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THE REDEMPTORIST PIONEERS IN AMERICA,

1832-1835

The sons of Saint Alphonsus first came to the United States when the Catholic Church in that land was emerging from its formative period. During the country's colonial era from the days of the Spanish Conquistadores in the sixteenth century to the Declaration of Independence by the colonists two centuries later, Catholics had always been in these colonies. Indeed, the old Spanish missionaries had come with the Catholic Faith to America's shores before the Protestant Revolt in the sixteenth century. French missionaries followed. In the normal course of events the colonists in the territory now known as the United States, would have been generally Catholic in their religious affiliations had the French and the Spanish maintained their dominant position. Two movements intervened, however, to change the religious destiny of the colonies.

The first was the very important fact that both the Spanish with their military presidios and the French with their trading posts were supplanted in the possession of the land by the English colonists who developed agriculture. The Conquistador who came up from the Antilles and from Mexico into the Floridas, into Texas and California, as well as the Voyageur who came down from Canada and up from Louisiana were destined to lose possession of this middle territory of North America to the more solidly established English farmers who moved into the back country from the eastern seaboard. The process of pushing back the French and Spanish was gradually accomplished until by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the English were in effective control of what is now the eastern United States (1).

(1) S. ELIOT MORISON - H. STEELE COMMAGER, *The Growth of the American Republic I*, New York 1942, 66-129 gives an outline of the epic struggle of England against France and Spain in colonial America.

The second noteworthy change was the fact that while this conquest was being accomplished through the years, the rulers of England changed from Catholic to non-Catholic, even bitterly anti-Catholic religious beliefs. Naturally, these anti-Catholic attitudes were reflected in the English colonies. Here is the explanation of the apparent anomaly that while Catholics were first on the scene in the United States, they formed only a small minority of the three million colonists who won their independence in 1783. Only one in every one-hundred-and-thirty then held the Catholic Faith (2).

Nevertheless, the Catholic Church had century-old roots in the new nation when Father John Carroll was appointed the first Catholic bishop in the United States in 1789. The first diocese, Baltimore, then extended over the whole country. As the organization of the Church progressed, new dioceses emerged. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown (later moved to Louisville), came to be distinct diocesan centers by 1808. During the next fifteen years, six new dioceses were formed, Cincinnati, Mobile, New Orleans, Saint Louis, Charleston and Richmond. The initial forty-year period of organizing Catholic dioceses in the United States culminated in the holding of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829 (3).

The following year, a significant increase in the number of immigrants from Europe to the United States began to arrive. Many Catholics from the French-speaking and German-speaking countries of Europe, and more especially from Ireland, began to settle in the Republic where they hopefully expected to live a more prosperous life away from the economic hardships and social unrest that handicapped them in Europe. The Catholic bishops in the ten dioceses of the United States, badly in need of priests to minister to the spiritual wants of the newcomers, began to make urgent and insistent appeals for missionaries to the bishops and religious superiors in Europe (4). It was in answer to one

(2) This estimate is based on a comparison of the country's population with the estimated Catholic population as reported by Father (later Archbishop) John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, I III 1785. Cfr. P. GUILDAY, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, New York 1922, 222-227.

(3) P. GUILDAY, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884*, New York 1932, 81-99.

(4) P. GUILDAY, *The Life and Times of John England, 1786-1842*, New York 1927, I 8, 22-24; II 244. - TH. ROEMER OFMCap., *The Catholic Church in the United States*, St. Louis Mo. 1950, 85. For the appeals see *Annalen der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des Glaubens (Einsiedeln)* I (1831/32) 30-31. - *Berichte der Leopoldinen im Kaiserthume Oesterreich* [cited hereafter as *Berichte*] Heft I (1831) 11-14, Fr. Résé to the Leopoldine Foundation, Cincinnati Jan. 1830, and 27-35, Joseph [Rosati CM.] Bishop of St. Louis to Résé, St. Louis 10 III 1830.

of these pleas that the Redemptorist Fathers first set out for the United States in March 1832 (5).

The coming of the Redemptorists to America had been long in prospect before their actual arrival. There is a legendary tale that St. Alphonsus himself, who had founded the Redemptorists in Italy in the 18th century, was on the shores of Naples one day when he spied a ship scheduled to sail to the Port of New Orleans. The story has come down to us that on this particular occasion Alphonsus prophesied that his sons would one day establish a Redemptorist foundation in that city on the Mississippi. There is no evidence, however, that the Saint or any other Redemptorist during his lifetime earnestly considered coming to America (6).

Such an idea, nevertheless, was seriously entertained two decades after the death of Alphonsus by another Redemptorist, Saint Clement Hofbauer, who had introduced the followers of Alphonsus to the countries north of the Alps. When Clement saw his little band of fellow-Redemptorists ruthlessly pushed from one country to another and from one town to another by forces inimical to religion during the French Revolution, he contemplated moving to America. Hofbauer's tall lieutenant, Father Joseph Passerat, now styled Venerable Passerat, a French Redemptorist who was distinguishing himself by his spirit of prayer, contacted an English Lord with the intention of transplanting the hard-pressed North-European Redemptorists from the inhospitable shores of Europe to the more friendly territory of Canada. Hofbauer was heartily in favor of the idea, but the plan never materialized (7). As late as 1819, Hofbauer thought of coming to America, and the design to migrate over the Atlantic long continued to hover in the minds of the Redemptorists (8).

(5) J. WUEST CSsR., *Annales CSsR. Prov. Americanae* [cited hereafter as WUEST, *Annales*] I, Ilchester 1888, 3-5.

(6) WUEST, *Annales* I 195. - A. BERTHE CSsR., *Life of St. Alphonsus de Liguori*, transl. by H. CASTLE CSsR. II, Dublin 1905, 689. - R. TELLERIA CSsR., *S. Alfonso de Liguorio* II, Madrid 1951, 903.

(7) *Monumenta Hofbaueriana. Acta quae ad vitam S. Clementis M. Hofbauer referuntur* [cited hereafter as MH] VI, Torun 1931, 24-26, Hofbauer to Hübl, Babenhausen 6 VIII 1806; *ibid.* 27-30, Hofbauer to Hübl, Babenhausen 7 VIII 1806. This letter indicates that Hofbauer was not sure that religious would be welcome in the United States. Cfr J. HOFER CSsR., *St. Clement M. Hofbauer*, transl. by J. HAAS CSsR., New York 1926, 207, 253. - H. GIROUILLE CSsR., *Life of the Ven. Joseph Passerat*, transl. by J. CARR CSsR., London 1928, 169.

(8) This fact was testified to in the process of canonization. Cfr MH XI, Torun 1939, 206, 216, 233. - ED. HOSP CSsR., *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, Wien 1935, 295. Passerat also had this idea for a long time. Hofbauer wrote of him, « Maximum ipse quoque favet desiderium proficiscendi cum aliquibus in Americam » (*Archivum generale CSsR.* - Roma [cited hereafter as AG] IX A 5, Hofbauer to Rector Maior Blasucci, Wien 25 IX 1811).

