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THE AMERICAN REDEMPTORISTS
IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1832-1862

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1. Introduction

When Brother Joseph Reisach began writing his memoirs, he was forty-eight. Born on January 21, 1808 in Innsbruck in the Tyrol, Austria, he was twenty-four in 1832 when he left Vienna for America. His Austrian passport describes him as Catholic, short, with a long face, brown hair and eyes, a pointy nose and a pleasant mouth, with no other distinguishing marks; an ordinary looking man. Twenty-four years later, Brother Joseph still wrote in the

Abbreviations:

ABA American Baptist Archives Centre, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

ARCAT Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

ARPT Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Toronto.

AGHR Redemptorist General Archives Rome.

RABP Archives of the Redemptoris Province of Baltimore, Brooklyn.

UCA Archives of the United Church of Canada, Toronto.

WUEST JOSEPH WUEST, C.Ss.R., *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*

Provinciae Americanae 5 volumes in 9 books, with two books of documents in *Supplementum ad I-II-III* (Ilchester, 1888-1924).

cramped, corrupt old-fashioned German script of a man who had spent his adult life in manual labour. He finished his writing early in 1857. In a young country, peopled by young immigrants, he was already old. Five years later, in 1862, Brother Joseph, the first man to join the Redemptorists in America, died of a heart attack. His writings rest almost hidden in a filing cabinet in the basement archives of the Redemptorist Baltimore Province, in Brooklyn, New York. There and not in Europe can be found the early history of the Redemptorists in British North America, a footnote to the history of the Redemptorists in the United States.¹

2. Joseph Reisach comes to North America

Shortly after the first Viennese Redemptorists left for the American Midwestern Michigan Territory in 1832, Joseph Reisach, then a student in Vienna, asked Joseph Passerat, the Redemptorist Vicar General, to become a Redemptorist. To test Reisach's vocation, Passerat sent him to join the American missionaries. Reisach travelled from Vienna, through Portugal and arrived in New York in 1833. After learning some English in New York, Reisach made his way to the Michigan Territory and presented himself as a candidate to the Redemptorists in Green Bay, now Green Bay, Wisconsin, in July 1833.

The Superior, Simon Saenderl, assigned the hopeful candidate to help Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher who was working between Sault Sainte Marie and Detroit, now part of the State of Michigan.² The Redemptorists gave missions, renewals, and spiritual retreats in French, the international language of the day and the language of most of the Catholics -French Canadians, Metis, and some Natives- in the Northern United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within a short time, the Redemptorists,

¹ RABP Personnel files, Brother Joseph Reisach's manuscript has been transcribed in WUEST, *Supplementum* pars 1, 278-310. For Reisach's description: RABP "Reisepass. Passaporto imperiale regio austriaco", 1847 January 22.

² MICHAEL J. CURLEY, C.Ss.R., *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 in North America until 1875, when the continent was divided into two provinces, east (Baltimore) and west (St. Louis). See also TH. ROEMER, O.F.M.Cap. *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States*, New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XII, 1933.

especially Father Saenderl, also preached in the Iroquoian dialects of the Ottawa and the Ojibway tribes.³ And, with time, Redemptorists learned English among the Irish immigrants, but the rapidly growing German Catholic community also needed religious services in its own language. Coming from the Austrian Empire, the Redemptorists were well prepared for the polyglot nature of the American frontier.

3. Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher, C.Ss.R.

Joseph Reisach learned that Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher was no exception. Born the son of a dairy woman in 1784, Haetscher ran away from home as a young man to enlist in the Austrian army. A few years later he deserted and spent some years in Paris. At Napoleon's fall, he made his way back to Vienna where he heard the Redemptorist Clement Hofbauer preaching. Hofbauer brought Haetscher to repent of the life he led as a soldier, a deserter, and a vagrant. Haetscher joined the Redemptorists in October 1814 at the age of twenty-nine. In fact, he had been a Redemptorist barely two months when he was ordained with the intention of being a missionary in the Ottoman Empire. He had rushed through theology during his novitiate. Bulgaria and Turkey proved inhospitable to a Catholic priest, so he settled in the Ottoman Province of Wallachia, presently southern Romania; he was also expelled from there after a few years. Returning to the Viennese monastery, he was soon sent by Father Passerat to the mission field of North America. Almost on arrival, Haetscher preached the first Redemptorist eight-day mission in America, in Tiffin, Ohio, fell ill with cholera while helping the plague victims in the Detroit area, survived, and within two weeks was preaching again. Tall, strong and healthy, with a wide experience of people and languages, Father Haetscher endured the pri-

³ For summaries of this episode, see EDUARD HOSP, C.Ss.R., *Erbe des hl. Klemens Hofbauer. Erlösermissionäre (Redemptoristen) in Österreich 1820-1951*, Vienna 1953, 295-300, and the monthly magazine *Klemens-Blätter. Monatschrift des Volksmissionäre vom Heiligsten Erlöser*, March 1949 to January 1951. In English, CARL HOEGERL, C.Ss.R., has summarized the relevant sections of Hosp's work in "With Francis X. Haetscher, C.Ss.R., in Detroit, 1832" in *The Province Story. A Redemptorist Historical Review - Baltimore Province* 4/1 (June 19, 1978) 14-26.

mitive conditions. He was forty-nine, the eldest of the first missionaries.⁴

4. Reisach and Haetscher in the Sault Sainte Marie area

In September of 1833, Haetscher and Reisach, alone in Green Bay, tended to the Menominees and finished the building of a chapel. They left to join Father Saenderl working with the Ottawas in Arbre Croche, now Harbor Springs, Michigan. Haetscher and Brother Reisach left Arbre Croche on November 22, 1833, for Detroit.⁵ In early July of 1834 Bishop Frederic Rese of Detroit sent Haetscher to Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, to establish a permanent mission among the French Canadians and the Winnebago Indians.⁶ Formerly, Mass had been celebrated in a private house on Water Street by visiting priests; Haetscher and Reisach built a log chapel. Within a short time conversions increased and Reisach noted how one

“... old chief came to the fathers’ cabin with a [French] Canadian interpreter. Entering and taking off his cloak, he cast it upon the floor and sat upon it, stark naked. In no way embarrassed either by shame or by the cold, the chief asked Saenderl to receive himself and his tribe into the Catholic Church. ... Each week from twenty to thirty Indians trooped into the cabin to learn about the true God.”⁷

⁴ CARL MADER, C.Ss.R., *Die Congregation des Allerheiligsten Erlösers in Österreich. 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, 408 re Haetscher’s career throughout the Northern United States, Europe, and Turkey. For a popular account of Haetscher’s American years, see JOHN M. LENHART, O.Cap., “Francis Xavier Haetscher, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary and Pioneer Priest (1832-1837)”, in *Social Justice Review* 1952 January, pp. 308-311; February, pp. 340-342; March, pp. 366-368; April, pp. 19-22; May, pp. 49-53. For the origin of many Catholic settlers, see February, 341. The Review contains translations of primary sources from Wuest and from the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* V, Vienna 1833, 28-34. For a summary of the *Berichte*, see *The Catholic Historical Review* 1 (1915-16) 51-63.

