

# COMMUNICATIONES

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## REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTORISTS IN CANADA, 1834-1898<sup>1</sup>

The Redemptorists, a male missionary Congregation of priests and brothers, were founded in 1732 by Alphonsus de Liguori of Naples (1696-1787) for parish missions especially to the poor. By 1800, the Congregation numbered just 197 members. By 1900, it had over 2700 priests, brothers, students, and novices spread throughout the world<sup>2</sup>. This extraordinary expansion had as much to do with the liguorian moral revolution as to the receptivity of the countries to the Redemptorist mission. The Redemptorists in Canada from 1834 to 1898 owed their growth and influence first to St. Alphonsus's moral theology, secondly to the parish missions, and thirdly to the Canadian Redemptorist parishes.

Liguori's monumental writings ran the gamut from songs still sung in Italy today, short works of Marian devotion still read by

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<sup>2</sup> Fabriciano FERRERO, « Perspectivas Históricas de la Problemática actual sobre la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor », in *Spicilegium Historicum* 21 (1973), pp. 364-401, 384.

the Catholic laity, to multi-volume treatises and multiple editions of his *Theologia Moralis*. He called his moral theology "equiprobabilism", or a middle way between a lax moral theology school — satirized by Pascal's *Provincial Letters* against the Jesuits — and the rigorous, almost Calvinist, moral theology promoted by the Jansenists. Alphonsus Liguori became the norm for confessors in the mid-nineteenth century after the approval of the Holy Penitentiary in 1831<sup>3</sup>. Bishop in 1762, beatified in 1816, canonized in 1839, proclaimed Doctor of the Church in 1871, and the patron saint of confessors and moralists in 1959, Liguori's stature did no harm to the Congregation he founded. Bishops the world heeded Rome's approval, introduced Liguori's works to their seminaries, and invited the Redemptorists to their dioceses<sup>4</sup>.

Redemptorists mounted mission campaigns with the care and the preparation of a war on sin. Joseph Wissel summarized nineteenth century Redemptorist missionary work in the eventually three-volume *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*<sup>5</sup>. Wissel defines the Redemptorist mission as an extraordinary work of the apostolate with the purpose of making better Catholics of the people of a parish. Missions were aimed at Roman Catholics. So, few Protestants even knew that Redemptorists existed. Missionaries preached the 'Eternal Truths': sin, death, judgment, hell, Christ, Mary, conversion, confession, and perseverance. Missions were to be popular, simple, and, above all, persuasive. To succeed they had to move the heart as well as the mind. If length in Wissel's

<sup>3</sup> For a recent critical biography of Alphonsus Liguori, see Théodule REY-MERMET, *Le Saint du siècle des Lumières. Alfonso de Liguori (1696-1787)* Préface de Jean Delumeau ... 2e édition. (Paris 1987). For an overview of Liguori's moral theology, the same author has written *La morale selon St. Alphonse de Liguori* (Paris 1987). For a view of Liguori's place and importance, see Louis VEREECKE, « La théologie morale du Concile de Trente à Sainte Alphonse de Liguori », in *Studia Moralia* 25:1 (1987) 7-25. More importantly would be his collection of articles in *De Guillaume d'Ockam à Saint Alphonse de Liguori. Etudes d'histoire de la théologie morale moderne 1300-1787*, Vol. XII: *Bibliotheca Historica Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris* (Rome 1986). Otto WEIß, « Alfonso de Liguori und die deutsche Moraltheologie im 19. Jahrhundert », in *Studia Moralia* 25:1 (1987), 123-61, and Raphael GALLAGHER, « The systematization of Alphonsus' Moral Theology through the Manuals », in *Studia Moralia* 25:2 (1987), 247-77, discuss Alphonsus' reception and appropriation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

<sup>4</sup> Mgr BOURGET, « Circulaire au clergé du diocèse de Montréal », 1842 January 5, *Mandements des évêques de Montréal* I, pp. 183-4, cited also in Philippe Sylvain et Nive Voisine, *Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898)* (Québec 1991) p. 41. T. 2 of *Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Vol. 2 of *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, ed. Nive Voisine.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph WISSEL, *The Redemptorist on the American Missions* 3 vol., 3d edition (Norwood, Mass. 1920). See also the Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Toronto [ARPT], Provincialia [Scrapbook of letters from the Baltimore Provincial sent to St. Patrick's, Quebec City, 1880-1914] 1887 April 15, circular letter of Provincial E.F. SCHAUER

work is any indication, most North American Redemptorists were better trained to preach hell than heaven — so much so that the Redemptorists were sometimes nick-named “Redempterrorists” — but it also shows that parishes often wanted hell. Above all, conversion to Christian perfection was required, which makes the Catholic revival experience in North America very similar but not identical to the Protestant emphasis of conversion to Christ<sup>6</sup>. Catholic revivalism in the nineteenth century was a renewal of pre-existing Christianity; the Redemptorists called the second part of their missions ‘renewals’. Once the laity was frightened into repentance and assured that God’s forgiveness was in the confessional, no penitents were to be turned away, none deferred if at all possible, as St. Alphonsus insisted. In summary, the mission presented Redemptorists as ‘lions in the pulpit and lambs in the confessional’. Once out of the confessional, the Roman Catholic was sent to participate in the works of the parish in order to persevere in the paths of perfection.

