had no superior in Australia.'<sup>4</sup>

When Cullen started his practice in the mid-1930s, Catholic schools were monumental and imposing traditional-styled structures that signified presence. The modern schools produced by Cullen and other architects for the Catholic church were not yet mainstream, as revivalist and classical architectural styles remained dominant pre-World War 2. Outwardly, the new and modern school designs were a clear aberration for the Catholic Church in Australia. It is contended that they represented a strategic shift in Catholic school design, albeit in a progressive but somewhat sporadic fashion,

away from traditional to modern architectural styles during the late inter-war and immediate post-war periods in Australia.

The move away from accepted historical ecclesiastical design appeared to mirror an earlier shift from Gothic Revival styled school buildings to more functional designs. The changes were both aesthetic and functional, and included improvements in natural lighting and ventilation. These were instigated by William Kemp, Architect for Public Schools in NSW, when the Public Instruction Act came into force in 1880.<sup>5</sup> The earlier change in school building typology was emblematic of the change to a secular State education system that had moved away from its classical and religious foundations. So why did Cullen and other architects design these modern-looking, non-churchlike and relatively unornamented schools? Given the dichotomy between modernism and religion, why did the Roman Catholic Church in Queensland embark upon a programme of building some of its schools in a functionalist style of architecture during the inter-war and post-war periods?

In designing new modern schools that used both familiar and traditional materials, such as bricks and timber, and utilising generally familiar building forms that had simple, clean, uncluttered lines, architects could build schools which, although possibly looking harsher than their forebears, were not overly confronting or extremist

in appearance. Cullen endeavoured to make his buildings not only palatable to the Catholic Church hierarchy, and accessible (visually and physically) to the parishioners who had largely funded their construction, but also appealing and eye-catching to intrigued onlookers from outside the Catholic Church.

The introduction of modern architecture to Australia occurred from the mid-to late-1930s, due to heightened awareness and discussion regarding the ‘new architecture’ coming out of Europe and Britain, as reported in the newspapers, architectural journals, and popular home magazines such *The Australian Home Beautiful*. In addition, public appreciation of modern architecture was informed via a number of architectural competitions and exhibitions that focused on housing, which were of great interest to all, as there was a serious shortage of houses, due to the strong downturn in building activity during the Great Depression. Exhibition competitions included *Centenary Homes* in Melbourne in 1934, *Model Homes* in Brisbane, 1935, and *Ideal Home and Building* in Melbourne, 1936. *The Courier-Mail* discussed the “modern styles of architecture that seemed alien to Queensland and Queensland conditions ....,” explaining the merits of “the severe plainness of exteriors, the absence of verandas, the unusual treatment of window spaces, and the provision of flat roofs ... .”<sup>6</sup>



In addition to educating the public about modern architecture, the exhibitions were important in advancing social and psychological well-being in a time of general unease and insecurity during the Depression years. Judith Beirne in her 1995 paper, “What Do They Mean by the *Ideal Home*?” explored the public reception of modernism in Australia, finding that the popular press promoted modern houses as places of “comfort”, being also “restful and attractive”, “efficient”, “conducive to physical well-being” and “aesthetically pleasing”.<sup>7</sup> These descriptors and values had long been attached to domestic architecture, but were appropriated and transferred in the branding of the modern house as “in keeping with modern progress” and representing “a trend of modern social thought” that was directed to “an improved standard of living.”<sup>8</sup>

However, both the public and the professional architects’ reception of the designs shown in these architectural exhibitions wavered between acceptance of new modern designs and retention of traditional domestic designs. This is well illustrated by the competition results, as awards were won by design entries for both styles. Such was the uncertainty held by competing architects of the tastes held by the public and of the professional judging panel, that the winning competition entries covered both traditional domestic and modern home designs.

