

COMMUNICATIONES

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THE REDEMPTORIST MISSION IN CANADA THEORY AND PRACTICE, 1865-1885¹

Between December 10, 1865 and January 2, 1866 in Montreal's St. Patrick's church, ten Redemptorist missionaries from the United States heard over 15,000 confessions, helped with almost one thousand confirmations administered by the bishops of Toronto and Montreal, converted twenty-five Protestants, administered the Temperance pledge to two thousand and vigorously denounced secret societies. The mission was so successful that it became known in Rome and throughout Redemptorist circles in North America as the classic example of a North American Redemptorist English mission and was often cited as the first real mission given in Canada². Since historians of Catholicism in North America, Jay Dolan

¹ I would like to thank the Redemptorist Province of Toronto for funding this article presented to the Canadian Society of Church History at Carleton University, June 8, 1993, and the Province of Baltimore for allowing me access to the primary materials on which most of this article is based.

² Joseph WUEST C.Ss.R., *Annales Congregationis Ss. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae* (10 volumes, Ilchester-Boston 1888-1924) V.1:59, 88-90, 169-72; Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, Brooklyn, New York [RABP] 165 (Detroit) Annals; Archives of the Redemptorist General Government, Rome [AGR] Baltimore (Labores apostolici 1832-1868) «Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum Provinciae Americanae ab Anno 1865, 1866, 1867 & 1868» p.12, «Haec missio erat prima in terra quae in ditone Victoriae, Reginae Britanniae quae est Canada ...»; also AGR Baltimore (Personalialia) R.P. Lorenzo Holzer «Missione data a Monreale nel Canada del giorni 8 Dic. al 1 Genn. 1866 dai Padri Redentoristi Holzer, Smulders, Schneider, Dold, Giesen, Wagrigh, Erimm, Bradley, Kreis e Neithart» [sic]. So many Fenians, members of the secret anti-British Irishmen with headquarters in the United States, were reconciled to the Church, Wuest states, that the Montreal Fenian organization collapsed; Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto [ARCAT] L TA01.03, 1866 July 3, Provincial Joseph Helmprecht, C.Ss.R., to Lynch; 1866 July 11, Helmprecht to Lynch; L AH16.25, 1871 September 9, Lynch to Mr. Powley; Wuest V.2:17S (1869); AGR Baltimore (Provincialia) 1866 February 15, Helmprecht to Superior General Nicholas Mauron.

for the United States, Murray Nicolson for the Irish in Canada, Serge Gagnon and Nive Voisine for French Canada, have all cited the Redemptorist mission as an important event in the Roman Catholic mind, this paper will describe the typical Canadian Redemptorist mission³. Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission was so successful that the mission itself was frozen into a form that hardly changed until the Second Vatican Council. As such, the typical mission described here is, with only some qualifications, valid for Canada in the period 1865 to 1965 and beyond, since several individual Redemptorists continue to give missions today, sometimes almost as successfully, as they did thirty years ago. This paper also asks in passing: does the Redemptorist mission — and by extension, the Catholic mission — of the nineteenth century differ significantly from Protestant missions?

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the American Redemptorists turned to Father Joseph Wissel, a veteran of the missions in the United States and Canada, to codify the mission rules⁴. Wissel wrote what eventually became the three-volume *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*⁵. From 1875 to 1912 Wissel copied and preserved the English and German sermons from the oldest Redemptorist missionaries in America and made outlines to be used by new Redemptorist missionaries. Wissel's reminder that his outlines were guides and that each missionary had to develop his own style and adapt to different audiences to be most effective was usually lost in the drive for uniformity and in the realization that the English or Irish Catholic audiences throughout North America were generally homogeneous. So, later North Ame-

³ Jay P. DOLAN, *Catholic Revivalism. The American Experience (1830-1900)* (Notre Dame 1978), and *The Immigrant Church. New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore 1975) 155-8; among his many writings, Murray NICOLSON, «The Education of a Minority: The Irish Family Urbanized» in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada* ed. by Robert O'DRISCOLL and Lorna REYNOLDS, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988) II:759-84; Serge GAGNON, *Plaisir d'amour et crainte de dieu. Sexualité et confession au Bas-Canada* (Sainte-Foy 1990) 38 n. 62; Nive VOISINE with Philippe SYLVAIN, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Volume 2. Réveil et consolidation. Tome 2. 1840-1898* (Montreal 1991) 312-3; also Jean HAMELIN, and Nicole GAGNON, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Volume 3. Le XXe siècle. Tome 1. 1898-1940* (Montreal 1984) 339. There is a growing historiography about the Redemptorist mission in other countries: for example, John SHARP, *Reapers of the Harvest. The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland 1843-1898* (Dublin 1989).