In 1832, the first missionaries set off for North America from Vienna and, within a year, were working in the Michigan area<sup>7</sup>. The water route between Sault Ste Marie and Detroit had experienced a temporary boom after the War of 1812 when it became a place where French, British, American and native traders met. Religious pluralism flourished as the first Protestant missionary, a poorly-paid half-native of the Anglican Missionary Society, led his new followers out of the Anglican Church. The American Methodists and the Baptists quickly expanded their own memberships<sup>8</sup>. The Redemptorist Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher and Candidate Brother Joseph Reisach, at the invitation of a Canadian bishop, travelled regularly by canoe from the American to the Canadian Sault Ste-

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<sup>6</sup> Jay P. DOLAN, *Catholic Revivalism. The American Experience (1830-1900)* (Notre Dame 1978), *The American Catholic Experience. A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, N.Y. 1985). *The Immigrant Church. New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore 1975) pp. 155-8.

<sup>7</sup> Michael J. CURLEY, *The Provincial Story. A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (New York 1963) is a history of the Redemptorists throughout North America. Until 1875, all of North America was one province. See also Th. ROEMER, *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States* (New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XII, 1933).

<sup>8</sup> United Church of Canada Archives [UCA], W.S. WILSON, « A Study of the Religious Developments in the Sault Ste. Marie Area », [June 1962] 14 p. Toronto Public Library Baldwin Room (277.13 S57) *Second Annual Report of the Society for Converting & Civilizing the Indians, and Propagating the Gospel, Among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada, For the year Ending October 1832* (Toronto 1833). « Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan », in *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism* (Tennessee 1974) II, p. 2098.

Marie<sup>9</sup>. The trip was sometimes made on hands and knees over thin ice<sup>10</sup>.

Haetscher and the other Redemptorists were flamboyant<sup>11</sup>. Once when working in a Canadian village, Hatscher chastized a man for an illicit love affair. When the rake threatened him,

Haetscher grabbed the man by his shirt front and held him suspended in the air with his right hand. In his left he held a crucifix that he practically pushed into the fellow's enraged face. The Canadian cried out his threats and struggled to get away. ... The rake did not set his feet on *terra firma* until he had cooled off and had come to a better state of mind - at least so were are told<sup>12</sup>.

At another time, he began a fiery preaching campaign against the many Protestant sects springing up in the Sault. As one Baptist minister staded,

I am told by those who saw it, that inthe midst of his discourse, he tore a protestant Bible to pieces, & threw it into the fire place, to show his kind intentions to burn it. I believe there was no fire in it, the room being heated by a stove. But he publickly declared it to be a great sin for his people to read it<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Which bishop is unclear. Joseph Reisach's testimony, preserved in the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province (Brooklyn, New York) [RABP]) and transcribed in Joseph WUEST, *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae* [*Annales*] *Supplementum ad Volumina I, II, III*, [*Supplementum*] pars 1, (Ilchester 1903) p. 301, states "Während dieser Zeit, erhielt er [Hätscher] einen Brief von dem Bischof von Montreal, worin er gebeten wurde, auch die Canadier auf der englischen Seite zu besuchen und ihnen die hl. Sakramente zu spenden. Alle drei Wochen fuhren wir hinüber auf einem Canoe, wo wir einem Block-Hause einen Altar aufrichteten". This agrees with Antoine ROY, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1943-1944* p. 244, and *Registre des Lettres de Mgr Lartigue 1 Dec. 1832 à 27 Octobre 1835* Vol. 7, p. 120, Mgr Lartigue to Mgr J.-Norbert Provencher, that Sault-Ste-Marie is well-off, since the American bishops sent many priests to the border areas. Evidence from Sault Ste. Marie, however, is found in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto [ARCAT] MAC2401, 1834 September 24, and shows the Catholics of Sault Ste. Marie writing to the Right Rev. Alexander McDonald [sic], Kingston. John BYRNE, *The Redemptorist Centenaries* (Philadelphia 1932) p. 50 does not credit Reisach and assumes it to be the Bishop of Kingston.

<sup>10</sup> WUEST, *Annales* I, p. 18-9, 301.

<sup>11</sup> Carl MADER, *Die Congregation des Allerheiligsten Erlösers in Oesterreich. Ein Chronicalbericht über ihre Einführung, Ausbreitung, Wirksamkeit und ihre verstorbenen Mitglieder als kleine Festgabe zur Centenarfeier ihres heiligen Stifters Alphonsus Maria de Liguori* (Vienna 1887) p. 408 re Haetscher's career throughout the Northern United States, Europe, and Turkey. Saint Clement Hofbauer, 'The Apostle of Vienna', who converted Haetscher, was said to be even more dramatic and primitive in his missionary methods. See Adam BUNNELL, *Before Infallibility. Liberal Catholicism in Biedermeyer Vienna* (London, England; Rutherford, New Jersey 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Translation by Edward DAY, « The Beginnings of the Redemptorists in the United States: 1832-1840 » (Memoire de Licencié en Sciences Historiques. Université Catholique de Louvain, 1958) p. 41, n. 4, of L. KENNING, « E Commentariis » in WUEST, *Supplementum* I, pp. 314-6.

<sup>13</sup> American Baptist Historical Society Archives Center, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. January 27, 1835, Sault-Ste-Marie, Rev. Abel Bingham to the Rev. Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Rooms, Boston.