De facto the advent of the Redemptorists into the United States was accomplished years later after St. Clement had died and when Passerat was in charge of the transalpine followers of Alphonsus. In 1827, the saintly Bishop Edward Fenwick OP. of Cincinnati, while struggling valiantly to provide priests for his scattered flock in the states of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, sought aid from Europe. He sent his talented young vicar general, Father Frederick Résé, overseas to seek financial help as well as to enlist the services of missionaries (9). Résé, born in Hannover, had been with Bluecher's army at Waterloo. Ordained in Rome, he had come to America as a missionary in 1824. During this sojourn on the continent of Europe, the vicar general went to Vienna in 1828 to enlist the good offices of the Austrian Catholics. He succeeded remarkably well, so much so that the establishment of an Austrian foreign mission society was the result of his endeavors. The Austrian Emperor, Francis I, named the new society the Leopoldine Foundation, in memory of his lately deceased daughter, Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil. For all practical purposes this society was an Austrian branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (10). Résé was likewise instrumental in helping organize a similar mission society in Bavaria, the Ludwig Missionsverein, in 1829 (11).

While carrying on his negotiations for the new society in Vienna, Résé became acquainted with Father Passerat and the Redemptorists in that city. The vicar general from the Diocese of Cincinnati pleaded with them to send missionaries to the far reaches of Fenwick's territory where souls were dying in pitiful spiritual abandonment. In pressing his plea, Résé stressed the necessity of erecting and staffing schools, pointing out that this apostolate was the best method of combatting anti-Catholic prejudice. Passerat listened kindly to this request for priests. Because he was having difficulties at the time in maintaining his own personnel, however, he could not immediately supply the missionaries, but he promised to do so at the first available opportunity. To the proposal to take charge of schools the saintly Passerat was

(9) For Résé, see B. BLIED, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics*, Milwaukee 1944, 19. - R. CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States III*, New York 1888, 266-281.

(10) TH. ROEMER OFM Cap., *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States* (= *U. S. Catholic Historical Society XII*), New York 1933, 151-153. - BLIED, *o. c.* 204.

(11) W. MATHÄSER OSB., *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern*, München 1939, 41-58.

less receptive (12). The whole question of taking charge of schools had been thoroughly thrashed out for years by the transalpine Redemptorists. The original rule of St. Alphonsus had hazily contemplated such activity, but when the papal approbation came for the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in 1749, the school work was ruled out. In their efforts to get a foothold in northern Europe both St. Clement Hofbauer and Passerat had taken foundations connected with the care of schools, but a flat order against any such innovation had been given by a Redemptorist superior general residing in Nocera, Italy, and Passerat abandoned this work. Thereafter, Passerat steadfastly refused any offer of a foundation that required his subjects to teach in schools. Résé was given no hope, therefore, that the Redemptorist missionaries would undertake the school work (13).

Later, Passerat communicated Résé's request for missionaries to his superior general, the Italian, Father John Camillo Ripoli. The Vienna Redemptorist declared that it would be good to give the missionaries leaving for America sufficiently wide powers of jurisdiction so that they might operate more effectively. With this in mind, he suggested that the missionaries might more properly be immediately subject to the superior general (14). This last recommendation was not accepted by the superior general who was quite willing to allow Passerat to undertake the foreign service and to direct it. Father Ripoli probably realized that since the missionaries were to come from the ranks of the transalpine Redemptorists they would be better known to the transalpine superior, who could more accurately evaluate their qualities, plan their work and give more adequate support in temporal matters. When the time came for the first Redemptorists to go to the United States, they were under the immediate jurisdiction of the vicar general stationed in Vienna (15).

Two years passed before Passerat was able to do anything about carrying out his promise to send missionaries across the waters. The delay is quite understandable when one considers the

(12) AG. Copiae epistularum P. is Passerat. Passerat to Rector Maior Cocle, Wien 8 III 1829. - The original letters of Father Passerat to the superiors general of the Redemptorists are now with the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The copies have been carefully checked by the archivist general of the Redemptorists. Cfr WUEST, *Annales* I 3-4. - GIROUILLE, *o. c.* 349.

(13) AG. Passerat to RM. Cocle, Wien 24 V 1830. Cfr GIROUILLE, *o. c.* 189, 335. HOSE, *o. c.* 189-203 gives the teaching problem in brief outline.

(14) AG. Passerat to RM. Cocle, Wien 8 III 1829.

(15) AG IX C 61. RM. Cocle to Passerat, Napoli 30 III 1829.

difficulties the Redemptorist superior in Vienna was facing. He had been lifted to the high command of the transalpine Redemptorists on the death of St. Clement in 1820. At that time there had been left to him only two foundations and these were on a shaky basis. Fortunately, Hofbauer had attracted a group of young men who entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer once the Austrian government allowed it to function as a religious congregation within the Empire. It was mainly with these young men, De Held, Madlener, Springer, Stark and others that Passerat welded the transalpine Redemptorists together and began to expand their activities in Europe. There were many difficulties to be ironed out, notably the question of taking up school work and that of accepting parishes, not to speak of co-ordinating the activities of his personnel. After Passerat had successfully solved these difficulties, he was ready in the fall of 1831 to think of the American missions (16). Meanwhile, Résé had put in a request for three priests and three lay-brothers once more (17), and once again the superior general left the matter in Passerat's hands (18).

In October 1831, the latter applied to the Austrian government for passports for three of his priests and for the three lay brothers. The priests concerned were Frederick De Held, one of St. Clement's young friends, ordained eight years, an ace field leader, possessing clear vision, bold energy and solid virtue. The second was Felix Prex1, and the third was Father Simon Saenderl. De Held was to be superior of the group and had already begun to study English in preparation for his new post. He even wrote to the superior general for directions and advice.

A change now came in the personnel even before the missionaries set out. Passerat began to branch out with his Redemptorists into Belgium, and in order to work in that country he wished to have De Held in Europe. There may have been an added reason in the fact that De Held was chosen to be the vocalis or elected delegate from the Vienna house to the General Chapter of the Redemptorists to be held in Pagani, Italy, in 1832. At any rate, three months after Passerat had obtained the passports for De Held to go to America, the vicar general was seeking a passport

(16) Passerat's activities for this period are shown in GIROUILLE, *o. c.* 247-391 and in HOSP, *o. c.* 45-120, 184-242. See *Catalogorum CSsR. collectio in Collegiis Transalpinis, 1820-1848* II, Roermond [1884], 8-9.

(17) AG. Passerat to RM. Cocle, Wien 11 VIII 1831.

(18) AG IX C 73. RM. Cocle to Passerat, Napoli 8 IX 1831. - Celestine Cocle was preconized Archbishop of Patras, a little over three weeks later, September 30, 1831. This may have influenced him in leaving the overseas mission in the hands of the Vienna authorities.

for the same Father to go to Italy as a vocalis. Moreover, Father Felix Prexl was leaving the sons of Liguori to become a diocesan priest. Passerat was forced to seek new missionaries for America. He finally chose Father Simon Saenderl as superior, and Fathers Francis Haetscher and Francis Tschenhens and three lay brothers (19). The background of these missionaries was interesting, both because of their varied preparation and because of their diverse characters.

Father Simon Saenderl, the superior, Bavarian born, was less than thirty-two years of age. He had been ordained a priest for the Diocese of Passau where he labored for three years before entering the Redemptorist novitiate in 1828. Professed in 1829, he had been a religious less than three years when he was selected to lead the first overseas mission of the sons of Liguori. Some pointed this out later to prove that Saenderl was not a happy choice to lead the band, but the qualities of the man seemed to make him the outstanding priest of the three coming to America. He has been described as a marvelous linguist, a good preacher, a piquant writer, a lover of seclusion, gifted with manly vigor and possessing a good appearance. Nevertheless, he was phlegmatic in disposition, fond of books, without the resourceful initiative and power of adjustment needed in a leader in a semi-frontier area (20).