⁴ RABP 324 (Helmpraecht) «Circulare Pl. Revdi P. Provincialis» 26 March 1873, which included a lengthy circular from Mauron; also printed in WUEST V.3:135-49.

⁵ Joseph WISSEL, C.Ss.R., *The Redemptorist on the American Missions* 3 vol., (Norwood, Massachusetts 1920³).

rican Redemptorists memorized and delivered the sermons much as the early missionaries had done. Wissel's book was reprinted, minus the German sermons, in 1920, and was used by the Canadians, the Americans, and was consulted by Europeans until the Second Vatican Council⁶. Wissel's outlines therefore remain our best and most representative description of the traditional Redemptorist mission in North America.

In his classic definition of the Redemptorist mission, Wissel declares:

A Mission consists of a series of sermons and instructions preached, in connection with administration of the Sacraments, to an organized congregation, for the purpose of making them better Catholics. ... A true Mission, therefore, is that which, after restoring the grace of God to those who have fallen [through the confessional], renews the people in their belief in Christ and Church, teaches sound principles of morality, and re-establishes the pious frequentation of the Sacraments⁷.

In other words, the Redemptorist mission is «an extraordinary work of the apostolate with the purpose of making 'better Catholics' of the people of a parish.» Nineteenth century Redemptorist missions were directed at getting Roman Catholics back to the sacraments and to the Church. Hence, Redemptorist missionaries are in general auxiliaries to an established Catholic parish community and to Catholic clergy; in general they are not missionaries to non-Christians or even to non-Catholics.

Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, had fixed the shortest mission at ten days. Longer missions were the norm⁸. North American Redemptorists gave missions in blocks of between eight and ten days, overlapping two Sundays, multiplied by the number of groups a parish could be divided. Missions could be preached to the entire parish in eight days, or it could be dou-

⁶ RABP 325 (Schauer) 1884 December 30, Mosciska, Galicia, Austria, Fr. Bernard Lubienski, C.Ss.R., to Fr. Procurator, Joseph Wuest, C.Ss.R.; Lubienski saw little difference between Austrian and American missions and wanted to purchase Wissel's volumes for use in Galicia; 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 Elias F. Schauer recommends Wissel's *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*.

⁷ WISSEL 1:3-4.

⁸ Giuseppe ORLANDI, C.Ss.R., *La missione popolare redentorista in Italia. Dal settecento ai giorni nostri* in «*Spic. Hist.*» 33:1 (1985) 51-141.

bled and given first to the women and then to the men, or it could be divided again into an eight day mission for the children, eight days for the women and then another mission for the men. If the parish was very large or the church very small, a four week mission could be preached to the young women, to the young men, to the married women, and then to the married men. Throughout the nineteenth century, Redemptorists attracted women and children first in order to have them prevail upon the men to attend. This presupposes a Victorian, some one would say biblical, stratification of sin or innocence by sex and age, but research has found that women, in general, were indeed present in greater numbers at the Redemptorist mission and, later, at the Redemptorist parish activities, devotions, and societies. Several theories to explain women's greater attraction to the Redemptorist mission have been put forward, but none have yet been accepted⁹.

There were three sermons each day, a short instruction in the morning, one in the afternoon, and a long one in the evening. The short morning instructions dwelled on prayer such as the Our Father, devotions such as the rosary, and summaries of previous night topics. The afternoon instructions were geared to the practical aspects of Christian life adapted to the audience attending that day: marital duties, children, family life, temperance, education, and parish societies. In the great evening sermons, missionaries preached the «Eternal Truths»: the «urgency of working out one's salvation, the malice of mortal sin and its punishment, the inevitability and the justice of general judgment, and the pains of hell»¹⁰. Sin, death, judgment, and hell were usually given in the first days of a mission to seize the hearers' attention, gain a larger audience for the rest of the mission, and predispose the hearers to confession. The remaining evening sermons presented Christ, conversion, confession, and salvation and, perhaps, a special sermon tailored to the audience. For example, temperance would be preached to Irish Canadians. The Saturday sermons on devotion to Mary and the Sunday morning sermon on perseverance summarized the many devotional practices and attitudes developed at length during the week and closed the mission.

⁹ Reginald BIBBY notes the same higher participation of women in all religious groups: *Fragmented Gods. The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto, Irwin Publishing 1987) 100-2; the research should soon be published in a one-volume history of the Redemptorists in English Canada.