In addition to public competitions and exhibitions, Brisbane architect Robert Cummings became instrumental in academic teaching and presenting lectures on international modernism to Queensland audiences during the mid-1930s. In 1934, in one of his many national radio talks entitled 'Modern Tendencies in Architecture', he described the work of Dutch modernism as adopting a more moderate path, saying:

Holland is a small country which has a remarkable architectural character of its own. Brick is the traditional building material of the Dutch people and today it is combined most successfully with more modern materials in the carrying out of striking new building forms which are the outcome of present necessity.<sup>9</sup>

The idea of blending of elements from the familiar-looking traditional or neo-classicist architecture, and using them to create modern-looking architectural forms, was seen as a way to achieve a middle or moderate path that bridged these two architectural ideologies.

Where and how did the idea of a middle ground arise, and how did architects like Cummings become aware of it? Last July in Sydney, I presented a paper, "Moderately Modern: The Reading of Modern Dutch Architecture by a Queensland Architect" at the conjoined conferences of the European Architectural History Network and the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand.<sup>10</sup> In it, I detailed that Cummings had travelled abroad

studying architecture at the London Architectural Association (AA) as a student of Howard Robertson and Frank Yerbury from 1924-27.<sup>11</sup> It was while Cummings was at the AA that he became familiar with Dutch modernism, and particularly the work of leading contemporary Dutch modern architect, Willem M. Dudok (1884-1974).

I showed that the most probable source of information for Queensland architects of Dudok's work, particularly the large number of schools he designed and built, were the photographic images, lectures and publications produced by the AA Secretary, Frank Yerbury (1885-1970), and Howard Robertson (1883-1963), architect and Principal of the AA. Collectively, they produced over 200 publications during 1922 to 1936 that conveyed the largely unknown "new architecture" of continental Europe, to the attention of the conservative British architecture establishment, which initially viewed the new architecture as 'extreme', with the first acceptance of modernist work only occurring in 1929.<sup>12</sup> Carol Harwick in her 1989 PhD thesis notes the importance of the mediation of Dudok to British architects, and notes "For many Australians it was while they were in the UK in the 1930s that they were first introduced to Dudok." This was also the case for Charles Fulton and Frank Costello.<sup>13</sup> A number of academic studies documenting Dudok's influence on Australian architecture contend that while it was pervasive and expressed across a number of different

building typologies, it was in schools that his influence dominated.<sup>14 15 16</sup>

In their many publications and talks, Robertson and Yerbury positioned Dudok as representing a more moderate or softer modern. Yerbury pointed to the architecture of the Netherlands as “... steering a course in its architecture between two schools of thought, the romantic or eccentric on the one hand .... and the functionalist on the other, which sought to eliminate everything which made a building human.”<sup>17</sup> He argued that a “.... middle course ... was especially apparent in the work of such men as Dudok, ... responsible for most of the buildings at Hilversum, ... where he had produced some of the most charming schools in Europe, besides an epoch-making Town Hall.”<sup>18</sup> In addition to his iconic town hall, Dudok had built a series of twenty-one schools in Hilversum between 1920 and 1953 and the Bijenkorf department store in Rotterdam in 1930, in a predominantly functionalist idiom. All were well received, greatly admired, and extensively copied. In their publications, Robertson and Yerbury variously described Dudok’s schools as “charming,” “gay,” “colourful,” and “delightful,” “not forbidding and municipal looking” and “having a delightful composition.”<sup>19</sup> These descriptions suggest that Dudok’s schools were the antithesis of the austere functionalist school designs found on the continent. Later historians and architecture commentators have confirmed Robertson and Yerbury’s views, placing

Dudok between traditionalist and functionalist ideologies, where he represented “progress rather than revolution.”<sup>20</sup>

In my recent paper I contended that Cullen’s interest in Dudok was motivated by a desire to identify an architectural practice that was ‘moderately modern’. I borrowed this term from the title of a design entry by architects Eric Zeibell and Leonard Bullen, for the *Perfect Home Competition* that was run as part of the Centenary of Homes Exhibition in Melbourne in 1934. I thought its use appropriate to the work of Queensland architects emulating Dudok’s work as it commented that

The designers ... had in mind the fact that the Australian public is not yet accustomed to the extremely modern work of present-day Germany and other overseas countries. For this reason the design shows ... a more familiar general form ... introducing little more than a tinge of modernism.<sup>21</sup>

“Moderately modern” also seemed a more suitable term than the more extreme “ultra-modern” or the desultory “modern” or “typical modern” terms in use circa 1935 and 1936.