⁵ For the date, JOHN F. BYRNE, C.Ss.R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, 47, contrary to WUEST I, 18. See also WUEST I, 445 for travel.

⁶ EDWARD DAY, C.Ss.R., “*The Beginnings of the Redemptorist the United States: 1832-1840*” (Memoire de Licencié en Sciences Historiques. Université Catholique de Louvain, 1958), 76 incorrectly states 1835.

⁷ Reisach in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 285-6. Translation by DAY, 49.

On July 31, 1834, Bishop Rese arrived in Sault Sainte Marie to administer Confirmation to the Winnebagos and French Canadians gathered by Haetscher. The «Catholic Telegraph» of Cincinnati reported how the mission flourished:

“The Indians flocked together from all directions. They were marshalled in orderly array and fired the guns both at the arrival and departure of the Bishop, so that he could scarcely get through the smoke. The Indians had erected a church of bark, open in front. The whole time this mission lasted, was spent in the most solemn and religious exercises, preparing them for the reception of the holy sacraments of baptism, confirmation, penance, Eucharist, extreme unction, and matrimony. More than one hundred were confirmed”.⁸

When it became known that the American bishops had sent priests into the western border areas near the Great Lakes, Canadian bishops requested that these priests visit British territory to help the Catholics scattered there. One Canadian bishop, Reisach states, invited Haetscher to go into the British colony of Upper Canada, now Ontario. Haetscher and Reisach regularly travelled every three weeks by canoe from the American to the Canadian Sault Sainte Marie.⁹ In an abandoned War of 1812 armoury, they built an altar out of a door, because no large table was available. Brother Reisach clearly remembered his adventures in Upper Canada:

⁸ October 10, 1834 (WUEST III, 366).

⁹ Which bishop is unclear. Reisach's testimony, transcribed in WUEST *Supplementum* 1, 301 states “Während dieser Zeit, erhielt er [Haetscher] 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 in einem BlockHause einen Altar aufrichteten.” This agrees with ANTOINE ROY, *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1943-1944* 224, and *Registre des Lettres Mgr Lartigue 1 Dec. 1832 à 27 Octobre 1835* 7, 120, where Mgr Jean-Jacques Lartigue writes 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 ARCAT, document MAC2401, 1834 September 24, and shows the Catholics of Saul Ste. Marie writing to the Right Rev. Alexander McDonnald [sic], Kingston. Byrne 50 does not credit Reisach and assumes the Canadian bishop to be the Bishop of Kingston. Yet the fact that Reisach is talking about Canadians would tend to mean that a French Canadian bishop, i.e., Lartigue, was meant, since the word “Canadian” referred exclusively to French speakers. McDonell would have been considered Scottish, or British. Canada was not formed until 1867 from the British colonies of Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It would take a generation before English speakers began to call themselves Canadians.

"During the late fall and early spring crossing the frozen river was always a matter of mortal danger. Reverend Father Haetscher often crawled on the ice on his hands and knees because the ice was broken and buckled in the middle and yet he could not be held back. The winter is extraordinarily cold and one is not in a position to walk with one's face toward the wind. Throughout the winter we used the lower part of our apartment in the newly built church for Mass, namely 20 to 40 feet. We had set up a very good stove, about ten feet from the altar; I had heated it very well and yet it was not possible to say Mass. While praying the confiteor I could not speak any more but I was completely conscious; the Reverend Father prayed my part as well and went to the altar; during the reading of the Epistle his hands became completely stiff so that he was forced to leave the altar. I saw all of this and was glad that he had to stop; I had already become completely frozen. Only when I tried to stand up did I collapse. They had to carry me to bed..."¹⁰

At another time, Father Haetscher travelled to St. Joseph, about seventy miles from the Sault. Six dogs pulled a sleigh on which Haetscher lay wrapped in buffalo skins, and Natives ran ahead to light fires so he could warm himself when he arrived. Forty miles out from the Sault, he met a Native family that wanted baptism, but because he could not stop long, he told them to learn prayers from nearby Catholics and come to the Sault in the spring to be baptised. After eight days of this kind of travelling, he returned to the Sault, "but he had really suffered because of the extreme cold", Reisach reported. Just before Lent, the family from Upper Canada sledded to the Sault where they were baptised.

The Catholics on the British side of the Sault benefit of services every third Sunday. Shortly after Haetscher arrived among them in September 1834, they asked one of their English-speaking members to draft a petition to the Catholic Archbishop of Kingston, Alexander McDonell. Now that they had a pastor of "their own denomination", they requested money to build a chapel. Forty-five French Canadian names were signed over the name of the drafter of the petition, Doctor William Bell. No help came. McDonell might have been more generous if he had had the means or if he knew that some of the names, such as the entire Cadotte family, were

¹⁰ Reisach in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 301-2.

soon to be added to the ranks of competing churches. The petition was renewed in January of 1835, this time to Upper Canada's Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne, and emphasized that his loyal Canadians had been forced to ask a priest from the American side, because their poverty could not attract a priest all the way from the settled parts of Canada. Colborne, who appointed the Anglican ministers and sent money for the upkeep of the established Church of England in Upper Canada, was kind enough to pass on the letter to McDonell, who still had no money.¹¹

Although the French Canadian Catholics tried to organize a parish, not everyone in the Sault eagerly welcomed the Redemptorists. The earliest records of the Redemptorists' work with the French Canadians, at that time forming the majority of Catholics in the United States and in British North America, were but descriptions of immorality. The Redemptorists chronicled drunkenness, polygamy, wife-swapping, incest and worse. One Redemptorist historian affirmed:

"If the reception of the Sacraments was turning savages into seraphs, all too many Catholic French-Canadians were bent upon degeneration. Most of these half-breed trappers were little more than pagans. For some it had been anywhere from twenty to forty years since they had last seen a priest. One old man remembered vaguely that some sixty years before he had gone to Communion in Montreal for the last time. In every family there were youngsters who had to be baptized. ... Polygamy was a common affair and the trading of wives for a load of hay or a cow was not unheard of. ... many of the Canadian trappers were drunken sots.¹²

They were a bad example to the Natives who were trying to live up to their new-found faith, Father Saenderl lamented. Reisach related several incidents of near escapes:

¹¹ ARCAT MAC24.01, petition dated 24 September 1834 from the Catholics of Sault Ste. Marie to 'Right Rev. Alexander McDonald [sic MacDonell], Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada [sic Kingston]'. MAC24.02, petition dated 12 January 1835 from 'the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, K.B., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada'.

¹² DAY 49, n. 27, AGHR X, E, Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay, 1833 June 26, in WUEST I,246, Byrne 45-6, but the complete text is transcribed and translated into Italian by ANDREAS SAMPERS, in *Spic. Hist.* XVII,1 (1969) 93-101.