Father Francis Tschenhens, from Wuerttemberg, was a year younger than Saenderl, but professed a year ahead of him. He came from a wealthy family that lived near Lake Constance. From his earliest days Francis manifested a desire to be a priest. As a student of the Jesuit college in Fribourg, Switzerland, he had as a companion the future famous Redemptorist theologian, Michael Heilig. The latter was witness to the early piety of Tschenhens at Fribourg, and of the general reputation he enjoyed as a virtuous young man. While the two friends were studying there, one helped the other to advance in learning and piety. Heilig also testified later that his older friend more than once chided him for paying more attention to his Ciceronian Latin than to his prayers.

(19) WUEST, *Annales* I 5. - HOSP, o. c. 295-296.

(20) Archives of Baltimore Province CSsR. [cited hereafter as APrB]. Manuscript notes of Rev. BENEDICT NEITHART CSsR: 27. - J. LENHART OFMCap., *Rev. Simon Saenderl CSsR., Indian Missionary: Social Justice Review* 34(1941) 130-132, 134, 137, 139, 166-168, 206-207, 242, 278-280, 314-316, 350-353, 386-388. - *Relationes* P. Fr. X. TSCHENHENS ed. in WUEST, *Annales. Supplementum ad I-III* [cited hereafter as WUEST, *Suppl.*] I, Ilchester 1903, 260-261. - *Commentariorum quos conscripsit Frater laicus LUDOVICUS KENNING partes selectae* ed. in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 314-315.

On terminating his studies at Fribourg, Tschenhens entered the novitiate of the Redemptorists in the newly established house at Bischenberg, where he was professed in 1827. He was ordained a few months later. Tschenhens' first assignment was to the Redemptorist house in Fribourg where he conducted a Latin class for boys. Among his students was a young Swiss boy, Nicholas Mauron, who was later to rule the sons of Alphonsus as superior general for thirty-eight years. Changed later to the Redemptorist foundation at Innsbruck, Austria, Tschenhens was summoned from that post for his overseas work. He was certainly a pious man, given to prayer, and a solid worker, though later events were to show that he was very conservative in his outlook (21).

Father Francis Haetscher was the really experienced man of the trio of pioneer priests. Forty-eight years of action-packed living were behind him when he was called to work across the seas. Born in Vienna in 1784, as a young man he appears to have been a torment to his poor mother who was a dairy woman supplying the Ursuline convent with milk from her husband's dairy. Francis saw no future in plying milk through Vienna streets, gave little attention to work, less to learning his lessons, and still less to his mother's teaching of religion. He ran away from home to join the Austrian army then at war with France. Disillusioned, he deserted the army and went off to Paris, seeking uneasy refuge behind the French lines until the allied armies began to close in on Napoleon in 1814. Haetscher successfully scurried back to Vienna but did not dare go to see his mother who had not heard from him in years. There in the Austrian capital he one day fell under the spell of St. Clement Hofbauer's preaching. Smitten with a bitter sense of repentance he wanted to make a general confession to the Saint on the spot. The wise old Redemptorist told him to wait. He then took the vagabond into his own house, showing him the crucifix to remind him of the proper sentiments needed for turning to God. Haetscher was thoroughly converted. People could not believe it.

The manner in which Clement re-introduced the errant son to his mother was typical of the Apostle of Vienna. When she came one morning to the convent where the Saint was chaplain,

(21) APrB. Domestic chronicles of St. Alphonsus Rectory, Baltimore, under date of May 1877, pp. 85-107 where there is a long obituary notice. - APrB. Ms. notes of B. NEITHART 23-42. Cfr WUEST, *Suppl.* I 276-277. - J. LENHART OFMCap., *Fr. Francis X. Tschenhens CSSR., a Pioneer Priest, 1832-1877: Social Justice Review* 41(1948) 204-207, 244-246, 280-283.

Clement asked her about her family. The good woman enumerated her offspring, conveniently omitting the name of Francis. Hofbauer asked about him. Her maternal instinct did not seem to be awakened at the recollection of Francis, and all she could say was that he was a black sheep probably dead by that time. Thereupon Hofbauer opened a door and showed the mother her son. Bitter memories seemed to have smothered her mother love and she began upbraiding Francis sulphurously until Hofbauer called a halt to her reproaches. With fine psychological insight, he invited the two of them to breakfast. Young Haetscher was a follower of Clement ever after. He joined the Redemptorists in 1814.

In spite of the Josephistic laws then prevailing in Austria, Clement secretly had his new followers study theology in preparation for the priesthood. When, in 1815, a very urgent plea was made for Redemptorists to work at Bucharest, in Wallachia, a principality of the Ottoman empire, Hofbauer sent Haetscher to labor in that field before he was ordained. The Passionist, Fortunato Ercolini, had recently been appointed bishop there and his pleas for workers were so pitiful that Clement sent two priests, two clerics and a lay brother down the Danube with the bishop. Great poverty, ignorance of the Faith, suspicion entertained by the orthodox clergy and misunderstandings made Haetscher's six years there a severe trial. It was during this stay in Wallachia, that Haetscher, after an abbreviated course in theology, was ordained because of the shortage of priests. That was in 1816.

The earnest hopes that Clement had of establishing a firm foundation in this Balkan land never materialized; and when things got worse instead of better because the government began to persecute them, the Redemptorists were recalled in 1821.

For the next seven years Haetscher was stationed in Vienna. Two years in Innsbruck and two more at Styria in Frohnleiten added further to his experience. With a wide variety of activities behind him, possessed of a good knowledge of French, German, Dutch, Italian, Turkish and English, Haetscher was a fully matured man when Passerat summoned him to go to America in 1832 (22).

(22) These facts concerning Haetscher's conversion were reported during the canonization process of St. Clement. Cfr MH XI, 184-185. - M. BAUCHINGER, *Der hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, Wien 1920, 286-271. - A. INNERKOFER CSsR., *Der hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*², Regensburg 1913, 480-482. - J. LENHART OFMCap., *Francis X. Haetscher CSsR., Indian missionary and pioneer priest, 1832-1837*: *Social Justice Review* 44(1951/52) 308-311, 340-342, 366-368; 45(1952/53) 19-22, 49-53.

Less frequently mentioned in the reports, but mighty auxiliary forces nevertheless, were the three lay brothers, James Kohler, Aloysius Schuh and Wenceslaus Witopil. All of them were professed only a few years, and two were still in their early thirties(23). They had varied abilities; the first was an outstanding cook; the second, a tinsmith, blacksmith, and general all-around handy man; and the third was an excellent cabinet maker (24).

As Passerat sent off the six pioneers that early March day in 1832 he wrote to Résé, «I believe their zeal is pure and they will not shirk work» (25). Never was a statement more accurate. They were assuredly pious, and work was no obstacle to them.

The personnel seemed adequate, but apparently no exact agreement was made on various details. While Fenwick and Saenderl both expected the Redemptorists to labor in the Detroit area of the diocese, the exact location was not determined. Fenwick apparently intended to station some at Detroit and others at Green Bay, Wisconsin (26).

Moreover, the Detroit region offered two types of work; there were German and French Catholics in the city who needed spiritual help. Further north were the Indian outposts. In making his plea at Vienna for more missionaries, Résé appears to have stressed the need for helping the abandoned white men (27). At the same time there was a hazy notion, nowhere clearly defined, that the Redemptorists were to work for the Indians. The mission enthusiasm then stirring Austria had an Indian mission background. The first reports published by the Leopoldine Foundation in their mission magazine stressed work among the Indians. Added to that, interest in the welfare of the Indians had been aroused by the publication of Chateaubriand's *Atala*, by the novels of Sealsfield and by the translation of James Fenimore Cooper's famed *Leatherstocking Tales* of life on the Indian frontier (28).