It was in late 1934, following a hotly contested competition, that the premier example of Dutch functionalist design was constructed in Melbourne, in the form of the Dudok-inspired MacRobertson Girls High School by Norman Seabrook and Alan Fides. Its resemblance to Dudok’s Town Hall is striking. Four years later in 1938, another Dudok-inspired building appeared

– this time in Brisbane – with the opening and dedication of Donoghue and Fulton’s award-winning Nudgee Junior College at Indooroopilly for the Christian Brothers. It marked a significant event for modern school architecture and its acceptance by the Catholic Church in Queensland.

The school displayed a modern geometric horizontality and asymmetric massing of cubic volumes, with minimal decorative brickwork. *The Catholic Leader* cited the college as an example of “modern architecture” while retaining “an air of homeliness,” while *The Telegraph* added that “the modern architectural style is arresting to the eye.”<sup>22</sup> Of significance is Archbishop Duhig’s opening address in which he acknowledges that “In architectural design and general layout, the building shows a welcome departure from old styles ...” and that the architect had “given us ... one of the most attractive college buildings in Australia ...”<sup>23</sup> Duhig (and thereby the Catholic Church) had for the first time, publicly sanctioned modern school design, marking a pivot point from traditional educational design turning to that of the modern in Queensland.

Visually, the minimalist aesthetics of Cullen’s fifteen functionalist schools are evocative of the works of Dudok. As Cullen’s modern school designs evolved, they became more accepted by the Catholic Church, which became progressively more effusive in its commendation of his work, as the following paragraphs show.

Modest descriptors such as “beautiful,” “handsome,” and “handsomely designed” were applied by Duhig and the teaching congregations to Cullen’s early schools, such as Mt St Michael’s, Ashgrove, and Our Lady Help of Christians, Hendra, in 1941 and 1946 respectively.<sup>24 25</sup> While no reference was made to modern school design at either of these schools, at the opening of Mt St Michael’s College, Duhig expressed that “the school was in keeping with the other educational institutions in the suburb ....” This suggests that Cullen’s school designs were not offensive to Catholic Church tastes at the time. I have been unable to source an opening address for St Patrick’s School, Pomona in 1947, but like the schools at Ashgrove and Hendra, it shows the use of traditional brick and hipped tiled roofs, incorporating modern flat rooflines and horizontal concrete window awnings. This ‘blended’ approach is utilised in many of Cullen’s subsequent schools. The terms “modernity,” “modern design,” “modern features” and “built along modern lines” were respectively applied to the four school that Cullen erected during 1948 and 1949 – St Mary’s, Ipswich, St Joseph’s, Childers, Our Lady of the Assumption, Norman Park, and St Luke’s, Buranda.<sup>26</sup>

Duhig’s greatest praise was reserved for St Mary’s School at Ipswich, where he declared his backing of modern school design, saying:

It is no exaggeration to say that in design and building and in the completeness of its equipment this school

eclipses anything of its kind yet raised, not only in the parishes of the archdiocese, but in any parish throughout the rest of Queensland – and I might even say – Australia.<sup>27</sup>

*The Catholic Leader* testified “For artistic design and modern features in layout and furnishing, St Luke’s School, Buranda, is a welcome refreshing addition to our educational buildings.”<sup>28</sup> Cullen’s modern school designs were indeed being well received by the Catholic Church. So much so that at the opening of St Vincent’s, Surfers Paradise in 1949, Duhig thought they were also “doing a great work for the State.”<sup>29</sup>

For schools constructed from late 1949 to 1953, the descriptive terms “modern school,” “ideal of a school,” “the most modern,” “set an example,” “a model school ... most up-to-date,” “the last word in modern construction,” “model high school,” and “the most modern” applied to Marist brothers Boys College (Rosalie), Star of the Sea (Gladstone), Soubirous College (Scarborough), St Joseph’s (Kangaroo Point), St Anthony’s (Kedron), Guardian Angels (Wynnum) and Villanova College (Coorparoo).<sup>30 31 32 33 34</sup> Villanova College is Cullen’s last functionalist-designed school. I consider it to be not only his *magnum opus*, but where we find the ultimate in hyperbole relating to his school designs with *The Courier-Mail* announcement in 1952 that Villanova College to be built at Coorparoo, was to be “one of the most modern high schools in the Southern Hemisphere.”<sup>35</sup> At the