In retaliation, the Canadian Protestants:

stole across the river and, smashing a window, entered the Catholic chapel ... opened the tabernacle and scattered the sacred Hosts all over the plank floor. Someone of them fanatically cut a missal into ribbons<sup>14</sup>.

Soon after, the chapel burned to the ground. The Canadian Captain Thomas G. Anderson downplayed the incident by reporting that:

a Roman Catholic Priest, a foreigner, living on the American side, visited the Canadians & almost daily, that he had actually burnt an English Bible on that side [of] the water, and that he had tried to get some on our side for the same purpose, that [the Anglican missionary] had been compelled to turn him out of his enclosures when he had ... actually caused a Bark Chapel to be built adjoining this [Indian] enclosure, much to the annoyance of [the Anglicans]<sup>15</sup>.

He urged all of the natives and the French to join the established (Anglican) church, and stated that the foreigner had no rights — civil or religious — in British Canada. Shortly after this, Haetscher was called to another field in the U.S. and the Redemptorists eventually abandoned their experiments in American frontier native missions as foreign to their original desire to work for Roman Catholics.

The Redemptorists turned to the urban Catholic immigrants in North America, many of them German and Irish<sup>16</sup>. Simon Saenderl worked in the diocese of Toronto, especially for the Germans<sup>17</sup>. Other Redemptorists occasionally travelled into the Windsor area from new monasteries in Monroe, Rochester, and Buffalo<sup>18</sup>. Missionaries

<sup>14</sup> Day, p. 76, translating Reisach, in WUEST, *Supplementum* I, p. 297.

<sup>15</sup> Anglican Church of Canada, Synod of the Diocese of Algoma Archives. 1835 July Report of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson re visit to Sault-Ste-Marie.

<sup>16</sup> For Germans in Canada, Heinz LEHMANN, *The German Canadians 1750-1937. Immigration, Settlement and Culture* tr., ed., and intro. by Gerhard P. BASSLERE. (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> ARCAT (LB01.104) 1844 February 20, Alexander Czvitkovicz, C.Ss.R., to the Bishop of Toronto, Michael Power. LB01.105, 1844 February 28, Power to Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., granting faculties in the townships of Wilmot, Waterloo, and for Germans and Ojibway throughout the diocese. (LB92.250) 1845 August 18, p. 223-4, Power to A. Czveskovicz ([Czvitkovicz]. For a biographical study of Saenderl's travels and life, see John M. LENHART, « Rev. Simon Sanderl, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary », *Social Justice Review* 1941 (July-August) 130-2, (September) 166-8, (October) 206-7, (November) 242-4, (December) 278-80, 1942 (January) 314-6, (February) 350-3, (March) 386-8.

<sup>18</sup> Redemptorist General Archives, Rome, [AGR] (300700 IV Labores apostolici 1832-1868) « Elenchus laborum apostolicorum in Prov. Americana » pp. 82-3. More easily obtainable is [Joseph WUEST], *Conspectus laborum apostolicorum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris in America septentrionali. Ab anno 1840 usque ad annum 1890* (Ilchester 1893) which leaves out the Belgian statistics but is a compendium of sacramental information relating to the English and German monasteries. See also RABP (528 Rochester) « Circa Ministerium PP. Nostrorum anno 1844 ad annum 1856 in Buffalo » [in German].

such as Schmied, Holzer, Tschenhens, Kannamueller, Bayer, Keitz, and Wissel became known in Hamilton, Simcoe, Caledonia, Windsor, Sandwich, Rainham, Black Creek, Waterloo, and throughout the Toronto diocese.

By 1845 Bishop Power of Toronto, pressed by clergy shortages, invited the Redemptorists to found a monastery in his diocese<sup>19</sup>. In 1852 his successor, Bishop De Charbonnel, impressed with the mission preaching of the Redemptorists in Cincinnati, urged the Redemptorists to accept all of Hamilton, Ontario. When that was refused, he offered Niagara Falls, as did his successor, Lynch<sup>20</sup>. In 1858 they refused the care of St. Patrick's, Quebec City and the care of Chatham, Ontario<sup>21</sup>. There were not enough Redemptorists for all of the places offered.

The missionaries refined their techniques and their sermon materials, and entered parish after parish, armed with special diocesan faculties to absolve all sins reserved to the bishop and even wielding papal privileges even the bishops did not have<sup>22</sup>. One of the most important missions took place in St. Patrick's, Montreal. Between December 10, 1865, and January 2, 1866, ten missionaries descended on Montreal, heard over 15,000 confessions, helped with almost one thousand confirmations, converted 25 Protestants — some of them from the disbanded Confederate Army — and administered the Temperance pledge to two thousand<sup>23</sup>. D'Arcy McGee personally thanked the missionaries for their efforts to raise the morality of the parish. Meanwhile, the Montreal Presbyterian newspaper, the *Witness*, ran letters stating that the moral tone amongst the English Catholics must have been incredibly low if the parish needed such terrifying sermons. Of course, the *Witness* did not understand the mission and did not know what happened in and after the confessional although it could be counted on to suspect the worst.

<sup>19</sup> ARCAT (LB02.250) 1845 August 18, Bishop Power to Fr. A. Czitkovicz [sic].

<sup>20</sup> WUEST, *Annales II*, p. 204 and Appendix 460-2. III.1, pp. 334-7. Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Toronto [ARPT] (210) 1861 June 21, Lynch to Provincial DeDycker.