(23) WUEST, *Annales* I 5, 457-458. The year of Brother James' birth is not given, but apparently he was older, being called «Der alte Br. Jacob».

(24) WUEST, *Suppl.* I 318.

(25) APtB III, Haetscher Papers. Passerat to Résé, Wien 5 III 1832. This is a photostat of the original in Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Mount St. Joseph, Ohio.

(26) *Berichte* Heft V (1832) 20-23, Saenderl [!] to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York 23 VI 1832. - *Berichte* Heft III (1832) 26-27, Bishop Fenwick to Résé, Mackinaw 1 VII 1830.

(27) Résé was reported by Passerat as favoring schools: «He spoke about schools and recommended them warmly as the best means of converting the Lutherans». (AG. Passerat to RM. Cogle, Wien 8 III 1829).

(28) BLIED, o. c. 53. - J. PROST CSsR., *Die Geschichte der Gründung unserer Congre-*

The matter of support was similarly vague. The expenses of the journey overseas were paid by the Leopoldine Foundation (29) and Résé believed further monetary aid from that quarter would be steadily forthcoming. On the other hand the Redemptorists felt that the bishop would take care of these matters at least with money from the Leopoldine Foundation if the missionaries could not live off the land and off the donations of the people whom they served (30). There may have been a general verbal understanding concerning these things, but the lack of precision in the terms of the agreement was to lead to difficulties. All this was hidden from the eyes of Passerat and the Redemptorists in Vienna.

One thing was clear in Passerat's mind: his missionaries were to live in a community. His letter to Résé on sending off his Fathers emphasized that idea: « It is your wish and ours, and that of the Leopoldine Foundation that they [the Redemptorist missionaries] are to establish a regular community, so that they may work more effectively for the salvation of souls » (31). With these sentiments in mind the pioneers left Vienna, March 6, 1832.

Ordinarily they would have travelled overland to the port of Havre and come by the northern route from Europe, since the ocean journey would be shorter and the boats to New York would run more frequently. However, ravaging Asiatic cholera, originating in India, had broken out in European Russia in 1830; during the next two years it had left a trail of death in the northern and central parts of the continent. This fact induced the travellers to start out from the nearer port of Trieste, Austria. Expecting to find a sailing ship immediately, they hurried down to the Adriatic city, only to arrive there a day after the vessel had left. The trans-ocean going missionaries had to wait until April 15, before they could board another ship, the brig *Potomac*.

Instead of the usual *per diem* charge, the captain contracted to transport them to New York for a flat rate of a hundred Span-

gation in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika vom Jahre 1832 bis zum Anfang des Jahres 1843 [cited hereafter as PROST, *Geschichte*] ed. in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 19.

(29) *Berichte* Heft V (1833). At the end of this Heft there is a Report of receipts and expenses of the Foundation for the year 1832. The Redemptorists are listed as recipients of three thousand florins.

(30) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 21, 27; cfr p. 236, Prost to Brother Fr. Röder, Puchheim 10 VI 1875.

(31) APrB III, Haetscher Papers. Passerat to Résé, Wien 5 III 1832.

ish dollars apiece. The missionaries had cabin quarters and they took their meals with the captain, a fact that soon had people in Vienna lifting their eyebrows (32). How did it happen, they asked, that poor religious could travel in cabins when a Slovene diocesan priest, Father Frederick Baraga, had sailed to America before them in lowly steerage accommodations at a much cheaper rate? The pious strictures of the critics might have been withheld if these latter had been fully aware of the circumstances of transoceanic travel in steerage. It was no place for religious. Poor ventilation, improper lighting and inadequate toilet facilities made it an experience in misery (33). Nondescript, and often uncultured immigrants lived crowded together in large open quarters for long weeks. Too often the bored travellers idled away their time joking in coarse language and even practicing outright indecencies in full view of their fellow passengers. True, Baraga had taken steerage passage on his first journey to America but he learned that it was worth the price for a cleric to secure a better berth. He changed his mode of travelling on later voyages, preferring to spend extra money to gain a more respectable privacy (34).

For sixty-six continuous days the missionaries were cooped up on the *Potomac*. To the travel-wise Haetscher, the trip was uneventful, a typical missionary journey with no striking conversions and no untoward events. Saenderl, however, found it a big adventure. A gentle wind kept the ship's sails full blown as it moved serenely down the Adriatic the first six days. Then the ship's canvas fluttered listlessly as the *Potomac* drifted off the Gulf of Taranto. For five days it made little progress. As the vessel passed between Malta and Sicily, in sight of the Island of Pantalleria, fierce headwinds sent it rolling and swaying in the waves, forcing it to turn back to avoid shipwreck on the sandbanks. The howling gale still continued, obliging the captain to cruise around off Girgenti in Sicily. Slowly the ship crossed the Mediterranean and passed Cartagena in southeast Spain on May 9. All were glad to get into the harbor of Gibraltar five days later. The stop-over was welcome especially to poor Brother James who seemed to suffer more than the rest from seasickness. Unfortunately, the passengers could not debark, since there was a seven day quarantine on all ships coming from lands infected with cholera. For

(32) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 21-23.

(33) W. FURLAN, *In Charity Unfeigned*, St. Cloud Minn. 1902, 42.

(34) WUEST, *Annales* I 14.

three and a half days the ship lay at anchor, awaiting the coming of good weather to send it through the straits. On May 18 a favorable breeze started up and forty ships raced for the open sea that day. By noon the coasts of Africa and Spain were fading on the horizon. For almost three weeks thereafter, the *Potomac* scudded before the wind across the Atlantic. The travellers were three quarters of the way across the ocean now and they utilized their spare moments to study English, proudly practicing their newly acquired phrases on any passengers hardy enough to discuss religion with them. They were feeling pleased with their lingual proficiency until a storm raced into the ship as it passed along the Gulf Stream. For five days giant waves tossed and buffeted the vessel. Tschenhens and Haetscher had good sea legs, but Saenderl and the Brothers were down in their bunks, dizzy, nauseated and vomiting. For three whole days Saenderl neither ate nor drank. Then the storm abated and the look of health once again came into the faces of all. The Redemptorist pioneers were glad, however, when they saw the great and beautiful harbor of New York, as many called it, and stepped ashore on June 20, 1832 (35).

It was in very truth a new world for the six missionaries. They had left Austria, the land of Metternich, where conservatism reigned; they were entering a new nation saddled with few old world traditions, a nation bursting with energy and eager to try new things. Austrians were Catholics, but Josephism, the spirit of state interference and control of churches, had been clearly evident there. America was still more than ninety percent non-Catholic, but the government in no way interfered with a man's religious beliefs. Austria was firmly dedicated to the monarchical principles of government, while Americans, a polyglot group from all the countries of Europe, gloried in rejecting royal rulers, whom they regarded as outmoded. These Americans had already begun to be distinguished by their spirit of hurry and their enormous optimism. Fundamentally, the optimism was based on the unlimited resources of the land. In matters of poli-

(35) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, New York 22 VI 1832. - Many of the letters the American Redemptorists sent to Passerat, were copied and sent to the superiors general in Italy to keep them informed of events. Italian translations of these letters were then made so that the Italian superiors could read them. Thus, while we do not have the original letters that the missionaries sent to Vienna, because these were lost in all probability when the Vienna Archives were rifled in the Revolution of 1848, we still have authentic copies in German and in Italian, now preserved in the General Archives in Rome. Cfr also *Berichte* Heft V(1833) 20-23. Saenderl [!] to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York 23 VI 1832.

tics and economics Americans were almost all millenarians. Andrew Jackson, the first man of the people to rule in the White House was in the heyday of his power. Already more democratic principles were being pushed in the election of the chief ruler. Presidential electors were being chosen directly by the people instead of by the state legislatures. Another democratic innovation was then being introduced, the holding of nominating conventions. This plan was to take away the power of nominating presidential candidates from the congressional caucuses and giving it to a more popular convention. With the first non-aristocrat in the White House, the road seemed clear to the common man, and no boy was allowed to grow up without being told he might one day be President of the United States (36).