"One day, we - the priest and I - were together. (We still lived in the old block-house.) The priest was praying the Breviary and I was working on the windows of the new church, then all at once the door sprang open and this wild man jumped at the priest with clenched fists. I did not hesitate very long. I took my axe and placed myself in front of him saying that he had better get out immediately or I would crack open his head, whereupon he left the room with threats to shoot us to death. Through many nights I kept an axe by my bed. The priest awoke me at the slightest noise."¹³

Protestants also gave the Redemptorists trouble. Religious differences had been flourishing in the Sault area for many years. The first British Protestant missionary, James D. Cameron, a poorly-paid half-Native of the Anglican Missionary Society, led his newly-won followers out of the Church of England and into the American Baptist Church. Soon after Cameron arrived, the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada sent missionaries to the area. The Baptists themselves under the Rev. Abel Bingham of the American Baptist Union had been working in the Sault since 1828.¹⁴ Although the Church of England tried to secure their position by appointing William McMurray to replace Cameron, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America built a church in the Sault, the Natives preferred the Catholic priest, "a true Blackrobe".¹⁵

The American Baptist minister observed:

¹³ Reisch in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 303-5.

¹⁴ For overview, UCA, W. S. WILSON, "A Study of the Religious Developments in the Sault Ste. Marie Area" [June 1962] 14 p. For the Anglicans, 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. For Methodists, "Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan" *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, Tennessee 1974, II,2098. For Methodist personnel, UCA *The Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, from 1824 to 1845, inclusive, ...*, Toronto 1846. The Methodist missionaries were Peter Jones and William Case who brought in James Evans, Jonathan Scott, and Gilbert Miller. For Baptists, ABA, 1836 September 5, Michilimakinak. Rev. James D. Cameron to the Rev. Dr. Lucius Bolles. Cameron claims to be working for the Methodists.

¹⁵ See JOHN CARROLL, *Case and His Contemporaries; or: The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial: Constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada, from its Introduction into the Province till the Death of the Rev. William Case, in 1855* III, Toronto 1871, and the *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, from 1824 to 1845, inclusive; ...* Toronto 1846. See also JOHN WEBSTER GRANT, *Moon of Wintertime. Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1984, for an overview of missionary activity in Canada.

“Since the Catholick priest came here last, our school has till, lately, been reduced to our boarding schollars. ... when the Romish priest came, the children from Catholick families were prevented from coming.”

He added:

“But from some cause they begin to attend again, the school has increased again to 4 or 5 & twenty. Whether it is because his virulence has abated some, or his influence is curtailed, & weakened, I am not able to say. But from the zeal which he displayed last sabbath we should be led to think it is not owing to the former. I am told by those who saw it, that in the 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 publicly declared it to be a great sin for his people to read it”.¹⁶

One can well believe Haetscher of such oratorical flamboyance. He had previously written to Austria that, unlike the French Canadian clergy who were Jansenists and tough on their penitents while tolerant of Protestants, he would be harsh with heretics and soft with sinners.¹⁷

Perhaps in response to Haetscher's preaching and his success in winning several lapsed Catholics from them, or perhaps to forestall any conversions to Catholicism among the Natives, Baptists and Methodist preachers on the British side began a fiery preaching campaign against the Catholic Church and against Haetscher in particular. The Anglicans exhorted their brethren to “overcome the black bird, which had been singing about their ears for some time past, even as the Great God hath overcome the evil spirit”.¹⁸ Bishop Rese of Detroit reported in a letter how the more radical Protestants finally overcame the “black bird”:

¹⁶ ABA, 1835 January 27, Sault-Ste-Marie, Rev. Abel Bingham to the Rev. Lucius Bolles, Baptist Missionary Board, Boston.

¹⁷ Saint Clement Hofbauer, ‘The Apostle of Vienna’, who converted Haetscher, was said to be even more dramatic and primitive in his preaching. See ADAM BUNNELL, *Before Infallibility. Liberal Catholicism in Biedermeyer Vienna*, London, England; Rutherford, New Jersey 1990.

¹⁸ Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room, 277.13 S57 *The Fifth 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 1835*, Toronto 1836, 51.

I can only mention with tears the contemptible vandalism perpetrated on our little chapel at Sault Ste. Marie. The windows were smashed, then the sacred vessels thrown out, crushed and destroyed, the missal torn into a thousand fragments, and after the good Father Haetscher, without a word of complaint, on the eve of All Saints, repaired the damage as best as he could, the whole building was set ablaze by throwing fire into it. The loss is incalculable for us, inasmuch as it is very difficult to obtain here the articles which are indispensable. Yet the affair has turned out unexpectedly in our favor, for the Baptist and Methodist preachers were compelled to seek safety in flight [to Canada] to escape the vengeance of an angry people who now all sympathize with us. Thus a temporal loss and a persecution have brought us much spiritual benefit. Yet it is hard for us to bear it nonetheless".¹⁹

The British Captain Thomas G. Anderson, asked by the Upper Canadian government to report on the cross-border incident, downplayed the destruction of the American chapel by reporting:

"A Roman Catholic Priest, a foreigner, living on the American side, visited the Canadians & [sic] 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 Mr. McMurray [the Anglican missionary] had been compelled to turn him out of his enclosures when he had made his way to Mr. McMurray's Indians and that he had actually caused a Bark Chapel to be built adjoining this [Indian] enclosure, much to the annoyance of Mr. McMurray and his adherents".²⁰

Passing over the damage to the chapel, he urged all of the Natives and the French to join the established Anglican church

¹⁹ Rese to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York, May 21, 1835, printed in *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* IX, Vienna 1836, 42. See also WUEST I, 19, 249-250, translation in BYRNE 49. Confirmed by Reisach who wrote: "One night they stole across the river and, smashing a window, entered the Catholic chapel. The bigots opened the tabernacle and scattered the sacred Hosts all over the plank floor. Someone of them fanatically cut a missal into ribbons."

WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 297, translation by Day 76-7 [October 31, 1834?] who wrote, "the protestant bigots returned to the attack. This time they burned the chapel to the ground".

²⁰ 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.

and stated that the American foreigner had no rights -civil or religious- in British Canada. Captain Anderson and the Anglican Reverend A. Elliot then recommended to the authorities the removal of the French Canadian "squatters" from the banks of the Sault because, the Captain claimed, they corrupted the Natives and "seriously and even violently obstruct the [Anglican] Missionary in the performance of his duty."

After the fire, Haetscher spent the winter at Mackinac. In the spring of 1835, Bishop Rese ordered Haetscher to build a new church in the American Sault. On arrival, he faced "twelve or more" houses of ill-repute that had sprung up over the winter, peopled with women and soldiers unprepared to be model colonists. Haetscher and Reisach lodged with an officer who had deserted from the British army and was married to a Catholic. But dances - seen as occasions of sin- were held at the house, so the Redemptorists left for a forest hut.

The hut was a mile away from the new church building and Reisach was charged with carrying the altar materials back and forth for each Mass. The hut itself soon became a confessional of sorts. Reisach, who got up at four in the morning to get the chapel ready, now found himself saying his prayers outside in the night air while penitents and visitors used the hut to visit Father Haetscher on private matters. One visitor was Abel Bingham, the Baptist minister, who came to debate with Haetscher whether veneration of pictures was image worship or whether Christ or the Pope was the foundation and the head of the Church.²¹ There was little sleep for the candidate brother. Haetscher rewarded Joseph Reisach's perseverance by clothing him in the Redemptorist habit on October 19, 1835. Reisach's formal religious training as a novice began.