¹⁰ ARPT (577-04) «Redemptorist Missions. Nature, Object and Structure» (ms, na, nd).

Missions were meant to be logical, popular, simple and, above all, persuasive. To succeed they aimed at the heart as well as the mind. If length in Wissel's work is any indication, most North American Redemptorists were better trained to preach on hell than heaven, but it also shows that hell was a popular subject. The historians Serge Gagnon, Nive Voisine, and Murray Nicolson state that nineteenth century preachers whipped their hearers into remorse and drove them tearful to the confessional terrified by the fear of damnation and begging God's mercy; all of the preachers cited are Redemptorists. Redemptorist Provincial Elias Schauer insisted that if the eternal truths were preached «they should not be preached in such a manner that people can say, [...] «Oh! If hell is not worse than that, then I don't care if I go there»¹¹.

Although missions were often measured by the number of confessions, Schauer also stated, «It should be borne in mind that the end of the mission is not simply to have the confessions of the people heard, but to effect a change in their lives through constant attendance at a series of sermons and instructions which prepare them to receive the sacraments with more than usual care and profit»¹². More than confession, above all, the missionaries sought conversion to Christian perfection as defined by the Roman Catholic Church. This kind of conversion, over a period of time, through devotion to Christ in the Sacraments makes the Catholic revival experience in North America significantly different from the Protestant emphasis on conversion to Christ. The Redemptorist missionary dealt for the most part with already baptized christian Catholics.

Once relieved of the burden of sin through confession, the renewed Roman Catholic was sent to participate in the sacramental and devotional life of the parish in order to persevere in the paths of conversion, perfection, and salvation. The Redemptorist missio-

¹¹ Emphasis in the original. RABP 325 (Schauer) «Provincial Regulations for Missions» [1884]. The Saint John, New Brunswick, *New Freeman* of September 14, 1907, described the mission in the following terms: «The Redemptorist Fathers in preaching missions base their sermons on the fear of God. They prove the importance of salvation, the malice of sin, the terror of judgment, the punishment of hell, close with resolutions for leading a Christian life and the means of perseverance. As a rule they give a renewal mission the following year and then base their discourses on the love of God, speaking on the end of man and the love of God as shown particularly in the Sacraments which He has left to His Church.» See ARPT (local archive of St. Peter's, Saint John, N.B.) «Scrapbook 1907-1914».

¹² RABP 325 (Schauer) [1886] «Dear Rev. Father: ...». Form letter sent to parish priests before a mission.

naries moved on, returning to the parish to preach a renewal or summary of the mission to reach those who had not made the mission, help backsliders, remind the parishioners again of God's forgiveness and love as shown particularly in the sacraments of the Church, teach the practice of the devout life, promote the sacramentals, such as the scapulars, crucifixes, medals, pictures, candles, the rosary, prayer books and, above all, the parish associations, such as the Holy Family. Together the mission and the renewal comprised the complete Redemptorist mission and, united with organization, oratory, and solemnity, became a powerful experience for thousands.

In 1871, the Holy See named Saint Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, *Doctor Zelantissimus*, Most Zealous Doctor of the Church¹³. In 1873 the new Archbishop of Quebec, Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, prompted by Saint Alphonsus' growing fame and by the success of the recent Montreal mission and renewals, invited the Redemptorists to take over St. Patrick's Church in Quebec City¹⁴. The Redemptorist missionaries then fanned across English Canada, reaching Winnipeg, in Manitoba, in 1881¹⁵.

A successful French mission in the Sulpician Montreal parish of Notre Dame in the spring of 1878 brought forty thousand visitors daily and from nineteen to twenty-four thousand confessions¹⁶. The Archbishop of Quebec then thought of offering the Redemptorists the care of the St. Anne-de-Beaupré pilgrimage shrine¹⁷. Pilgrims from across North America increased from between 20,000 and 40,000 to over 115,000 annually by the end of the century. The Redemptorists crowned the statue of St. Anne in Beaupré after

¹³ ARCAT LPS 5401, 1871 July 7, Letter from Pius IX.

¹⁴ ARPT 501.03, «Agreement ...» signed by Taschereau and Mauron. AGR Baltimore Localia Quebec, «Agreement» signed by Mauron 1873 October 15.

¹⁵ ARPT Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec, 1881 October 8; RABP 595.3 (Quebec - St. Patrick) mission report by W. Loewekamp, C.Ss.R. for 1881. A mission was held in St. Mary's Church, Winnipeg, between October 16 and 25.