The impact of democratic institutions seemed not to make too much of an impression on the six missionaries, as they managed to get to Holy Cross church on Anne St. the next morning, the feast of Corpus Christi, for the celebration of Mass. Good food and fresh air had now dissipated the ill effects of the long sea voyage. They were eager for their mission field and as Saenderl wrote back to the Leopoldine authorities in Vienna: « We are ready to go to any corner of the world and none of us will live to draw down upon himself the disgrace of being numbered among the builders who lay the foundations of a tower but are unable to complete the undertaking » (37).

The City of New York then boasted over 250,000 inhabitants. It was already the leading city of North America, famed for its growing commercial activity and for its wide, straight thoroughfares. One of the Redemptorist newcomers agreed with Baraga in calling it a beautiful city (38). Saenderl, however, was not planning any sightseeing trips. He quickly wrote one letter to Passerat, another to Fenwick and a third to the Leopoldine Foundation (39). He wanted to be on his way as soon as he could get his baggage through customs, which he thought would take three days. Actually, it took him eight days and cost him fifty-five dollars.

(36) C. RUSSELL FISH, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850. A History of American Life VI*, New York 1950, 1-9. - CH. and M. BEARD, *The Rise of American Civilisation I*, New York 1949, 546.

(37) Ut supra n. 35. - WUEST, *Annales I* 5.

(38) AG X E. AL. Schuh CSsR. to Passerat, Arbor Croche 17 I 1833. - *Berichte Heft II*(1831) 19-22, Baraga to (his sister) Frau Amalia Gressel, Cincinnati 21 I 1831.

(39) Ut supra n. 35. - APtB III, Saenderl Papers. Saenderl to Fenwick, New York

The Redemptorists profited by the delay to acquaint themselves with the people and the spiritual conditions of the place. They noted that there were many non-Catholic meeting houses, but Catholic churches were comparatively few. For the one thousand German Catholics, there was no German priest except Father Felix Varela, whose knowledge of the *Muttersprache* was far from adequate. Moreover that priest had several thousand English speaking Catholics to attend. Many Tyrolese, Bavarians and Alsations, in consequence, found themselves spiritually abandoned because of their inability to learn English. For that matter, many French Catholics were no better off (40).

New Yorkers were fearfully alarmed at the threat of a cholera epidemic then making its ominous appearance in the city. The situation made Saenderl wish to leave New York as fast as he could before quarantine laws were clamped on him and his companions. Since Congress in Washington would make such laws, Saenderl hoped to get out of the city before the discussions about it in the capital would result in an order to stay put.

People were talking about the Indian Chief, Black Hawk, who had raided the white settlements in the region of Green Bay. Already the news was broadcast that General Winfield Scott had been given orders to capture the Indian brave, dead or alive. The Redemptorist superior was none too alarmed, however, even though he expected to do missionary work in the Green Bay territory. The soldiers would keep order. He felt, moreover, that God would protect the missionaries (41).

Saenderl fully intended to proceed directly to Detroit when he heard disquieting news. A persistent rumor was spreading around New York that Résé was going to leave one of the Redemptorists to work in that city. There seemed to be some truth to the report since Résé had been in New York recently. On top of that the priests in the metropolis had been informed that Résé had said a Redemptorist would go to Philadelphia, where the priest in charge of the Germans was then gravely ill, and where help was needed. A letter from the Philadelphia prelate, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, seemed to confirm the idea that Résé intended to disperse the missionaries. Saenderl declared that he

20 VI 1832. The Latin original of this letter is in the Archives of Notre Dame University Ind.; printed in G. PARÉ, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888*, Detroit 1951, 377-378.

(40) Ut supra n. 35.

(41) Ut supra n. 35. - *The Diary of PHILIP HONE*, ed. AL. NEVINS, New York 1936, 67-73.

would allow one of his subjects to leave only when he had written orders from Fenwick.

It was whispered, likewise, that the Redemptorists were mistaken in thinking of going to Detroit and Green Bay. The missionaries were told they should go to Cincinnati and build a rectory, a church and a school. It was even hinted that work among the red men was a futile venture since the wild Indians would soon be driven into the ocean or hung on the gallows because of their uncivilized ways. Some gloomily prophesied that the work would be hard because the missionaries would have to go out to the forests and wander over the country with their charges. The Redemptorists were advised to give the Indians an ultimatum, stating that if these did not wish to give themselves to European industries, the missionaries would have to abandon them and leave them to their fate. «Fate» meant in the minds of the informers death by the swords of the Americans. There is no evidence that Saenderl entertained these ideas seriously, but he was hearing a story far different from the romantic tales in the Leopoldine missionary accounts.

These conflicting and mysterious reports brought a change in Saenderl's plan. Since the Redemptorists had received no order from the Bishop of Cincinnati to go directly to Detroit, he resolved to go to Cincinnati and await the commands of Fenwick.

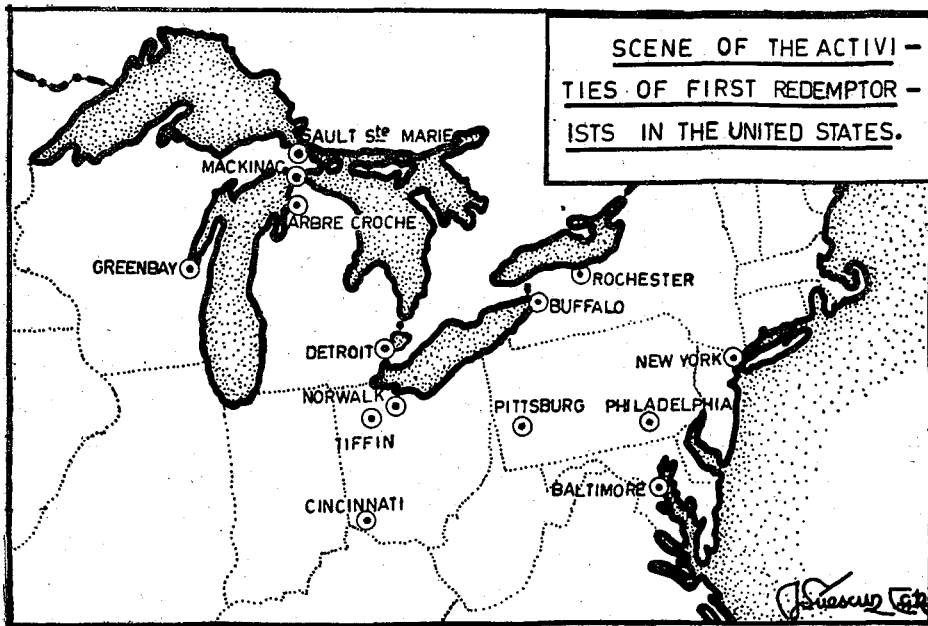
A Hudson River steamer took them up to Albany the night of June 28; then they travelled by canal boat to Buffalo and down the lake to Cleveland, where they went through the Ohio Canal to Chillicothe; at Portsmouth they took a steamer to Cincinnati. It was 2 a.m. as they first glimpsed the Queen City of the Ohio in the darkness on July 17, 1832 (42).