5. Withdrawal from the Sault

The next spring, in May of 1836, after the church was finished, Haetscher was called back to Green Bay where the other Redemptorists were working. Perhaps because of the mutual

²¹ ABA, 1836 March 16, Rev. Abel Bingham's Journal.

discord between the rival religious groups, the entire population of the Sault had declined and Haetscher was needed more elsewhere.²² After Haetscher left, the controversies continued to rage in the Sault. Bingham wrote a report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians and denounced Catholic schools as mere tents where catechism was held. Only the Baptists first, then the Congregationalists, next the Methodists should receive any government money.²³ The Catholics were not asked their opinions.

The constant travel, first by order of the Bishop then by Redemptorist superiors, and finally declining health brought Haetscher to lose any hope that he could help found a permanent Redemptorist house in America. The American economy was in a shambles after the crash of 1837. There had been nothing but poor crops for several years. British North America and the United States were becoming estranged over border disputes; slavery which the British empire prohibited since 1832 caused more border incidents as an underground railway spirited American slaves through Detroit and into the British colonies. The Canadian colonies were experiencing financial and agricultural troubles that would lead to their Rebellions in 1837. In such turmoil, Haetscher thought his usefulness at an end. Joseph Reisach, however, entered a rigorous six month novitiate in Green Bay and then he and an exhausted Haetscher left for Vienna. One might imagine Haetscher's pessimistic report, for the Viennese Redemptorists were ready to recall the missionaries, but "Brother Joseph by his earnest pleading succeeded in having the decree suspended, and obtained new laborers for the Mission".²⁴

Joseph Reisach himself had originally joined to study for ordination. Given the needs of the North American mission, and the little education he had received on the frontier, his superiors in Vienna thought his carpenter skills more important. In Europe, an ideal Redemptorist monastery held twelve priests and six brothers. In America, where everything - church, rectory, school, and

²² ABA, 1836 August 1, "Eighth Annual Report of the Baptist Mission at Sault Ste-Marie" Rev. Abel Bingham to Rev. Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary, Baptist Missionary Rooms, Boston, for statement of population decline.

²³ ABA, 1836 September 2, Michilimakinak, Abel Bingham and Lucius Garey, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

²⁴ THOMAS W. MULLANEY, C.Ss.R., *Four-Score Years: A Contribution to the History of the Catholic Germans in Rochester*, Rochester 1916, 23.

hall- needed to be built and maintained, the need for brothers equalled the need for priests. The brotherhood became an important calling for those who desired religious life but were not called to ordination or could not complete the studies for the priesthood. Reisach pronounced his vows as a brother on the 19th of March, 1838.²⁵ He immediately volunteered for America but was first assigned to the Viennese house to continue his religious training.

6. The Changes in the American Mission

While Reisach deepened his spiritual life in Vienna, the American mission underwent profound changes. After the Canadian Rebellions, the British Lord Durham's Report recommended that the French Canadians be assimilated in a greater English union of the British colonies. The Act of Union of 1840 thus joined Upper and Lower Canada into the colony of Canada, divided administratively into Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Quebec). During these political troubles, from 1837 to 1840, Redemptorist missionaries ceased travelling into British North America. There was work enough in the United States for the Redemptorists, because German immigration had swelled. A potato rot, later to reach Ireland, spread rapidly across Germany to reach crisis proportions. In 1834 there were already 40,000 Germans making their way to the United States. That increased to 86,000 in 1839, 101,000 in 1844, 285,000 in 1849, and 654,000 in 1854.²⁶ Shortly before Reisach left the United States in 1837, the Superior, Joseph Prost, decided to concentrate on the urban Catholic immigrants, especially the Germans who had almost no priests working for them. In 1841 a new superior from Vienna, Alexander Czvitkovitz, decided to dedicate the Redemptorist ministry henceforth solely to the German immigrants. In contrast to the many French-speaking religious communities fleeing France's revolutionary and anti-clerical crises, or to the Irish secular priests following their flocks, most of the Redemptorists, from Austria, the

²⁵ RABP personnel file, Reisach, "Verzeichniss".

²⁶ STANLEY NADEL, *Little Germany. Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City 1845-80*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press 1990, 17-19. For Germans in Canada: HEINZ LEHMANN, *The German Canadians 1750-1937. Immigration, Settlement and Culture* tr., ed., and intro. by GERHARD P. BASSLER, St. John's, Newfoundland, Jesperson Press 1986.

German states, or Belgium, were German-speaking and became known as the German Fathers.²⁷

The Redemptorists in America abandoned the attempt to adapt the structured Redemptorist life to the American frontier and to itinerant and often non-Catholic Natives. They reintroduced Clement Hofbauer's model of stable parish missions and work among immigrant urban Catholics. With a change in policy from missionary work to preaching parish missions among the Catholic immigrants, success crowned the Redemptorist search for stability and regular community life. Although Pittsburg (1839) holds claim to being the first canonical foundation of the Redemptorists in America, Redemptorists had been working nearer Canada in Rochester, New York, since 1836 although it was canonically founded in 1839. Monasteries multiplied on the east coast and along the Great Lakes transportation routes the immigrants followed: Redemptorist houses were built in Baltimore (1841), New York (1842), Philadelphia (1843), Buffalo (1845), and Detroit (1846), while Brother Joseph lived in Vienna. The need for more Redemptorist brothers became acute as each foundation, almost a copy of one another, borrowed each others' blue prints and brothers, building larger churches, schools, halls, and rectories.

7. *Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., in the Diocese of Toronto 1843-1852*

On invitation of Bishop Michael Power of Toronto, the former superior of the American mission, Simon Saenderl, had been working in the Diocese of Toronto, especially Waterloo County, since 1843. He had displeased an American bishop with some imprudent newspaper writing and Saenderl's successor as superior thought it better to have him working elsewhere.²⁸ Bishop Michael Power, worried about a possible newspaper controversy in Canada, controlled every word Saenderl wrote, going so far as telling him to forego a printing press unless Saenderl submitted everything, except his German writings, to Power's approval.²⁹ The Bishop also

²⁷ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 39-55 for Prost's reorientation of the Redemptorists to the German immigrants, and 68-70 for Czvitkovitz.

²⁸ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 343, n.110, as well as WUEST, *Supplementum* I,179, 369-70. Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore objected to a newspaper article Saenderl was accused of writing.