¹⁶ RABP 325 (Schauer) 1878 March 12, Anton Konings to Schauer; 1878 March 26, Konings to Schauer; 1878 April 2, Father James Hogan of St. Ann's Church, Montreal, to Father Keitz; 1878 April 6, Konings to Schauer [re the number of confessions and the Jansenism in Montreal]; for Sulpician reactions, 1878 April 30, Father V. Rousselot of Notre Dame, Montreal, to Schauer; RABP 528 (Rochester) «Domus Roffensis 1878» for a short description of the mission.

¹⁷ Michael J. CURLEY, C.Ss.R., *The Provincial Story: A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* 184; for primary source, see AGR Baltimore (Provincialia) 1878 April 20 and 1878 September 5, Schauer to Mauron.

she was declared a patroness of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. The sodality of St. Anne spread throughout French North America¹⁸.

A mission tour reached Toronto's St. Michael's Cathedral, St. Mary's, and St. Paul's churches in 1880. The missionaries energetically established the Purgatorian Society, the sections of the Holy Family, and confessed and gave retreats to the various communities, such as the Sisters of the Precious Blood. Archbishop Lynch mounted the pulpit at the end of the 1880 mission in his cathedral and asked the people to pray that the Redemptorists would remain in Toronto to «do a world of good as city missionaries and as a centre of missionary action for the whole Province, and even the whole Dominion.» The Redemptorists took over St. Patrick's parish in downtown Toronto¹⁹.

Toronto's *Globe* of January 14, 1881 published a full page description of the Redemptorists. Redemptorists were:

members of one of the most ascetic, zealous, and active religious Orders in the Roman Catholic Church. ... a proselytizing agency second only, if indeed it is second, to the Jesuits themselves. ... When they began a mission they were to take it for granted ... that ignorance of ... faith and morals was the rule, and by simple, fervent, declamatory sermons, not unmingled with wonderful stories as to purgatory, hell, and the glories of the Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to draw the people heavenwards or to terrify them into morality. Their chief means of grace was to be the confessional, the skill in whose manipulation the fathers gave nearly the whole of their attention during their time of study. ... Its fathers were, therefore, ROUGH AND READY in their mode,

¹⁸ Jean-Pierre ASSELIN, *Les Rédemptoristes au Canada. Implantation à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré 1878-1911* (Montréal 1981) 86; for the Belgian Redemptorists, Jérôme VAN LANDEGHEM, C.Ss.R., «Onze Redemptoristen in dienst van de Oekraïeners» in Robert HOUTHAEVE, *De Gekruisigde Kerk van de Oekraïne en het Offer van Vlaamse Missionarissen* (Izegem: Uitgeverij 1990) 321-47; also Armand BONI, C.Ss.R., *Pioniers in Canada, Belgische Redemptoristen in de provincies Quebec, Manitoba en Saskatchewan* (De Kinkhoren: Bruge-Brussel 1945).

¹⁹ For a brief history of the Redemptorists in Toronto, see Paul LAVERDURE, «The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. The Redemptorists (Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris), C.Ss.R.» *Walking the Less Travelled Road. A History of the Religious Communities within the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991* (The Archdiocese of Toronto, Toronto 1993) 122-4; for Lynch's appeal, ARPT Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec, 1880 December [p.211]. For the offer, ARCAT A92 (General Correspondence 1880-1920) 1880 September 21, Burke to Lynch; see also Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec, 1880 February 2 and the newspapers, such as *The Hamilton Spectator*; RABP 325 (Schauer) 1880 November 18, Joseph Henning, C.Ss.R., to Schauer, and ARPT 210.

rather than polished and refined like the Jesuits, or deeply read like the Benedictines and Dominicans. They were to the religious Congregations what the Franciscans were to the great Orders, impressive preachers depending on their power of moving the multitude by sensationalism, often by vulgarity, rather than by deep, scholarly, and finished theological sermons.

The missions multiplied and in one year alone, from 1882 to 1883, thirty-two missions, several renewals, and nine retreats were preached²⁰.