Villanova foundation stone laying ceremony on 8 March 1953, the Queensland Premier, Vince Gair, a Catholic, taunted “If it were not for the Church, the State Government would be unable to cope with the public demand for education.”<sup>36</sup>

The series of quotes that I have highlighted above, demonstrates the progressive increase in acceptance and appreciation of Cullen’s ‘moderately modern’ school designs by the Catholic Church. The school buildings themselves became potent and tangible exemplars of modern Catholic education success, mostly funded by local parishioners.

But why did the Catholic Church become so accepting of modern school design? What were the motives for doing so, besides appearing to be in step with modernity? The clue lies with Premier Gair’s comment made at Villanova College. It was linked to the long-held grievance by Catholics in Australia, regarding their claim for funding from the colonial and successive state governments, for the component of secular education that was taught in Catholic schools.

Those familiar with Australian Catholic history will be familiar with the Catholic school building program that ensued after the ‘compulsory, secular and free’ Schools Act came into force in Queensland in 1875, and the withdrawal of State funding to Queensland denominational schools by 1880.<sup>37</sup> From then on, but

particularly from the 1930s through to the late 1950s and early 1960s, State aid for Catholic schools was a major issue. An Australian Catholic Education Congress was convened in November 1936. Its aim was to

Draw attention to the unjust burden which State education imposes upon Catholics. For Catholics unable, for reasons of conscience, to avail themselves of so purely a secularist system, have to bear the cost of erecting, equipping, and staffing their own schools, while they are also compelled to contribute heavily to the building and support of the schools of the state system.<sup>38</sup>

The Congress estimated that Catholic taxpayers had been penalised an amount of £50,000,000 since 1880 in the matter of education.<sup>39</sup> Predictably, the Queensland Government remained obdurate on its position concerning State aid to church schools. One problem that Duhig and the Catholic Church in general faced in arguing their case for State aid during the early 1930s was that their schools still looked ecclesiastical or church-like. The State government and public alike would have looked askance at Catholic schools and questioned the Catholic commitment to delivering secular education in buildings that did not look secular (that is, free of the ornament and trappings that made a building look as if it served a religious purpose). A change of tack was needed by the Catholic Church to bolster its case for funding.

Turning to Cullen's modern schools, we see how this occurred by again examining what was said at their openings, in terms of delivering a secular education. For Cullen's early schools, those built from 1941 to 1947, nothing is said. However, from 1948 to 1950, terms such as "...lacks nothing in modernity and the latest educational principles ..." and "a comprehensive syllabus of education" are used at the opening of schools at St Mary's (Ipswich) and St Joseph's (Childers).<sup>40 41</sup> . From 1949 to 1953, Duhig is quoted as saying:

- "the carrying on by the Church of a thoroughly sound system of secular education combined with religious teaching" (St Luke's, Buranda)<sup>42</sup>
- "... their schools will be inferior to none as regards buildings and the standard of teaching ..." (Marist Brothers College, Rosalie)<sup>43</sup>
- "Our Catholic schools ... must give the children as high a standard of secular education as they would get in a public school," (St Joseph's, Kangaroo Point)<sup>44</sup> and
- "The Church is fortunate in having ... men and women trained to carry on the work of Christian education and at the same time impart sound secular learning to their pupils ..." (Villanova College, Coorparoo).<sup>45</sup>

I argue that the new and modern school designs of Cullen and others were a response to this issue and by pursuing a 'moderately modern' design approach, they provided the visual link between the 'secular' aspects of the Catholic school building program and its education system. In effect, Cullen's

schools acted as the architectural rationale or advertorial ‘billboards’ by which the Catholic Church could promote its schools as appealing, and its education system as progressive, modern, secular and scientific to the public at large, while remaining strongly and inherently underpinned by its religious teaching.