At last the Redemptorists were in the Diocese of Cincinnati. Territorially it was a big diocese embracing as its main portion the State of Ohio. Also forming part of the diocese was the territory of Michigan, which then included Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota (43). Ohio was growing enormously. Forty years before it

(42) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, New York 22 VI 1832; Saenderl to Passerat, Detroit 18 VIII 1832. See *Berichte* Heft V (1833) 23-28. WUEST, *Annales* I 228-231 has this letter. - The letter of August 18, 1832 found in the archives in Rome and that printed in the *Berichte* are very similar in content, though the dates are different. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether the Leopoldine Foundation received a separate letter from the missionaries or whether they used the same letter received by Passerat, editing it for publication and leaving out some details obviously meant to be kept secret.

(43) PARÉ, o.c. 390. - P. JOHNSON, *Stuffed Saddlebags. The Life of Martin Kundig, 1805-1879*, Milwaukee 1942, 76.

had relatively few inhabitants, but when Saenderl and his group arrived it boasted almost one million residents, and the phenomenal growth was continuing. The task of caring for the Catholics moving into this state was steadily mounting. Already a movement was on foot to form a new diocese in the less densely populated Michigan territory. There were only 30,000 people over the whole stretch of that country, and of these only 1,500 were white



Catholics, though an early growth in Michigan's population was forecast. Besides, the Indian villages to the north and northwest had many Catholics, bringing the full Catholic population up to fifty percent of all inhabitants.

The see city of the diocese was Cincinnati, where 30,000 people had taken up their abode, among them about 2,000 Catholics. Of these, 1,000 were German (44). Cincinnati boasted only one Catholic church, the beautiful cathedral of St. Peter, alongside which stood the bishop's house. Close by was the newly erected Athenaeum, a Catholic academy in which it was planned to educate seminarians as well as young lay scholars. Thanks to the generous benefactions of the Leopoldine Foundation, \$7,000 had

(44) *Berichte* Heft VI(1833) 37-39, Bishop John England of Charleston to the Archbishop of Vienna. The second church in Cincinnati was not yet built when the Redemptorists arrived, although there was a second congregation composed of Germans.

gone into the construction of the Athenaeum and it was hoped that the remaining cost of \$4,000 would be forwarded from the Austrian capital. Already the diocese had its own Catholic weekly, *The Catholic Telegraph* (45). The bishop was a famed Dominican, Edward Fenwick, of whom the missionary Baraga said: «One cannot imagine a more pious, a more zealous and a more humble bishop» (46).

As mentioned before, Frederick Résé, Bluecher's onetime cavalryman, was vicar general of the diocese, though it was only a question of time before he would be transferred to the new Diocese of Detroit (47).

A few hours after the Redemptorists landed in Cincinnati they were knocking at the door of the bishop's house in the city, only to find that Fenwick was out on a visitation tour. Résé gave them a good welcome, however. For eight days the missionaries stayed in that city, talking over their plans and resting. Résé was surprised that they had come to Cincinnati, for he had expected them to go to Detroit, the Michigan part of the diocese (48).

Moreover, Résé was disappointed that the missionaries had not brought financial aid with them. He seems to have confidently expected that they would be well stocked with money, for he had heard that the sons of Liguori had rich patrons in Vienna to aid them. The rich patrons vanished, if they ever existed. Unfortunately this false idea preceded the Redemptorists to Cincinnati (49).

The only incident of their sojourn on the Ohio that has come down to us concerns the venturesome Haetscher, who visited a Methodist meeting house. The whole emotional manner of the meeting was something new to him. When the tension in both preacher and people mounted higher and higher, Haetscher feared there was going to be a blow-up of some kind, if not murder, and he hurried out of the building (50).

It was now determined that the missionaries should go north to Detroit and await Fenwick. Before their departure, however,

(45) *Ibid.* 38. - *Berichte* Heft II(1831) 22, Baraga to Amalia Gressel, Cincinnati 21 I 1831. - *Berichte* Heft III(1832) 30-33, Baraga to the same, Cincinnati 9 III 1931.

(46) *Berichte* Heft II(1831) 46, Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation, Cincinnati; 22 I 1831.

(47) PARÉ, *o.c.* 387.

(48) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Detroit 18 VIII 1832.

(49) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 21.

(50) AG X E. Haetscher to Passerat, Detroit 17 IX 1832. This long and very interesting letter appears in truncated form in the *Berichte* Heft V(1833) 28-34 and also in WUEST, *Annales* I 232-236.

Résé put in a plea for the temporary use of one of the Fathers, to help him attend the increasing number of Germans both in Cincinnati and in the outlying country districts. Likewise, he asked for a lay brother to introduce German cooking into the Cincinnati seminary. Saenderl agreed, appointing Father Tschenhens and Brother James for these tasks.

Saenderl, Haetscher, and the two lay brothers, Wenceslaus and Aloysius, hurried out of Cincinnati on July 25, taking the route of the Miami Canal. The canal was not yet finished, however, and they had to travel overland for some seventy-five miles through a miserable forest road, mostly on foot. Saenderl and Brother Wenceslaus went on quickly to Detroit, but at Résé's request Haetscher and Brother Aloysius stopped off at two settlements, Tiffin and Norwalk.

Tiffin was a French settlement, but it had many German settlers, and only an English-speaking priest to care for them. After a week's sojourn Haetscher hurried on with his lay brother companion to Norwalk, where the people offered him eight acres of land near a church if he would stay. Fifteen or twenty offers of a like character were made along the way, so eager were the abandoned settlers to have a priest with them, but Haetscher and Saenderl were not to be diverted from their appointed mission field. Saenderl entered the city of Detroit on August 2, and Haetscher eleven days later (51).

Detroit in those days was an outpost town with less than five thousand inhabitants, most of them French Canadians. In language and customs, it was an old French city. It had no factories, not even a decent grist mill. Its streets were unlighted, unpaved and often muddy, but it was beautiful to Brother Aloysius (52). One Catholic church, St. Anne's, stood in the town, a decaying wooden structure. The church, however, had a famous pastor, Father Gabriel Richard. Known for his integrity of life, his eminent piety, this valiant old missionary had labored in the region from the turn of the century. He had been a member of Congress, a founder of what later became the University of Michigan. So well was his work known that many desired to see him made bishop of the new see to be erected. He was in fact nominated for that office in the diocese to be formed in Michigan and the nomination

(51) Ut supra n. 48. - *Berichte* Heft V (1833) 23-28, Saenderl [!] to Passerat, Detroit 28 VIII 1832.

(52) JOHNSON, o.c. 76, 81. - AG X E. Schuh to Passerat, Arbor Croche 7 I 1833.

was approved by the pope, but before the bulls were issued, a change was made in the arrangements (53).

On arriving at Detroit, Saenderl found that Bishop Fenwick had not yet returned from his visitation tour in the north of the territory. While awaiting his coming, the Redemptorist immediately went to work preaching and hearing the confessions of a group of poor Germans in the neighbourhood, who for long years had no opportunity to confess their sins in their native tongue. They came from all around the neighbourhood to receive the Sacrament of Penance (54).