In 1882 the Boston mission band under Father Joseph Wissel went to Halifax and to the Diocese of Harbor Grace, Newfoundland. The Redemptorists hammered away at the Irish nationalisms of the local people and upheld the universal nature of the Church. The successes were astounding. The bishop of St. John's, priests, and people, after longstanding conflicts over previous episcopal appointments, were reconciled to the new bishop of Harbor Grace²¹. There were over thirteen thousand confessions in the church of St. John's, Newfoundland²². Priests and laity inquired about joining; a new archbishop of Halifax, Cornelius O'Brien, offered the Redemptorists a foundation in Bermuda to keep them in his diocese²³. The missionaries travelled to Prince Edward Island in 1883 and 1884 and gave another series of successful missions²⁴. Wissel became so identified with the Redemptorist mission in Canada that bishops wrote him for foundations²⁵. Bishop John Sweeney approached

²⁰ RABP 595.5 (Toronto, St. Patrick) «St. Patrick's Toronto - 81»; «St. Patrick's - Toronto - 1883»; «St. Patrick's Toronto - 1884»; see also ARCAT A92 «Redemptorist Missions & Renewals».

²¹ RABP Annals 1882 «Circa Missiones in Nova Scotia et Terra Nova»; Annals of St. Patrick's, Toronto, 1882 February 19, 1882 October 7, 1883 November 9-18; RABP 325 (Schauer) 1882 April 26, Wissel to Father Joseph Keitz, C.Ss.R.; the history of these Newfoundland controversies is summarized in Latin in RABP Annals 1882:273-8. Joseph Wissel summarized it all even further by saying «The cause is too intense 'Irishism', the Franciscan Friars, and opposition between the bishops; see RABP 325 (Schauer) 1882 June 3, Wissel to Schauer. Wissel's description of the end of the mission is in 1882 November 17.

²² AGR Baltimore (Provincialia) 1882 December 19, Schauer to Mauron.

²³ RABP Annals 1884; RABP 325 (Schauer) 1885 December 10, O'Brien to Michael Oates, C.Ss.R.

²⁴ ARPT Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec, 1883 June. See also ARPT 620-15, 1884 August 27; RABP unfiled material «Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Boston 1884» shows that the Boston house held 28 missions, 9 renewals, and 7 retreats in 1884; thirteen of the missions were in Prince Edward Island and all nine renewals were in Newfoundland.

²⁵ RABP 325 (Schauer) 1882 April 11, Wissel to Schauer about Halifax; ARCAT A92 «General Correspondence 1880-1920» undated letter from Wissel to «Most Rev'd Father!» about Saint John, New Brunswick; RABP 595.4 (St. John, N.B., St. Peter) 1883 May 22, Wissel to Schauer. Also 1883 November 14, Sweeney to Schauer.

Wissel for a foundation in a suburb of Saint John, New Brunswick. On Wissel's recommendation, the house began in 1884²⁶.

The most memorable mission, however, was one that caused an international incident reported in newspapers around the world. Bay Roberts on Conception Bay is thirty miles from St. John's. After the missions of 1883, at the height of the Orange Order's power, five men died as a result of the St. Stephen's Day Parade. During the inquiry, several pointed at the Redemptorist preaching as one of the causes of the tensions between Catholics and Protestants. Five residents swore before a magistrate that they heard one say that «... the Protestant religion was established by Queen Elizabeth who was an illegitimate child - that is a bastard.» Another five stated that they heard the Redemptorists

preach to the effect, «... put a collar on a monkey's neck and he would make a first class Wesleyan preacher.» [They] further stated that the priests asked, «What can you think of the Church of England when it sprang from a bastard? ... From Elizabeth down, we may call the Protestants a set of whores and bastards»²⁷.

The missionaries were subsequently heckled on their way to and from the church and during the night. Orangemen built an arch flying Orange flags under which the missionaries and the Catholics had to pass to go to the church. When this did not satisfy the roughs of the place and violence was threatened, the Redemptorists broke off the mission and went on to North River and Harbor Main. They returned with Bishop MacDonald of Harbor Grace who refused to go under the Orange arch. The Redemptorists demanded protection, but the Bay Roberts magistrate refused to admit that the priests were in danger. The Redemptorists, as American citizens, then called on the American consul in St. John's who wired and received the gunship H.M.S. Tenedos, which were given orders to protect the Orangemen! «On being interviewed the Fathers said that they had completed their mission at the Bay at

²⁶ AGR Baltimore (Provincialia) 1883 August 28, and November 27, Schauer to Consul General Michael Ulrich; ARTP (266); see also «Conventio inter Rmum Dnum J. Sweeny, D.D. et Pl. Rev. Elias E. Schauer C.Ss.R. English & Latin Original and Copies»; For possession, AGR Baltimore (Provincialia) 1884 August 4, Schauer to Ulrich.