²⁹ ARCAT LB01.104 [copy] 1844 February 20, Alexander Czvitkovicz, C.Ss.R., to

insisted that Saenderl make sure property bought by lay people for church use be handed over to the Bishop.³⁰ Furthermore, Bishop Power wrote Saenderl that any lay person who had not paid their dues to the church in Preston, which Saenderl was building, was to be denied Christian burial, causing one scandal when Saenderl refused to bury in consecrated ground the daughter of one of the parishioners who refused to pay his dues.³¹ It is reported that Saenderl attempted to enforce the Bishop's will by threatening to disinter anyone buried without his knowledge and turn it over to a medical school which, according to local tradition, he did, causing him even more trouble among his parishioners.³² Saenderl eventually worked in Wilmot (St. Agatha), Preston, New Germany, Kingsbush (St. Clements), the Huron Tract (South East Hope), Alona near Toronto, Peel County, Chippawa, Rainham, Guelph, Greenwood near London, Puslinch, Woolwich, and Wellesley where he dedicated a church to St. Alphonsus, later named St. Clement's. Pleased with Saenderl, in 1845 Bishop Power of Toronto, faced with clergy shortages and a growing German Catholic population, renewed his invitation of 1843 to the Redemptorists to found a monastery in his diocese.³³

Clergy shortage in the United States brought Saenderl's superiors to request his return in 1846, but a long series of misunderstandings cut him off from the Congregation. Working alone in the Toronto Diocese, he deposited his income in the Toronto parish of St. Paul's. Ordered to report to his superior in Monroe, Michigan, Saenderl suffered a fall from his horse in Berlin, now Kitchener, broke his leg and lost his horse. He was found by a passing traveller and nursed back to health in Berlin, but it was some time before he could walk, and more time before he could send

the Bishop of Toronto, Michael Power. LB01.105 [copy] 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 [copy] 1845 August 18, p. 223-224, Power to A. Czveskovicz [sic for Czvitkovicz]. For Power's decision re the printing press, ARCAT LB02.252 [copy], 1845 August 26, Bishop Michael Power of Toronto to Father Simon Saenderl.

³⁰ ARCAT LB02.158 [copy] 8 May 1844, Bishop Michael Power to R[everend] F[ather] S. Sanderl, C.S.R. [sic], Wilmot, C[anada] W[est].

³¹ ARCAT LB01.256 [copy] 1845 November 12, Power to Saenderl, re Preston. See especially the Rev. THEOBALD SPETZ, C.R., *The Catholic Church in Waterloo County*, Toronto: The Catholic Register and Extension 1916, for fuller information about Saenderl's activities.

³² RABP Provincial's Papers, extract from letter of Paul Balzer, C.Ss.R., to Henry Schorp, C.Ss.R., 1935 September 20.

³³ ARCAT LB02.250 [copy] 1845 August 18, Power to Czitkovicz [sic].

word of his delay. He remained lame for the rest of his life. When he did not appear on the appointed day, the American superior sent a dispensation from his vows to Monroe. Saenderl was accused of breaking his vow of poverty by saving money for personal use; failure to return to his monastery convinced the American Superior of Saenderl's disobedience.³⁴ The Bishop of Toronto wrote Saenderl's superior of the accident, but there is no record of the letter in the Redemptorist Baltimore archives. Luckily, the local superior in Monroe, learning the rest of the story from Saenderl once he arrived, decided not to give the dispensation, but Saenderl accidentally learned of the intended action. Shocked at such hasty and shabby treatment, he demanded his release from the Congregation. He was then immediately accepted into the Diocese of Toronto in September of 1847, where he worked for a short time during the typhus or "ship fever" epidemic that eventually claimed so many lives, including Bishop Power. Saenderl returned to St. Agatha's Parish, Waterloo County, which later became part of the Diocese of Hamilton, Ontario. Soon after he also worked in Guelph, Arthur, and Hamilton, and in 1850 he began a hermitage, now in ruins, on Puslinch Island. During the erection of the building, he left on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return in 1852, his desire for solitude and quiet, as evidenced by the building of the hermitage, gained the upper hand and Saenderl decided to join a contemplative order.³⁵ The first Superior of the Redemptorists in North America, Simon Saenderl, sometimes called the founder of the Redemptorists in America, ended his days a Trappist, in the monastery of Gethsemani, Kentucky in 1879.³⁶

³⁴ For this early interpretation of Saenderl's dispensation, see AGHR 300700 IX (1832-1855) "Index Congregatorum Provinciae Americanae, qui ab initio i.e. ab anno 1832 ad Mensem Majum usque anno 1855 dispensati vel expulsi fuere", WUEST I, 179, and for Saenderl's side of the story, WUEST I, 369-70 and *Supplementum* 2, 95-7. The Superior was Peter Czackert.

³⁵ For evidence of Saenderl's work in Guelph, see RABF to Schorp, 1935 September 20 and the baptismal records from October 31, 1847 to June 23, 1850. For Arthur, ARCAT PAB1206; Guelph, ARCAT PAB1314, 1849 November 16, Saenderl to Bishop Power; also ARCAT C.AB0611, 1850 February 11, Saenderl to Power; ARCAT LB02.158 [copy] 1844 May 8, Power to Saenderl. Also, SPETZ 17-18, 56, 76, 97, 258, JOHN H. GILCHRIST "The History of Puslinch Lake and the Big Island" (Archives 31, Wall Co. Hist. Res. Soc., 1936) typescript; *Annals of Puslinch 1850-1950* (Acton Free Press, Acton, Ontario, n.a., n.d) 82-83.

³⁶ ARCAT LB02.228 [copy] 15 January 1845, Power to Saenderl. AGHR 17 bis Pagani 6.5.1845 and 18 Pagani 21.8.1845. ARCAT LB92.250 [copy] 18 August 1845. Power to Very Rev. A. Czveskovicz [sic]. For a biographical study of Saenderl's travels and life, see JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M. Cap., "Rev. Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary" *Social*

8. *European Priorities, American Needs 1845-1850*

Saenderl's departure was a reaction to the growing conformity within the Redemptorist Congregation. In 1845, the Provincial Superior of Belgium, Frederick von Held, had visited the United States which had been placed in his care. Although von Held had been a disciple of Hofbauer during the revolutionary period of European history, he now lived under Joseph Passerat during the restoration of monarchy, hierarchy, and stability. Both Passerat and von Held moved from adapting the Rule in new conditions to enforcing the rules. In America von Held encouraged all to a stricter regular order.³⁷ Success in founding monasteries and in attracting members from the German-American Catholic community was not so much a result of more regular order but the result of the population explosion in Catholic America. Nor did the Redemptorists overlook the fundamental shift from frontier Native missions to ministry among the urban Catholic immigrants who more readily provided vocations. There was, nevertheless, an overwhelming belief that the European-style regular order was blessed by God and was in the main responsible for success.³⁸ It was thought more regular order and a greater emphasis on the Constitutions and Rules of the Congregation would promote greater success. This stricter mood in America drove Saenderl out of the Congregation, but attracted many others fleeing the chaos of American life. The European Church's priority on stability suited the growing urban immigrant population in the United States.

At the same time, the anti-clerical persecutions building in Austria convinced Redemptorists to flee. Some, such as Haetscher, left for England, but many fled to North America. Brother Joseph Reisach was sent to America in 1847 just before the revolutionary storms broke out across most of Catholic Europe in 1848. The Viennese Redemptorists scattered, as did many other religious

Justice Review 1941 July-August, pp. 130-132; September, pp. 166-168; October, pp. 206-207; November, pp. 242-244; December, pp. 278-280; 1942 January, pp. 314-316; February, pp. 350-353, and March, pp. 386-386.