<sup>21</sup> AGR (300700 X Localia Quebec) 1856 September 11, G. Ruland, C.Ss.R. to Rector Major N. Mauron [copy]. RABP (322 Ruland) 1856 April 22, C.F. Bishop of Tlao, [Baillargeon] Administrator of Quebec to G. Ruland. WUEST, *Annales III.1*, p. 270-1.

<sup>22</sup> Georg SCHÖBER, ed., *Compendium privilegiorum et gratiarum spiritualium quibus ex S. Sedis concessione gaudet Congregatio Ss. Redemptoris*. revised by Jos. AERTNYS, C.Ss.R., (Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo Eboraci & Cincinnati 1909).

<sup>23</sup> AGR (300700 IV Labores apostolici 1832-1868) « Elenchus Laborem Apostolicorum Provinciae Americanae ab Anno 1865, 1866, 1867 & 1868 » p. 12. (IX Personalialia, R.P. Lorenzo Holzer) « Missione data a Monreale nel Canada del giorni 8 Dic. al I Genn. 1866 dai Padri Redentoristi Holzer, Smulders, Schneider, Dold, Giesen, Wayrich, Grimm, Bradley, Kreis e Neithart ». Detroit, 6 Jan. 1866. WUEST, *Annales V.1*, pp. 59, 88-90, 169-72.

After the Civil War, with the increase of second-generation Irish-American members of the American Redemptorist province, English-language foundations became more attractive. Redemptorists accepted St. Patrick's, Quebec City (1874) when it was offered shortly after St. Alphonsus was declared a Doctor of the Church in 1871<sup>24</sup>. After a mission that gained the people's trust and allegiance, the Redemptorists proceeded to bust the trustee-system — lay control of church property — as they had in all of their parishes in the U.S.<sup>25</sup>. Then the Redemptorists enforced Catholic teachings and diocesan regulations, for example, against mixed marriages and dances. In February of 1875, Father Andrew Wynn accompanied by Brother Patrick, armed with a Shilalah, a short, heavy club, raided a night dance in Diamond Harbour (Port-au-Diamant). "At their appearance", the chronicles state, "the delinquents skedaddled"<sup>26</sup>.

The Redemptorists then introduced the entire panoply of Tridentine parish Catholicism which they had promoted since their founding in 1732. The Redemptorists organized the parish with devotional and Marian exercises, above all the rosary, societies and associations, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, an Altar Society, a Total Abstinence Society, the Archconfraternity of the Holy Family<sup>27</sup>, an Archconfraternity for the benefit of the souls in purgatory, St. Mary's Charitable Society for Ladies, an Irish Union, a St. Patrick's National and Beneficial (burial) Union, choirs and music direction by Calixa Lavallée, Redemptorist saints, relics<sup>28</sup>, devotion to the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Perpetual

<sup>24</sup> AGR (300700 12 Provincialia Baltimorensis) 1874 October 5, Provincial Joseph Helmprecht to Superior N. Mauron. For a short history of this foundation and for some of the primary documents, see Wuest, *Annales* V.3: *Ab anno 1872 usque ad annum 1876* (Boston 1924) pp. 306-310, 405-10, 449-59.

<sup>25</sup> Patrick W. CAREY, *People, Priests, and Prelates. Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tension of Trusteeship* (Notre Dame 1987). No comparable study has been made for Canada. See 1875 January 25 «An Act to amend the Act to Incorporate the Congregation of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language» in ARPT «Annals of St. Patrick's Quebec». Also, RABP (595.3 Quebec - St. Patrick), WUEST, *Annales* V, and CURLEY, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> ARPT «Annals St. Patrick's, Quebec, 1874-1897». See also 1880 August 6.

<sup>27</sup> The Archconfraternity of the Holy Family, a Belgian Redemptorist organization, was given Pope Leo XIII's apostolic blessing 1893 November 24. It was introduced into every Redemptorist parish. See Maurice DE MEULEMEESTER, *L'Archconfrérie de la Sainte Famille. Une page d'histoire religieuse contemporaine (1847-1947)* (Louvain 1946).

<sup>28</sup> The relic collection of St. Ann's Parish, Montreal, was begun by the Mlle la ViComtesse Mathilde Vilain XIII, of Brussels in 1884. They are presently housed in Holy Redeemer College, Windsor. See ARPT unsorted material «Relics of the Saints. ... Elenchus S.S. Reliquiarum Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris quae in Ecclesia S. Annae Marianopoli venerentur». With one hundred reliquaries and seven hundred relics, it was one of the most important collections in Canada.

Help, all with banners, flowers, and shrines<sup>29</sup>. Thoroughly methodical organization of the missions and then, later, of each waking moment of the generally poorer parishioners in the perpetual missions of the Redemptorist parish allow us to say that these Catholics were Methodists who went to Mass. The moral theology of the Calvinists who went to Mass, the Jansenists, was of course anathema to the Redemptorists. Unlike the Methodists, the Redemptorists' nineteenth century appeal was not just to the working class.