²⁷ Elinor SENIOR, «The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland 1863-1890» (M.A., Memorial University of Newfoundland 1960), especially 139-72, «The Harbour Grace Affray» 150, cited also in Kildare DOBBS, «Newfoundland and the Maritimes: An Overview» in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada* I:182.

the point of the bayonet and at the muzzle of the Gatling guns»²⁸.

Bishop Edouard-Charles Fabre offered St. Ann's parish in Montreal and Belgian Redemptorists were officially installed on September 30, 1884²⁹. Within a year, the Belgians launched missions identical to their European missions with three sermons daily, solemn procession and setting up of the mission cross, sermons about the Holy Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin Mary, a brilliantly lighted and decorated altar, solemn benediction, and other mission acts³⁰. To learn English and the slight differences between a North American and a Belgian mission, the Belgians invited Wissel and his mission band to give an English mission in St. Ann, Montreal, and participated in Wissel's missions in Charlotte-town, Prince Edward Island³¹. All of the missions, French and English, became interchangeable.

Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission in Canada both for the Redemptorists and for the Catholic Church was successful. Successful uniformity was further promoted by Wissel's handbook, *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*³². More missions and then more offers of foundations came each year as the

²⁸ RABP 325 (Schauer) 1884 December 4, Joseph Henning, C.Ss.R., to Schauer. He suggests that Schauer have the United States government send ships to protect the American Redemptorists «in that savage country». See also 1884 December 12, where he writes «From a dispatch in the *New York Cath. Herald* I see that appeal has been made to the U.S. government for protection for the Bostonians in Newfdland [sic].» Henning summarized the incident privately for Provincial Schauer that one of the missionaries consciously or unconsciously roused the «smouldering fire» of Protestant bigotry into flames. The Redemptorist story is told in William E. LICKING, C.Ss.R., *Remiscences of the Redemptorist Fathers Rev. John Beil, Rev. Patrick M'Guern, Rev. John O'Brien, Rev. Leopold Petsch* (Ilchester Maryland, 1891) 126-59. «From the *New Zealand Tablet*» 1885 February 13 and March 20 p.13 also recounts some of the incidents, although in garbled form.

²⁹ RABP 595.2 (Montreal St. Ann) 1884 August 17, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R., to [Schauer].

³⁰ ARPT «Archivum domus ad Sanctae Annae Marianopoli. Chronicum ministerii externi», 1885 October 18-28.

³¹ AER Belgium (Vice Provincia Canadensis) 1889 February 8, Catulle to [Fr. Lelouchier, C.Ss.R.]; also 1889 November 20, Catulle to Father Provincial [Schauer]; Redemptorist Archives of the North Brussels Province [RANBP] «Amerika», 1887 April 21, Archbishop Cornelius O'Brien of Halifax to Jean Tielen; RABP 325 (Schauer) 1888 September 26, O'Brien to [?]; RANBP «Montréal», 1887 May 13, Bishop Duhamel to Jean Kockerols.

³² ARPT (265-02) «Missions» and also ARPT «Provincialia» [Scrapbook of letters from the Baltimore Provincial sent to St. Patrick's, Quebec City, 1880-1914] 1887 April 15, Schauer circular letter; for Wissel's continued popularity in the Maritimes, RABP 325 (Schauer) 1888 June 4, Archbishop C. O'Brien to Schauer; *The Halifax Morning Herald* for Saturday, April 1, 1882, reported Wissel's sermon in local news as «magnificently delivered and was listened to with close attention ...»; he was invited to give the mission in Toronto's St. Patrick's church in 1890 see RABP 595.5 (Toronto, St. Patrick) «Relatio ad chronistam Provinciale facienda de Missione habita.»

Redemptorist reputation continued to grow. Popular preaching and short-term intensity, similar to the Protestant revival, seemed perfectly adapted to the masses of people attending the mission, but the message of the missions, reconciliation and perfection in the Church through its sacraments was significantly different from the Protestant revival message.

Between 1865 and 1885 the Redemptorists experienced so much popular mission success that they became permanently established in every major city of Canada. Was success due to Alphonsus' message of reconciliation and perfection through the sacraments within the context of the Catholic parish? Yet Protestant preachers were successful with a different message. Was success due to the technique? Dramatic, popular preaching gained a hearing from everyone. Or was it the audience? Any religious revival had a good chance of success among a culturally, socially, and spiritually starved immigrant audience. Furthermore, a different audience, although still European, welcomed the same techniques and the same message in Catholic Europe. No matter, the technique froze into a pattern which would not change until the Second Vatican Council.