³⁷ WUEST I,313, "Decreta a Patre De Held facta tempore Visitationis canonicae, quam anno 1845 habuit ..." [in German]; CURLEY 89.

³⁸ DAY: "Apparently then, the first missionaries set off for the United States either with no Rule at all, or with a rather faulty and debatable translation." There was some fear that the translated Rule was too free with the requirements of poverty. Day implies that this was the reason for Saenderl's departure and for the problems on the early missions.

communities, and they swelled the American Redemptorist foundations, causing the United States to become numerically important enough to become an ecclesiastical province dependent solely on Rome in 1850. The arrival of more German-speaking Redemptorists cemented the fundamental orientation in Redemptorist priorities to the immigrant Catholics even in a country peopled mainly with English-speaking Protestants. The European Redemptorist need for asylum suited the American Church's need for clergy.

When Brother Joseph arrived in the United States in 1847, he was stationed in Rochester as a carpenter. There he witnessed the continued growth of the Congregation, the growing discipline of the Redemptorist community, and the occasional mission into Canada. Monasteries were founded in New Orleans in 1847, in Annapolis in 1853, another in Baltimore in 1859, and in Chicago in 1861, all within Brother Joseph's lifetime.³⁹ By 1859, twenty-seven years after the first Redemptorists stepped foot in America, there were fifty-six fathers, forty-six brothers, twenty-eight novice brothers and sixty clerical students in eleven foundations stretching from the Virgin Islands to the American Northwest.

9. *British North American Needs, American Priorities 1852-1862*

Von Held's visitation in 1845 illustrated another truth about the development of the Congregation in North America. Von Held travelled from Belgium via Liverpool to Halifax, Nova Scotia, before reaching his destinations in the northern United States.⁴⁰ Cheaper transatlantic and transcontinental water routes united British North America to England and northern Europe. Redemptorists arrived in the United States from Europe through British North America, following the same route many colonists took. The shortest distance between Monroe, Michigan and Buffalo, New York and later between Detroit and Buffalo, was along the Canadian water and rail routes.⁴¹ The Redemptorists of the American Northwest learned a great deal about British North

³⁹ *Catalogus Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris*, Rome 1859.

⁴⁰ WUEST, *Supplementum* 1,495. 1845 April 28.

⁴¹ *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung in Kaiserthume Oesterreich XXXI* (1861) 48 p, see especially 14-15, written by P.L. Coudenhove.

America along the Great Lakes while travelling to their American destinations. Some then travelled from their new monasteries in Monroe, Rochester, and Buffalo through the Windsor and Niagara Falls regions of Canada West.⁴² American-based Redemptorist missionaries -Tschenhens, Schmid, Holzer, Kannamueller, Bayer, Keitz, and Joseph Wissel- became known in Hamilton, Simcoe, Caledonia, Windsor, Sandwich, Rainham, Black Creek, Waterloo, or more simply, throughout southwestern Ontario. They ministered mainly to Germans, some of whom had not seen a German-speaking priest since the New York diocesan priest, John Neumann, left the Buffalo and Niagara Falls areas to join the Redemptorist novitiate in 1840.⁴³

In 1852 Bishop Power's successor in Toronto, Bishop Armand de Charbonnel, impressed with the mission preaching of the Redemptorists in Cincinnati and continually looking to alleviate the chronic shortage of clergy in his diocese, urged the Redemptorists to accept the pastoral care of either Brantford or Hamilton, Ontario. When that was refused, he offered Niagara Falls. "Would to God", De Charbonnel exclaimed, "I would be soon so happy as to possess some of St. Liguori's Children!".⁴⁴ The Bishop travelled to Europe to see the Redemptorist superiors, but there was also a shortage of clergy in Europe. In 1854, the Bishop of Toronto offered any mission the Redemptorists wished on the Canadian rail line running between Buffalo and Detroit, but the answer was the same. More disappointingly, the American

⁴² AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici (1832-1868) "Elenchus laborum apostolicorum in Prov. Americana" 82-83. More easily obtainable is [JOSEPH WUEST, C.Ss.R.,] *Conspectus laborum apostolicorum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris in America septentrionali. Ab anno 1840 usque ad annum 1890*. Ilchester 1893, which leaves out the Belgian Redemptorist statistics for French Canada but is a compendium of sacramental information relating to the English and German monasteries in the United States and Canada. See also RABP (528 Rochester) "Circa Ministerium PP. Nostrorum anno 1844 ad annum 1856 in Buffalo" by JACOBUS KEITZ, C.Ss.R., [in German] and Wuest I, 173-174 "Hospitium Buffalonense". Wuest I, 191 for Black Creek where about 100 faithful lived, [in Latin]. For Simcoe and Caledonia, WUEST, II, 86.

⁴³ RABP (528 Rochester) Keitz, "Both [Rainham and Black Creek, Toronto Diocese] counted 100 souls who had been without any spiritual support since blessed Bishop Neumann joined the Congregation in 1841". For more information on Saint John Neumann, see MICHAEL J. CURLEY, C.Ss.R., *Bishop John Neumann, C.Ss.R. Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1952.

⁴⁴ WUEST II, 460-462, 1852 August 15, Richmondhill. For mission in Cincinnati and for offer of Hamilton, WUEST II, 204, 460-2; III.1, 334-7. See also AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici (1832-1868) "Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum in Prov. Americana", 108, re Brantford and the list of missionaries.

Provincial Superior, George Ruland, informed Bishop De Charbonnel that he was considering closing one or more of the monasteries that were near Canada. Steps were taken to close both Monroe and Detroit, Michigan, but fortunately for Toronto's Bishop and Redemptorist admirers in southwestern Ontario, the Bishop of Detroit objected and only Monroe was closed, not for lack of work, but for the lack of men to maintain regular order.⁴⁵ With eleven foundations in 1854, and just over fifty priests and under fifty brothers in the United States, the Redemptorists were spread too thinly to have much community life together. It seemed as if every single priest in a foundation was out on missions, leaving the parish shorthanded and the community religious exercises undone. When the anti-Catholic, nativist, xenophobic political Know-Nothing movement reached its height in the United States in 1855, the Bishop of Toronto again seized his chance, approached Father Provincial Ruland, and recommended a house of refuge from American Protestant bigotry in his Canadian diocese. He offered any of Father Simon Saenderl's former places: St. Agatha's parish in Wilmot, a church in New Germany, or St. Clement's church in Wellesley were offered. Lack of men again brought the hard-pressed Redemptorist Provincial in Baltimore to decline.

Only one Canadian joined the Redemptorists between 1834 and 1879. François-Xavier Bricot (1827-1858), of Pointe-aux-Trembles on the eastern tip of the island of Montreal, left the major seminary, the Grand Séminaire of Montreal. After a two-year stint of teaching in the parish school for the Redemptorists in Monroe, Michigan, he joined the Rochester community in 1852. Father Bricot left the reputation of a silent man who dedicated himself to prayer and to the French parishioners given to his care. He attended the recreation periods with Brother Reisach but did not speak much. He spoke French and very little else; Brother Joseph spoke German and, one may assume, some English. Sickness overcame Bricot and, on April 23, 1858, he died in Baltimore. No other Canadian would be professed until the Redemptorists founded a community in Canada itself.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ WUEST III.1, 334-337, 1854 November 21 and 30, Bishop Armand de Originals in RABP and in ARCAT CTA01.07, 1853 November 19, M. Heilig, C.Ss.R. to de Charbonnel [in French]; CTA01.08, Rev. Fr. Provincial, Ruland to De Charbonnel. For Monroe, BYRNE 198-212.