Redemptorist influence continued to grow. In Montreal, the Sulpician-run Grand Séminaire used works of Moral Theology based on Alphonsus Liguori<sup>30</sup>. As Roberto Perin noted, the Montreal clergy then cited Liguori to justify the absolution of penitents who did not vote according to the bishop's instructions in the election of 1876<sup>31</sup>. A successful French mission in the Sulpician Montreal parish of Notre Dame in 1878, which brought 40,000 visitors daily and from 22 to 24,000 confessions, led to the ecclesiastical provincial council of Quebec proposing that St. Alphonsus Liguori as interpreted by Anton Konings, C.Ss.R., a Dutch Redemptorist working in the U.S., be adopted for all seminarians<sup>32</sup>. Such mission successes had not been seen since the passage of the Bishop of Nancy, Mgr de Forbin-Janson in 1840-41. The Archbishop of Quebec also offered the Redemptorists the care of the St. Anne-de-Beaupré pilgrimage shrine<sup>33</sup>. Obviously, a Sulpician-Quebec City axis was at work in opposition to the Montreal Bishop, but the American Redemptorists, in innocent ignorance of Quebec Catholic politics, immediately accepted the shrine dedicated to the "Patroness of Canada". They hoped to reproduce what they called a "perpetual mission" and to become better known in Catholic French Canada<sup>34</sup>. The Americans took over the shrine for one cold and miserable year, and then happily made way for Belgian Redemptorists in 1879, hoping that the Belgians would take over all of Canada.

Proficient in Flemish, a Netherland dialect linguistically placed

<sup>29</sup> Terrence MORAN, « Popular Devotion and the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer » *Readings in Redemptorist Spirituality* 4 (Rome 1991) 126-37. ARPT « Annals of St. Patrick's Quebec 1874-1897 ».

<sup>30</sup> *Le Grand Séminaire de 1840 à 1990: 150 années au service de la formation des prêtres* (Montréal 1990) p. 100-1.

<sup>31</sup> Roberto PERIN, *Rome in Canada. The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto 1990) p. 106.

<sup>32</sup> RABP (325 Schauer) 1886 May 21, Jean Tielen, C.Ss.R. to Rev. Fr. Joseph Wuest, C.Ss.R.

<sup>33</sup> AGR (300700 I Provincialia Baltimorensis) 1878 April 20 and 1878 September 5, Provincial E.F. Schauer to Superior General Mauron [in German].

<sup>34</sup> ARPT « Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec » 1877 June 17.



between English and German, and educated in French, the Belgians were best suited to learning English and working in French Canada<sup>35</sup>. Many of the Belgians sent to Canada were from wealthy families and the addition of their numbers (originally six) and their money to the missions and to the shrine helped to attract more attention. Pilgrims from across North America increased from 20,000 to over 115,000 annually by the end of the century. Beupré became the scene for huge French Canadian Catholic assemblies and a showcase for Roman and Flemish religious art and relics imported by the Redemptorists. In 1887, Beupré became a minor basilica of French Canada<sup>36</sup>.

The Belgian missions differed from the American Redemptorist missions only in emphasis. Conversion received the lion's share of sermons emphasizing faith, happiness, fear of God's justice, hope, love of God, and, most importantly, confession. Perfection resided in following the commandments and in pious exercises in parish societies. In essence, there was less Hell in the Belgian training — it was just one of many sermons as in all Redemptorist missions — but individual Belgians, such as Alphonse Hendrickx, adapted to North American tastes and became wildly popular<sup>37</sup>.

Faced with the demands and the successes of the Canadian missions, the Roman authorities considered founding a separate Canadian Redemptorist province as early as 1884, but in spite of the great distances between Belgium and Canada, and in spite of the fact that between 1881 and 1896 forty-seven Canadians actually went to Belgium to put on the Redemptorist habit, the Belgians

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<sup>35</sup> Robert HOUTHAEVE, *De Gekruisigde Kerk van de Oekraïne en het Offer van Vlaamse Missionarissen* (Izegem: Uitgeverij 1990) especially the section «Onze Redemptoristen in dienst van de Oekraïeners» pp. 321-47 by Jérôme VAN LANDEGHEM demonstrates this point. One might also consult *Gerardusbode en Apostolische Werken der Paters Redemptoristen* (Redemptorist Archives of the North Belgium Province [RANBP]) and Armand BONI, *Pioniers in Canada, Belgische Redemptoristen in de provincies Quebec, Manitoba en Saskatchewan* (De Kinkhoren: Bruge-Brussel 1945).

<sup>36</sup> The best modern work on the Redemptorists in French Canada is Jean-Pierre ASSELIN, *Les Rédemptoristes au Canada. Implantation à Sainte-Anne-de-Beupré 1878-1911* (Montréal 1981). The appendices in Rodrigue THÉBERGE, *Des rassembleurs d'hommes. La Congrégation du Très-Saint-Rédempteur. Les Rédemptoristes* (Sainte-Anne de Beupré 1978) are useful for short biographies and descriptions of devotions, prayers, and songs promoted by the Redemptorists.