The coming of Haetscher gave old Father Richard a big lift, for this Redemptorist could help in the French work, as Saenderl never could. Richard was delighted. Haetscher was the man he wanted in Detroit and so eager was he to retain him that he promised to tell the bishop not to send the other priests destined to be Richard's aides. The desire to have the impetuous Haetscher was not guesswork, for St. Clement's wild man was soon demonstrating his ability to work. The ominous cholera epidemic had now reached Detroit, and Haetscher's polyglot priestly services in German, French and English were much in demand. People began to grow sick and die all over the city, and Haetscher was racing out to the country districts, giving the last Sacraments. His confessional was besieged. His rough and ready character and his big heart seemed to fit in neatly with the semi-frontier faithful. He was immediately popular, and when he went out on horseback to heed the call of the dying, five or six other horsemen accompanied him. This was the man Richard wanted with him in Detroit (55).

When Fenwick finally stopped at Detroit two weeks after Saenderl's arrival, the bishop and the vicegerent got down to practical details. Four and a half miles outside of Detroit was a piece of property known as Malchar Farm. Years before, in 1805, an attempt had been made to have a parish church there. The people in Detroit, however, were not keen on having the city abandoned. Nevertheless, the French at the farm site formed a majority of Catholics and they were the most prosperous and the most belligerent of the parish. They wanted the parish church, or at least a second parish church established there; especially they

(53) R. PURCELL, *Gabriel Richard: Dict. of American Biography* XV, New York 1946, 549-550. - PARÉ, *o.c.* 363-365.

(54) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Detroit 18 VIII 1832. Cfr Haetscher's statement about the Germans in *Berichte* Heft V (1833) 31.

(55) Ut supra n. 50.

found it hard to get to town in bad weather. Richard, however, did not listen to their pleas and chose a new site for the parish church in the city. So, the old Malchar Farm property never became a parish church (56).

Twenty-five years after the dispute about the Malchar Farm site, Fenwick thought he saw a solution to the problem by offering it to the Redemptorists. Fenwick, Résé and even Richard himself advised Saenderl to accept the offer. It was a good piece of property with 400 acres of land, land which, once cleared, would double its value. Haetscher was particularly in favor of settling here since it seemed made to order for the establishment of a Redemptorist community. « It will be a paradise », he wrote. Haetscher believed the sons of Liguori could help especially the French Canadians then suffering from a spirit of Jansenism. Heretofore these people were accustomed to be refused absolution five of six times in the sacred tribunal before their purpose of amendment was considered genuine. Anyone attending a dance could not receive Holy Communion. This was piety different from what Haetscher had learned under Saint Clement Hofbauer. A tremendous field was open for Redemptorists, he thought. All they would need, would be a start.

The offer of a foundation at the Malchar Farm, however, had strings attached to it. The Redemptorists were to take the land, but in return they were to pay the \$800 mortgage on it; they were to preach regularly in French and establish a school. Added to these expenses, Saenderl saw he would need money to build a rectory for his subjects. When he was told that the property would soon be worth three or four times what was paid for it, he regarded the mounting real estate value as something of a gamble, if not outright speculation. Since he had no money, he would not commit himself. Failure to accept the offer seems to have irked Haetscher, but Saenderl would do nothing about closing the deal until he could get \$3,000, the sum he estimated necessary to set the place on its feet. Fenwick now asked Saenderl to look for support from the Leopoldine Foundation. Both wrote to Vienna pleading strongly for financial support. The bishop was good about things; he assured Saenderl the Redemptorists would surely get a foundation, even telling him that if he found something better than Malchar Farm, he could take it.

(56) PARÉ, *o.c.* 296, 302-304, 307. The disagreement over the site of the new church had been complicated even more by the different viewpoints of where to build within the city itself.

He asked Saenderl to go to Green Bay, meanwhile, to attend the new establishment there, while Haetscher was to stay temporarily in Detroit to aid Gabriel Richard until the cholera epidemic subsided. Haetscher was stricken with the dread disease himself and went to bed, but not before he preached and sang a High Mass. The kind words of Fenwick made Saenderl confident that the foundation of the Redemptorists would surely come, once they got financial support (57). He was heading north by August 21. Never again was he to see Richard and Bishop Fenwick, for within a month cholera claimed the life both of the brave old missionary and the pious bishop who had won the title «Apostle of Ohio» (58).

The offer of a foundation in the Detroit area was the best the Redemptorists were to have for many a year. Saenderl's European confreres, looking back on his failure to take this and subsequent but less favorable offers, could not understand why he did not clear the land and sell it. This was not so easy as it might seem, for Saenderl had no money to pay for the clearing of the land. Besides, he had conscientious scruples about speculation, not to speak of difficulties about having his subjects teach in school, a thing that Passerat had forbidden. He could, of course, hire teachers but again he was without means to pay them. Money was needed (59).

GREEN BAY

To get to Green Bay, Saenderl had to sail up Lake Huron through the Straits of Mackinac and down Lake Michigan. Almost as soon as he and Brother Wenceslaus left Detroit, their schooner went aground and they spent a whole night on Lake St. Clair. Later, when they got out to Lake Huron, a strong headwind stalled them for two whole days, while the vessel lay anchored to avoid shipwreck. Reaching Mackinac on August 28, they met Father Samuel Mazzuchelli O.P., the former pastor of Green Bay, who led them into their new home where they arrived on August 31, 1832. To his surprise, Saenderl found that Green Bay was not a town at all, but two rows of houses paralleling the Fox River (60).

(57) Ut supra n. 42, Saenderl to Passerat, 18 VIII 1832. - Ut supra n. 50, Haetscher to Passerat, 17 IX 1832.

(58) PARÉ, *o.c.* 384-386. This title was given to Fenwick by Baraga in a touching tribute to the bishop who later died unattended by a priest while heroically attending his flock, *Berichte* Heft II (1831) 2.

(59) PROSE, *Geschichte* in WURST, *Suppl.* I 28.

(60) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 5 IX 1832.

Green Bay had a long history. For two hundred years it had been a French trading post. The gallant priests, Marquette and Alopez, as well as others had been there in the 17th and early 18th centuries. When the Jesuits had been suppressed, the Indians of the region had lost their beloved Black Robes. Thereafter, a missionary could be spared to minister to the place only intermittently, and for a few weeks at a time. A notable advance in their religious growth had come recently when Father Mazzuchelli OP. came down from his headquarters in Mackinac to have a church built. Both Bishop Fenwick and his vicar general had visited the place, but it was Mazzuchelli who pushed the church construction. The structure was not quite completed when Saenderl arrived (61).

Three miles up the Fox River, the incoming Redemptorists found this large wooden church. A house near it had been rented to serve as a rectory. The population of the village was mostly of French Canadian and mixed French-Indian blood, with about 350 English-speaking people. The Indian tribes, Menominees, lived out in the woods to the north of the Fox River, and their villages were scattered all the way up to Lake Superior.

Delighted to have priests permanently stationed with them once again, the people of the village, especially the women, bustled about trying to make the newcomers feel at home. A collection was taken up, and beds, tableware and household utensils would soon be ready for them. Saenderl was enthused. Without giving himself sufficient time accurately to appraise the possibilities and difficulties of the place, he immediately felt that Green Bay would serve as a missionary center from which the Redemptorist Fathers could evangelize the region. The rented house was not a suitable home but it had five rooms, enough for his missionaries, where as he said, « We can live in the spirit of the Congregation ». Within six days Saenderl sent orders to Haetscher and to Tschenhens to join him (62).

Haetscher doubted that Bishop Fenwick would want him to leave Detroit, especially since Father Richard had died, but when two other new priests arrived in Detroit, he moved on to Green Bay in obedience to Saenderl's command. Father Tschenhens was ready to go, but having been told by the vicar general Résé that

(61) L. PHELPS KELLOGG, *Green Bay: Dict. of American History* II, New York 1946, 422. See M. HOFFMAN, *Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli: Dict. of American Biography* XII, New York 1946, 470-471. - J. BYRNE CSSR., *The Redemptorist centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, 44

(62) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 5 IX 1832.

he should take care of the German congregations in Norwalk, Ohio, he stayed there temporarily. As a result he never got to the post on Lake Huron (63).