⁴⁶ 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;

In the meantime, Bishop Charles-François Baillargeon, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Quebec, approached the Redemptorists for a foundation in his archdiocese. Provincial Ruland gave him the same polite answer; he would be delighted to have a house in Canada, but lack of men prevented him from thinking of it for at least another two years. Rome had just ordered the American Redemptorists to take over the care of the Virgin Islands.⁴⁷ Baillargeon immediately informed the Redemptorists that the deal was concluded; within two years, by 1858, he expected them to establish a house in the Quebec archdiocese and he offered the English-language church of St. Patrick's in Quebec City itself.⁴⁸ After this letter, Ruland must have examined the scrawled rough draft in German refusing the foundation and the polite French translation that had been sent and, blaming the misunderstanding on the translation, allowed the Bishop's interpretation of his refusal to stand. The Redemptorists sent Father Joseph Helmpraecht to investigate the proposed foundation.

The rumour of an English house in French Canada East upset several of the English-speaking Redemptorists, notably Isaac Hecker, who left for Rome to plead, among other things, for an English house in the United States instead of Canada. These second-generation American Redemptorists wanted an English language mission house in the United States in order to move the Redemptorists from German to English parochial work and missions.⁴⁹ Hecker was expelled by the Superior General for disobeying a directive against travelling to Rome, but he obtained the Pope's endorsement to found the Paulist Fathers for missions to the non-Catholics of America, who were mainly English-speaking.

"Cat Novitiorum"; "Liber vestitiones Prov. 1842-1924"; "Liber III in quo exitas aut dimissio alicujus Novitii descripta est: novitiate departures"; "Annals. St. Alphonsus, Baltimore, 1840-1903" April 1858. Bricôt's genealogy is in the Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupre. His necrology is in AGHR 300700 IX Necrologus (1848-1866) "Relationes Provinciales ad Chronistam Generalem. Provincia Americana" no. XIII. "Franciscus Xaverius Bricaut".

⁴⁷ RABP (322 Ruland) 1856 April 22, C.F. Bishop of Tloa [Baillargeon] to Fr. G. Ruland, C.Ss.R.; 1856 May 5, Fr. C.J. Cazeau to Ruland [in French]; reply June 3, manuscript draft [in German] on April 22 letter. JOSEPH G. DALY, C.Ss.R., *Conflict in Paradise. Beginnings of the Redemptorist Mission to the Virgin Islands, 1855-1860*, n. p., 1972, 9.

⁴⁸ RABP (322 Ruland) 1856 June 11, Quebec, C.F. Cazeau, Vic. Gen., to Provincial G. Ruland [in French]; 1856 August 28, Bishop of Tloa, C.F. [Baillargeon] to Ruland [in French].

⁴⁹ DALY 11. CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 130. For a modern biography, see DAVID J. O'BRIEN, *Isaac Hecker, An American Catholic*, New York and Mahwah, New Jersey, Paulist Press 1992.

The English Redemptorist fears about Quebec were unfounded. Helmpraecht reported his findings: the Jesuits and the Oblates were already giving French language missions in the Quebec City area. There were several territorial parishes besides St. Patrick's Church that gave services to the English community. There was also little work, English or French, outside of the church so that Redemptorists would not be called on for missions and would become simply parish priests. Moreover, there was hardly enough work in the church itself for more than a few priests and a brother; a regular foundation with a full complement of about twelve to eighteen Redemptorists would be unnecessary. Finally, the administration of the church was in the hands of lay people so that the Redemptorists would not be in control of everything, as they were in the United States. Father Ruland informed Bishop Baillargeon that the Redemptorists could not accept the foundation and the Bishop, in spite of impassioned pleas, had to accept the decision.⁵⁰

In the 1850s and the 1860s, the same situation, the same requests, and the same lack of priests was repeated time and again in Canada. The need for priests increased with the Catholic immigrant population. From 1856 to 1857, Father Francis Krutil, a brilliant polyglot who preached in eleven languages and could hear confessions in thirteen, travelled from Detroit into the Sandwich-London diocese to give missions to the Polish and to the Bohemians in Hamilton, Port Hanley, Simcoe, and Windham, Paris, London, and other towns of southwestern Ontario.⁵¹ The Bishop of London then offered the Redemptorists the care of Chatham, Ontario, and the surrounding area where six thousand Catholics of various nationalities had recently settled.⁵² As usual, there were not enough Redemptorists to found a community.

⁵⁰ WUEST III.1, 270. Also AGHR 300700 X Localia [copy] 1856 September 11, Pittsburg, Provincial G. Ruland, C.Ss.R. to Rector Major N. Mauron re offer and 1857 September 15, re Helmpraecht's report. Helmpraecht's report is in RABP (322 Ruland) 1857 August 19, to Father Provincial [in German]. Ruland's reply to Bishop C.F. Baillargeon, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Quebec, is dated 1857 September 24, Baltimore.

⁵¹ WUEST, III. 1, 378. "Relatio privata Patris Franc. Krutil de laboribus apostolicis ad ipso infra quattuor annos, dum familiae Detroitensi adscriptus erat, perfunctis". Also III.2,139. Krutil was born in Moravia, 1815 August 3, ordained 1839 August 4, professed 1841 June 21, arrived in the United States in June of 1843, left for Vienna in 1859 and died 1898 November 19. More information can be found in LORENZ LEITGEB and KARL TAUSCHER, *Lebensbilder der vom Jahre 1887 bis 1914 verstorbenen Redemptoristen der österreichischen Provinz*, Vienna 1924, 118-120.

⁵² WUEST III.1, 270-1. RABP (322 Ruland) London, Canada West, 1857 July 27,

Centralization and uniformity became the rule in the Congregation under the Superior General Nicolaus Mauron as in the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century under Pope Pius IX. Those who differed were expelled, as were Isaac Hecker and other founding members of his Missionary Society of Saint Paul, the Paulists. Some left, as Simon Saenderl's case illustrates.⁵³ European priorities were reflected in the New World of the United States. Those who could not or would not adapt to the German American urban parish missions were out of place in the United States. This left Canada with no Redemptorists at all. The early Paulists seemed to have adapted most to the North American religious and cultural context - Protestant and English - and were skilled in the outstanding English oratory aimed at both Catholics and the Protestants who were in the majority in North America. The English-speaking Redemptorists who left to join the Paulists were the same missionaries that inspired Bishop de Charbonnel to invite the Redemptorists to English-speaking and Protestant Toronto, but the departures caused by Redemptorist conformity and consolidation and the needs of the American Church meant that foundations in English Canada were regularly refused for lack of men.⁵⁴ Although there were 1,200 members in the Congregation by 1855, in America they numbered just over one hundred members, less than ten percent of the total. Most of them were immigrant German-speaking Redemptorists, some of whom were unwilling to learn English or suffer English customs.⁵⁵ British North America's

Adolphe Pinsoneault, Bishop of London; AGHR 300700 X Localia (London) 1857 August 18, Québec, Pinsoneault to Mauron.