<sup>37</sup> RANBP (Hendrickx, Alphonse) Copies of his family correspondence are on microfilm in the Redemptorist Archives of St. Anne-de-Beupré. See ASSELIN for a discussions of Hendrickx's impact on French Canada. Also ARPT (Archivum domus and Sanctae Annae Marianopoli) «Chronicum ministerii externi». 1885 October 18-28. RANBP (Catulle, Jan) 1892 February 1, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R. to Mlle la Vicomtest [Mathilde Vilain XIII] for Infant Jesus of Prague devotions.

postponed an autonomous Canadian province until 1891<sup>36</sup>. Belgians, knowledgeable about the divisiveness of nationality, Flemish versus Walloon, vainly hoped to avoid Irish-French conflicts in Canada<sup>39</sup>. Although the Americans had proven that parishes were part of North American Catholicism and that they could be perpetual missions, and fruitful sources of young vocations, the Belgians hesitated to move beyond Beaupré. In Europe, it was against the Rule to accept parishes to the possible detriment of the missions<sup>40</sup>. Also, and perhaps more importantly, it was not until 1884 that the Montreal Archbishop invited them into Montreal. They accepted St. Ann's parish in Montreal, an English-language and Irish enclave, at the suggestion of the Americans who had been originally offered it. The Americans also sent Canadian vocations to the Belgians. Thus they gained a foothold in the metropolis of French Canada and could begin expansion into English Canada<sup>41</sup>.

St. Ann's, Montreal, as did many parishes where Redemptorists preached missions, soon established sections of the Holy Family, the Archconfraternity of St. Anne, the Children of Mary, the League of the Sacred Heart, a conference of the St. Vincent-de-Paul Society, the Archconfraternity of Our Lady of Perpetual Help and of St. Alphonsus, a Confraternity for a Good Death under the Patronage of St. Barbara, a Temperance Society, the Foresters, a Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, Young People's societies, and more<sup>42</sup>.

In spite of this success, in 1895 when the Belgians received permission to accept Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur in Hochelaga as a mission-house without any parish attached, they moved many of their men from St. Ann's<sup>43</sup>. The European-style monastery soon embroiled itself in jurisdictional disputes with the surrounding ter-

<sup>38</sup> AGR (Provincia Belgica, Visitatio) 1892 September 25 « Rapport sur la Province Belge en 1892 » by Provincial Dubois, C.Ss.R. I would like to thank the St. Anne-de-Beaupré Province for inviting me to work with the manuscripts by Gérard LEBEL, Gérard TREMBLAY, and François BOUCHARD, « La Province Rédemptoriste de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré en marche 1878-1967 ». See especially ASSELIN.

<sup>39</sup> RABP (325 Schauer) 1884 August 26, Consultor General Michael Ulrich, C.Ss.R. to Provincial E.F. Schauer, C.Ss.R. [in German].

<sup>40</sup> AGR (Provincia Belgica, Visitatio) 1892 September 25. « Rapport sur la Province Belge en 1892 » by Provincial Dubois, C.Ss.R.

<sup>41</sup> RABP (325 Schauer) for students: 1878 March 12, Anton Konings, C.Ss.R. to Provincial E.F. Schauer, C.Ss.R. For transfer of Canadian field: 1884 July 19, Provincial E.F. Schauer, C.Ss.R. memo. See also RABP (592.2 Montreal St. Ann) and AGR (300700 I Provincia Baltimorensis) 1884 March 25, Montreal, Bishop Edouard Chs [Fabre] to "Mon Rev. Père" [Provincial E.F. Schauer of the Baltimore Province].

<sup>42</sup> *Digesta Chronica Collegiorum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Belgicae. Vice-provincia Canadensis. II. Marianopolis*. Also *One Hundred Irish Years. 1867-1967. St. Ann's Parish Centennial* (Montreal 1967) 12 p.

<sup>43</sup> ASSELIN, pp. 116-7.

ritorial parishes and, to solve the problem, itself became the territorial parish of Très-Saint-Rédempteur (1913). St. Ann's was transferred to the Americans (1912). To attract more young vocations, the first Canadian minor seminary, or juvenate, was established in 1896, but until 1898, 21 French and 13 English students graduated and a mere five persevered, one of them English-speaking. Expansion was impossible. Not until 1898 would a Canadian become Vice-Provincial; at that point, the French-Canadian Redemptorists began to multiply their parish foundations and their vocations.

Belgian failure to move immediately into the North American parish structure and a growing sense of continental 'manifest destiny' on the part of the Americans brought the American Redemptorists to reconsider leaving Canada<sup>44</sup>. The Americans expanded from Quebec City, into the Irish immigrant parishes of Toronto's St. Patrick's parish (1881)<sup>45</sup>, and to St. Peter's parish in St. John, New Brunswick (1884)<sup>46</sup>. The American-run parishes remained outside the Canadian vice-province, because there were not enough Canadians to replace the Americans. Also, the Americans did not want to give up their right to a house of refuge safely outside the United States, far from Know-nothingism and far from places where individual Redemptorists could no longer work. Americans working in Canada dreaded the separation from the United States, and none wanted to join the Belgian Province<sup>47</sup>.

More importantly, there were fewer Roman Catholics in English Canada to produce vocations. Many of the Irish immigrants emigrated from Canada to the U.S. after a short stay in Saint John, Quebec

<sup>44</sup> RANBP (Brandon) "Brief von ... Kockerols" 1888 December 20, Archbishop Thomas Duhamel of Ottawa to Provincial Kockerols, C.Ss.R., Brussels [in French]. AGR (Provincia Belgica, Provincialia) 1897 April 16, Provincial J.R. Van Aertselaer, C.Ss.R. to Superior General Raus, C.Ss.R.

<sup>45</sup> *Golden Jubilee of the Redemptorist Fathers in Toronto. 1881-1931 Pamphlet*, 48 p. Karl SCHINDLER, *To Serve God's People. A Hundred Years of the Redemptorists at St. Patrick's, the Cradle of the Toronto Province 1881-1981* (Toronto c. 1981).