In closing, I add an observation which gives some legitimacy to the points I have made. By its concerted efforts, the Catholic Church by March 1949 was leading the State in producing modern contemporary school designs. This is evidenced by the images of two new schools appearing side-by-side in the March 1949 issue of the *Architecture, Building and Engineering* magazine, titled “Queensland Schools are Modern.” One was the Stafford State Primary School designed in a historicist neo-Georgian style, the other was the progressive, white cement-stuccoed St Luke’s Primary School at Buranda, designed by Cullen, that looked way ahead of the State school in terms of modern design. Later, in December 1949, the *Courier-Mail* reported that many Brisbane architects thought that the State government school designs were “far behind the times.”<sup>46</sup> Strategically placed, directly above the article, was a perspective drawing of one of Cullen’s designs for St Anthony’s (Kedron), that was subtly suggestive of the Catholic Church being ahead of the state in the modern school building game. The following year, the State joined the competition, opening two modern brick schools at Kelvin Grove and Fortitude Valley. However, the question remains as to how effective the modern functional designs of both the Catholic and State schools were as promotional ‘billboards’ to attract students and increase school enrolments. Whatever the answer

to that question, it cannot be denied that Frank Cullen played a leading role in introducing modern school designs into Queensland.

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<sup>1</sup> Archbishop James Duhig, Letter to Frank Cullen, November 20 1953 (Brisbane Archdiocesan Archives)

<sup>2</sup> McDonald, Ivan (1983) *Early Modern Brisbane: Some Aspects of the Development of Modern Architecture in Brisbane Before World War Two*. Thesis (B. Arch.) University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Qld, 1983, pp 33, 58 & 88

<sup>3</sup> East, John W *A Checklist of Romanesque-inspired architecture in Australia*, The University of Queensland 2016, p219.

<sup>4</sup> “Best we could give: Rosalie Marist Brothers’ College Dedicated”, *The Catholic Leader*, October 6 1949, p4.

<sup>5</sup> Orr, Kirsten, “W.E. Kemp’s School Buildings, 1880-1896: Seed Germ of the Australian Architecture of the Future?”, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 19, No 1 (2009), p97

<sup>6</sup> “Building and Real Estate: Strange Features of New Architectural ‘Cult’ – Old Methods Reversed in Homes that Express Function,” *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane) June 18 1935, p3.

<sup>7</sup> Beirne, Judith, “What Do They Mean By the Ideal Home? – Public Reception of Modernism in Australia”, *Fabrications* 6, No 1, (1995) pp83-89.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, pp 83-84

<sup>9</sup> Cummings, Robert, “Modern Tendencies in Architecture”, 4QG Radio talk script, September 1 1934, p5.

<sup>10</sup> Dielemans, Paul “‘Moderately Modern’: The Reading of Modern Dutch Architecture by a Queensland Architect” in “Distance Looks Back”, edited by Victoria Jackson Wyatt, Andrew Leach and Lee Stickells, *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 36 (2019), in press.

<sup>11</sup> Macarthur, John and van der Plaats, Deborah, “Cummings, Robert” in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, Goad, Phillip and Willis, Julie (eds.), Port Melbourne, Vic, CUP, 2012, pp 184-185.

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<sup>12</sup> Higgott, Andrew, "Introduction" in *Travels in Modern Architecture, 1925-1930* (London Architectural Assoc., 1989), pp 8, 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> Hardwick, Carole, "The Dissemination and Influence of Willem Dudok's work in the Climate of Modernism in Architecture in Australia 1930-1935" (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1998, p331.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp229-233; 251.

<sup>15</sup> Langmead, Donald, *Willem Marinus Dudok, a Dutch Modernist: A Bio-bibliography* (London, Greenwood Press, 1996 p43.

<sup>16</sup> Langmead, Donald, "Joy in Colour: Absentee Impressions of Dudok's Architecture", in Kelly, Ian (ed.) *Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand 1993 Annual Conference* (Perth, SAHANZ, 1993, pp39-52.