⁵³ F. DUMORTIER, C.Ss.R., *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, C.Ss.R., *Sommaire de l'histoire de la Congrégation du T.S. Rédempteur*, Bruxelles 1921. An updated and revised edition in English is *Outline History of the Redemptorists*, Louvain 1956. For centralization and uniformity in North America, see CURLEY, *The Provincial Story*, esp. 170, 176-177. See RABP 323 (De Dycker) for an interesting case where J.H. Cornell, C.Ss.R., left because of the Rule and the German emphasis in the Congregation, 1863 July 17.

⁵⁴ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 126, 130.

⁵⁵ For the German-Irish nationalisms among American Redemptorists, see AGHR 300700 IX Personalia, 1859 August 2 Adrian Van de Braak to Mauron. For the number of German personnel see RABP (230 Personnel of the 1800s) "Album Prov. C.Ss.R. Americanae". ERNST ANT. REITER [S.J.] in *Schematismus der katholischen deutschen Geistlichkeit in den Ver. Staaten Nord-Amerika's; Statistik aller deutschen Missions-Pfarreien, Stationen und Schulen, und Wegweiser für katholische deutsche Einwanderer. Mit einer kirchlichen Karte der Ver. Staaten*, New York, Cincinnati, & Regensburg 1869, labels all of the Redemptorists as German, whether they were born in Germany, Ireland, or the

population, and its bishops, both one-tenth that of the United States, might have expected one community of about ten members, or one-tenth of the Redemptorists working in North America to work in Canada. The German Fathers image also prevented American Redemptorists from attracting English members and expanding into the English colonies of British North America in spite of repeated offers and earnest pleading.

From Brother Reisach's perspective, much had changed. Clement Hofbauer's decentralization and adaptation of the Rule to new conditions in Europe was reversed under Mauron.⁵⁶ Yet it was this same Superior General that required each Province to have an archivist and an archives, a chronicler and house chronicles. So the Provincial asked Brother Joseph to write his memoirs, the only brother so asked, one of the only brothers able to write who remembered what it was like in 1833 to work side by side with the Redemptorist pioneers. It must have seemed incredible to Brother Joseph to think that he began his religious life on a now-vanished, dangerous frontier with the Natives and the French Canadians, and now was spending his hours in a well-regulated German and English-speaking monastery in a great city. When he finished the manuscript in 1857, he was transferred to Baltimore, to work as a carpenter in the churches of St. Michael and Holy Cross. There, he undoubtedly followed the progress of the Congregation in America.

Bishop Lynch of Toronto renewed his request for the Redemptorists in 1861 and offered Niagara Falls as a pilgrimage site.⁵⁷ Although the American Civil War had broken out and a foundation or a refuge outside of the United States would have been desirable, the offer was rejected for the same reasons: lack of men. Now the Civil War absorbed all of the Redemptorists' energies in North America.

In late 1862, Father Haetscher travelled to Vienna with the Provincial of Austria. There, Haetscher helped to bury Hofbauer's remains under the lectern of the church of Maria am Gestade and celebrated a Requiem High Mass in the presence of the Cardinal

United States.

⁵⁶ ARPT, BARNABAS HIPKINS, C.Ss.R., "The C.Ss.R. Brother in Our History" presented to the Esopus Workshop October 15, 1987 24p., typescript.

⁵⁷ ARPT (210) 1861 June 21, Lynch to Provincial De Dycker. AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici 1832-1868, "Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum in Prov. Americana" 169 which states: "Eppus. Torontoensis denuo stationem prope Niagara Fall's Congregationi offert. Oblatio rejicitur" in 1861. See also WUEST V.1, 198.

and clergy of Vienna. From across Germany and Austria, Redemptorists, especially those who had known Hofbauer personally, came by twos to celebrate Hofbauer's symbolic return to Vienna and the end of the revolutions that had forced the dispersal of Catholic religious who had been identified with the forces of hierarchy and monarchy. Just before Christmas, Haetscher, now seventy-eight years old, suffered a stroke and lingered until his death on January third, 1863.⁵⁸

A week after Haetscher helped rebury Hofbauer's remains early on November 8, 1862, at about eight in the morning, during breakfast, Brother Joseph suddenly felt chest pains so fierce, he could not rise from his chair. He stayed in the common room, sometimes sitting and sometimes walking around, but the pain never left him. Father Joseph Wissel rushed over from St. James to hear Brother's confession at half past ten. Wissel gave absolution and administered extreme unction as Brother Joseph lay dying.⁵⁹ The other members of the community, shocked at the speed with which death was overcoming him, rushed in to say the prayers for the dying. He had been sitting with them at breakfast; by lunchtime, he was a corpse.

10. Conclusion

During Brother Joseph Reisach's years with the Redemptorists, they had arrived in North America and had consolidated their position in the United States. From 1832 to 1862 British North America was nothing more than a footnote to the great events in the United States and in Europe, but the main patterns of later Canadian Redemptorist life had been established. After the American Civil War, when American Redemptorists were available, Canada would be visited and supplied from mission houses in the United States. More and more Redemptorists would work in English, the language of the United States and of the British Empire in North America, although the majority of Catholics spoke other languages. Surprisingly, most early

⁵⁸ Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Austria, "*Chronik des Redemptoristenkollegs Leoben 1863*" 127-128.

⁵⁹ RABP "Annals of St. Michael's Baltimore" 1862, "Mors Fr. Josephi". Also WUEST IV.2, 100.

Redemptorists knew French, but did not accept the Canadian invitations to work in the British colonies. The Redemptorists received requests to establish themselves in the immigrant centres of Toronto, Windsor, London, Niagara Falls, Quebec City, or wherever they pleased in Canada, but no men were spared from the United States for a foundation. When occasional help was sent, the diocese of Toronto, with its cosmopolitan, urban, immigrant population, so like the United States, would be the American Redemptorists' favourite Canadian diocese. Simon Saenderl, however, was first sent because he was unwanted in the United States. Clearly, the United States received the very best the Redemptorists believed they had to offer to the Church in America. Canada did not.

There would eventually be foundations in Canada, and they would be founded from the United States, not from Europe in general and not from France in particular. This difference in origin and in viewpoint makes the Redemptorists unusual among the nineteenth century Canadian religious congregations usually founded from Europe, or founded in Canada by a Church frustrated with continual refusals from European and American congregations. The American Redemptorist viewpoint effectually made British North America nothing but an appendage to the American Church, its history, and its needs. One may wonder whether much of the later history of the English Catholic Church in Canada is also, as with the Redemptorists, a footnote to the United States. Religious congregations or provinces considering cooperation, or unification because of insufficient personnel might ask themselves whether regional needs risk becoming another footnote to competing national or international needs. The United States benefitted from European revolutions and priorities; Canada, in competition with the United States for the same European-born personnel, did not.