<sup>46</sup> ARPT (Local Archives) «Annals of St. Peter's Community of Saint John, N.B., Vol. 1: 1884-1896, Vol. 2: 1897-September 1913» More accessible for chronicles and descriptions of parish societies are Ray BUTLER with George O'REILLY C.Ss.R., *St. Peter's Church. Saint John. New Brunswick 1884-1984 Pamphlet*, and *Souvenir of the Dual Anniversary of Saint Aloysius Society 1873-1898, Saint Peter's Young Men's Association 1898-1923* (Saint John, N.B., August 1924) 25 p.

<sup>47</sup> For example, RABP (595.5 Toronto, St. Patrick) 1886 December 29, F.H. Miller, C.Ss.R. to Provincial E.F. Schauer, C.Ss.R. Also AGR (Provincia Belgica, Vice-provincia canadensis) 1891 May 21, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R., to Superior General. RABP (326 Litz) 1893 April 26, Superior General Mauron, C.Ss.R., to Provincial F. Litz, C.Ss.R. of Baltimore.

City, Toronto. Although Rome set up an American-run vice-province in Canada in 1898, a lack of vocations and American resistance postponed an indigenous English Canadian Redemptorist province until 1918 a few years after the French Canadian province of 1911. Indigenization for the English Roman Catholic Church in Canada, as Mark McGowan has stated, would only take place through the crucible of the First World War<sup>48</sup>. Redemptorists in nineteenth-century English Canada were usually German Americans.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a decline in the popularity of the Redemptorist mission in the English-speaking world<sup>49</sup>. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Canadian missions went from one month to two weeks to eight days. Redemptorists postponed the second part of the mission, the renewal that was to present God's forgiveness and love. Alphonsus Liguori wanted the renewal immediately after the mission. By the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian parishes only saw the renewal a year later if at all. Mission reports everywhere became routine statistics of communions and of confessions. Not all missions were successful. The missionaries declared the 1886 mission at Oka where there were Protestants, Catholics, natives, and whites, a complete failure<sup>50</sup>. Nevertheless, the reports show that by the end of the nineteenth century, only a minority of parishioners did not avail themselves of the confessional and the moral theology that was practised there. Most of the parishes of Canada had experienced a Redemptorist-style mission; many of the religious communities had Redemptorists as retreat masters or as confessors. Redemptorist devotions to Saint Gerard, Saint Clement, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, the Infant Jesus of Prague, and the many sodalities and societies Redemptorists promoted during the mission as means of continuing the mission and promoting perseverance in perfection were firmly entrenched in the Catholic mind as part of the perfect life. The very names people used for their children show the influence of the Redemptorists: Clement, Alphonsus and, most of all, Gerard.

The earliest records of the Redemptorists' work with the French

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<sup>48</sup> Mark McGOWAN, "We Are All Canadians": A Social, Religious and Cultural Portrait of Toronto's English-Speaking Roman Catholics, 1890-1920" Ph.D. diss. University of Toronto, 1988.

<sup>49</sup> John SHARP, *Reapers of the Harvest. The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland 1843-1898* (Dublin: Oscott Series 4, Veritas Publications 1989) p. 230. Also RANBP (Godts, Willem) [1894] July 17, G[uillaume] Godts, C.Ss.R. to François[Xavier] Godts, C.Ss.R.

<sup>50</sup> ARPT (Archivum domus and Sanctae Annae Manianopoli) "Chronicum ministerii externi" 1886 May 23 - June 3.

Canadians in the U.S. and in Canada before 1840 were descriptions of the immorality that had crept into Canadian life on the frontier. The Redemptorists chronicled sacramental neglect, drunkenness, polygamy, wife-swapping, incest, and worse. Serge Gagnon's recent work on confession and sexuality in Lower Canada says that sacramental neglect was endemic in Lower Canada due to clerical shortages and due to the type of moral theology promoted among the clergy<sup>51</sup>. The Redemptorist of the second half of the nineteenth century would agree and say that such immorality was not restricted to Lower Canada but was endemic throughout the Catholic world. The early correspondence of the opening pages of each monastery's chronicle in the northern United States and in Canada states that the moral severity of the usually Jansenistic French clergy towards their penitents and the lack of clergy contributed to alienating the faithful<sup>52</sup>. Redemptorists believed, with Alphonsus Liguori, that the priest-confessor had to be lenient with the sinner in order to reconcile the sinner to God and to the Church. Saenderl's surviving correspondence with the Bishop of Toronto Michael Power urges him to be more lenient in granting a dispensation<sup>53</sup>. As the Bishops accepted Rome's favorable pronouncements about Liguori, taught Liguori to their seminarians, brought in Redemptorists for their people, the Redemptorists and their imitators effected a liguorian moral revolution whereby nominal Roman Catholics began to practise and to attend communion. The path of Christian perfection in the parish came after, not before, reconciliation in an alphonsian confessional.

Not so successful were the Redemptorists in attracting vocations. Several factors kept the number of Redemptorists in North America low. After the 1850s, centralization and uniformity became the rule in Congregation as in the Roman Catholic Church and those

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<sup>51</sup> Serge GAGNON, *Plaisir d'amour et crainte de dieu. Sexualité et confession au Bas-Canada* (Sainte-Foy 1990) p. 101. « Avant 1840, les concours de confession où l'on peut décharger sa conscience auprès d'un visiteur sont tout à fait exceptionnels, faute de personnel ecclésiastique suffisant, ou parce que l'évêque ne juge pas souhaitable qu'un grand nombre de paroissiens se confessent à un étranger ».