<sup>17</sup> Yerbury, Frank, "Modern Building in Holland", in *Architect and Building News*, August 1931, p198.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Robertson, Howard and Yerbury, Frank, "Dudok Enjoys Himself" in *Architect & Building News* (August 1930), p182; "Dudok Enjoys Himself Again" pp210-211.

<sup>20</sup> Powers, Alan *Britain: Modern Architectures in History* (London, Reaktion Books 2007) p61

<sup>21</sup> "A 'Perfect' Home that is Moderately Modern" *Australian Home Beautiful*, January 1 1935, p20.

<sup>22</sup> "Nudgee New Junior College", *The Catholic Leader*, Brisbane, July 1938, p14; "Nudgee New Junior College", *The Telegraph*, Brisbane, July 9 1938 p4.

<sup>23</sup> *Op cit.*, *The Catholic Leader*, p14.

<sup>24</sup> S.M.A. "A Retrospect – Mt St Michael's" *The Catholic Leader*, Christmas 1946, pp5-6.

<sup>25</sup> "Blessing and Opening of Our Lady Help of Christians Church School, Hendra" *The Catholic Leader*, December 12 1946, p13.

<sup>26</sup> "Queensland Schools are Modern", *Architecture Building Engineering*, March 1 1949, p37.

<sup>27</sup> "New Convent Eclipses Anything of Its Kind in Queensland" *Queensland Times*, Ipswich, January 19 1948 p2.

<sup>28</sup> "Parents Often Shirk their Responsibility: St Luke's School Buranda Dedicated by the Archbishop," *The Catholic Leader*, January 27 1949, p4.

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- <sup>29</sup> “New Church-school Opened at Surfers’ Paradise – Over £1000 Subscribed,” *The Catholic Leader*, May 26 1949, p1.
- <sup>30</sup> “Best We Could Give: Rosalie Marist Brothers College Dedicated,” *The Catholic Leader*, October 6 1949, p4.
- <sup>31</sup> “Opening of Convent School” *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, May 5 1950, p4.
- <sup>32</sup> Garaty, Janice, *Providence Provides: The Brigidine Sisters in the New South Wales Province*, New South Publishing, Sydney, 2013, p126.
- <sup>33</sup> “St Joseph’s New School Kangaroo Point,” *The Catholic Leader*, October 11 1951, p9.
- <sup>34</sup> “Dedication of New Convent School at Wynnum,” *The Catholic Leader*, March 6 1952, p9.
- <sup>35</sup> “Coorparoo Plan: Modern High School,” *The Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, April 28 1952, p5.
- <sup>36</sup> “£50,000 College Blessed: Church Big Aid to Govt – Premier,” *The Courier-Mail*, March 9 1953, p3.
- <sup>37</sup> Fogarty, Ronald, *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950*, 2 vols. Melbourne, MUP, 1959, p483.
- <sup>38</sup> *Proceedings of the Australian Catholic Education Congress, Adelaide, November 8-15 November 1936*, Melbourne, The Advocate Press, 1937, p7.
- <sup>39</sup> “Cost of Secular Education,” *The Labour Daily*, Sydney, May 17 1937, p7.
- <sup>40</sup> “New Convent Eclipses Anything of Its Kind in Queensland,” *Queensland Times*, Ipswich, January 19 1949, p2.
- <sup>41</sup> “Land is Source of All Our Wealth: Archbishop on importance of country life - £11,000 School at Childers,” *The Catholic Leader*, February 2 1950, p4.
- <sup>42</sup> “Church Schools Have Done Immense Good: Archbishop Lays Foundation Stone,” *The Catholic Leader*, June 24, 1948, p4.
- <sup>43</sup> “Best We Could Give: Rosalie Marist Brothers’ College Dedicated,” *The Catholic Leader*, October 6 1949, p4.
- <sup>44</sup> “St Joseph’s New School, Kangaroo Point”, *The Catholic Leader*, October 11 1951, p9.
- <sup>45</sup> “Blessing and Opening of Villanova College, Coorparoo”, *The Catholic Leader*, November 26 1953, p9.
- <sup>46</sup> “Government School Designs Far Behind Times,” *The Courier-Mail*, December 24 1949, p6.