<sup>52</sup> For a Canadian reference, see AGR (Provincia Belgica, Vice-provincia canadensis) 1883 November 19, where Jean Tielen, C.Ss.R. complains to the Superior General, Mauron, of the extremes of French Jansenism and liberal freemasonry found in Canada [in French]. Also AGR (300700 I Provincialia Baltimorensis) 1884 April 5, Provincial E.F. Schauer, C.Ss.R. of Baltimore, to the Superior General, Mauron [in German] about Montreal.

<sup>53</sup> ARCAT (C.ABO611) 1850 February 11, Saenderl to the Bishop of Toronto. (LB02.158) 1844 May 8, Power to Saenderl.

who disagreed left or were expelled<sup>54</sup>. The remaining Redemptorists entered fully into Pope Pius IX's plans, republished Liguori's dissertations in favour of infallibility, and turned their mission centres around the world into rallying places for the ultramontanists<sup>55</sup>. The Redemptorists thus suffered the departure of the more democratic Americanizers who, with Isaac Hecker, formed the Paulist Fathers who specialized in missions to non-Catholics. Most of the Paulists were the very ones skilled in the outstanding English oratory Bishop De Charbonnel had heard in Cincinnati. So, foundations in Canada were regularly refused for lack of men. Only one Canadian was attracted to the Redemptorists between 1834 and 1874. François-Xavier Bricôt (1827-1858), of Pointe-aux-Trembles, left the Grand Séminaire of Montreal and his alphonsonian moral theology texts and, after a stint of teaching school for the Redemptorists in Monroe, Michigan, joined the Rochester monastery in 1852. Not until after the foundation of a monastery in Canada does another native-born Canadian vocation develop<sup>56</sup>. The Belgians were more fortunate in attracting French-Canadian vocations; their missions and the publication of the *Annals of St. Anne-de-Beaupré* in English and in French made them better known than the American Redemptorists, but their unwillingness and their inability to expand into parish foundations restricted their presence. In comparison, by 1899, the American Baltimore Province had twenty-five houses, including three houses in Canada, with 61 men born in Europe, 106 born in the U.S. of German parents, and 57 born in the U.S. of English parents. Only four members were born elsewhere; these four included the Canadians<sup>57</sup>. The Belgians had a higher number of Canadians, most of them French, but fewer still English-speaking Canadians<sup>58</sup>. English-speaking Canadians began to enter Redemptorist religious life only at the end of the century. The year 1898 saw several young English

<sup>54</sup> F. DUMORTIER, *Le Révérendissime Père Nicolas Mauron. Supérieur Général de la Congrégation du Très-Saint Rédempteur (1818-1893) Notice Biographique* (Paris 1901). See also Maurice DE MEULEMEESTER, *Sommaire de l'histoire de la Congrégation du T.S. Rédempteur* (Bruxelles 1921).

<sup>55</sup> Otto WEIß, *Die Redemptoristen in Bayern (1790-1909). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ultramontanismus* (St. Ottilien 1983).

<sup>56</sup> Archives of the Grand Séminaire of Montréal, «Registres et dossiers des inscriptions 1840-1879», 1848-50. RABP «Annals. St. Jos., Rochester. 1836-1913» 1857 Nov. 14. «Catalogus vel liber I. Novitiorum», «Liber vestitiones Prov. 1842-1924», «Liber III in quo exitas aut dimissio alicujus Novitii descripta est.: novitiate departures».

<sup>57</sup> WUEST, *Annales* III.2, pp. 98-9.

<sup>58</sup> AGR (Provincia Belgica, Vice-provincia canadensis) 1890 February 10, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R. to Mauron.

Canadians in both the Belgian and the American educational systems<sup>59</sup>. These Canadians would fill the monasteries in the twentieth century and the Americans could create an English-Canadian Province, with the help of the French-Canadian Province.

As missionaries and supported by papal favour for their founder, Redemptorists were able to spread Liguori's teachings in the second half of the nineteenth century wider than if they were just territorial parish priests. Whether in Italy or in Ireland, Belgium, Spain, the United States, or Canada, Redemptorists preached conversion through confession, perfection through devotional piety, and perseverance through parish organizations. The success of the liguorian moral revolution did not help vocations dramatically, but in this case, statistics do not reveal the Redemptorists' influence. Their numerical unimportance and their one to four-week transiency in the mission fields, unlike the Oblates or the Jesuits, have brought people to overlook Redemptorist influence in nineteenth-century Canada. First Alphonsus Liguori, then the Redemptorist missions and, lastly, the Redemptorist parishes were at the root of the Catholic moral revival in nineteenth century Canada. Perhaps historians should examine the Redemptorists of the twentieth century to understand the consequences of Redemptorist teachings on the Catholic world.

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<sup>59</sup> ARPT (753-07) Lawrence KISSNER, « History of the Juvenates in the U.S.A. » ms. 8 p. Also AGR (Provincia Belgica, Visitatio) 1892 September 25 « Rapport sur la Province Belge en 1892 » by Provincial Dubois, C.Ss.R.