For the next year Saenderl's community was quartered in the trading village of Green Bay. The Redemptorist vicegerent was convinced that a permanent establishment was needed here, and he visualized it as a base for missionary journeys through the north woods (64). Tschenhens appears to have had no such sanguine ideas about the possibilities of Green Bay, preferring rather to be established in Detroit (65). Even before going there, Haetscher eyed Green Bay dubiously, declaring it would never become more than a hospice because of the post's small population. He begged Passerat to have the house established in the Detroit area (66).

Why Saenderl who had been so hesitant about accepting a foundation in Detroit, suddenly settled his mind on Green Bay is a mystery. Detroit was growing quickly; Green Bay, slowly. Detroit was strategically situated at the crossroads of the Lake region, and its terrain had been studiously selected by the French for settlement for that very reason (67); Green Bay was off the main road, hundreds of miles further back in the wilderness. Communication with Detroit from the East was relatively easy, while Green Bay was practically cut off during the winter months; and a lone overland wilderness trail led to it in summer, though transit to it by steamer was available (68). While individual missionaries had worked in this northern post, no established community ever had had a permanent residence there. The one advantage appeared to be the fact that Green Bay was near the Indian tribes whom Saenderl dearly wished to convert. His letters betray a smarting sense of the injustice being done the red men by the whites and the United States government officials who were constantly driving them farther west (69). That Green Bay had a large church nearing completion and a nearby house rented for a

(63) AG X E. Tschenhens to Passerat, Norwalk 2 VIII 1833. *Berichte* Heft VII (1834) 25-27, has another letter from Tschenhens to the superior in Vienna, dated Norwalk 3 VII 1833, somewhat similar in content to the above. See WUEST, *Annales* I 239-241. PROSR, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 24-25. Tschenhens actually started out to go there later on, but the changed conditions in Green Bay induced him to stay in Ohio.

(64) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 5 IX 1832.

(65) AG X E. Tschenhens to Passerat, Cincinnati 1 I 1833.

(66) *Ut supra* n. 50.

(67) M. QUARFE, *Detroit Mich.: Dict. of American History* II, 1946, 144.

(68) *Ut supra* n. 50.

(69) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, 22 VI 1832; 28 VIII 1832; 26 VI 1833.

rectory were in Saenderl's eyes an added inducement. The immediate prospects seemed good. Because the vicegerent was anxious to have a stabilized foundation for his brethren, and possibly because he entertained the firm hope that money would soon be sent to him in answer to his appeal to the Leopoldine Foundation, he made a quick decision. When Haetscher appeared, Saenderl moved ahead to establish at Green Bay the first Redemptorist foundation in the United States. The Indian mission field of the Fathers was larger than the whole of France.

The first thing the missionaries did was to finish the church. They then began to hold church services with all the pomp the circumstances allowed. A large picture of the crucifixion was over the altar. So impressed was one pagan Indian on seeing it that he rose up before it and openly declared that the religion of Christ was the only true religion. Adding to the attractions of the services was an organ that had come from Vienna. An Austrian immigrant was rushed in to serve as organ master, and Father Haetscher and Brother Wenceslaus did the singing assisted by the organist. Green Bay had never seen the like. The organ was the talk of the town. Wide-eyed Indians and whites, civilians and soldiers, came to hear the wonderful musical instrument.

From September 1832 to June 1833, the Fathers baptized 221 people; of these, 130 were Menominees and Chippewa Indians, and 91 halfbreed children of French fathers and Indian mothers. A great many French Canadians had been away from the sacraments for years; others had reached thirty, forty and, some, fifty years of age without making their First Communion. All that was soon changed.

However, it was the conversion of the many Indians that particularly pleased Saenderl and Haetscher. Here they saw God's merciful providence openly displayed. Saenderl learned to love the stoic virtues of the Indians. In spite of the dire predictions of the white people in town that he would be able to do nothing with the red men, Saenderl still had hopes of converting them. When winter came and the Indians were not in Green Bay, Haetscher and Saenderl went out to meet them across the wide, swiftly flowing Fox River. Saenderl tells the story :

When I came here ten months ago, the grotesque tattooing on the bodies of the Menominee Indians disgusted me, and I was informed that this savage tribe could never be converted to Christianity. But after I had traversed the frozen river that winter to Grand Kocolin, to visit the isolated Canadians living there, the major chief of the Menominees and his

wife called on me to declare their intention to become Christians. They remained here for sometime to receive instructions, after which I baptized them both. In a short time the chief's example induced others of the tribe to follow in his footsteps. I have made the journey several times since then and have baptized seventy of these Indians. A considerable number more are now under instruction and will be baptized on my next visit (70).

Many of the Indians stopped in to visit the Fathers at Green Bay, and the door was literally always open to them. In proof of their sincerity in the Christian religion, the braves often surrendered to the priests instruments formerly used in their pagan devotions. The Redemptorists were insistent on their giving up their notorious drinking habits. Soon the changed conduct of the converts had the pagan chiefs themselves nodding approval. Saenderl and Haetscher were thrilled (71).

Things were going fine as far as the people were concerned; both Saenderl and Haetscher were making conversions that astounded the residents of the Bay region. The news got down to Detroit, and immediately Protestant ministers were sent up to work for the Indians. These had money for a school and could offer advantages that Saenderl and Haetscher never could. Nevertheless, the Black Robes won the hearts of the tribesmen, and when a United States government agent told them schools would be built for them and Protestant ministers of the gospel sent to assist them, the Indians insisted that they wanted the Black Robes from Green Bay (72).

But conditions in the rectory of the Redemptorists were steadily growing worse. High prices prevailed in Green Bay, much higher than in Detroit, and neither of the missionaries had money for anything. All the Indians could offer in the way of support was wild fowl and some sugar. In spite of the fine promises of a furnished rectory, the place still had no floor. Not a decent chair or table could be found in it, and split rails were used instead. The whole kitchen consisted of a small stove, tin cans and two spoons (73). There was no money for shoes or clothing. For ten months Saenderl had awaited money from Vienna. The community, now numbering six, had hardly enough to keep themselves alive, not to speak of paying for trips on horses to the interior of

(70) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 26 VI 1833.

(71) *Berichte* Heft VIII(1834) 28-29, giving an excerpt of a letter from Haetscher dated 5 III 1833.

(72) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 24 VII 1833. - PROST, *Geschichte in WUEST, Suppl. I* 25.

(73) *Relatio Fratris IOSEPHI REISACH in WUEST, Suppl. I* 286.

the land. In a pitiful letter written in June 1833, and addressed to Passerat, Saenderl confessed the bitter truth that he now realized all too well that while one single missionary could keep going on the available support from the land, it would be impossible under prevailing conditions to maintain a religious community with six members.

All hope was not lost for this first Redemptorist foundation, however. A message arrived telling Saenderl that five thousand dollars was on its way from the Leopoldine Foundation, and the writer, Father De Held, promised the money with certainty. On the strength of that message, Saenderl began to make plans for a decent rectory. A carpenter was hired and materials ordered. The lay brothers were to make the windows of the new home (74).

Less than three weeks later the hopes for that house and for the establishment of a permanent foundation were shattered. The long-heralded new Diocese of Detroit had been formed from that of Cincinnati. Its territory embraced the whole state of Michigan and what was left of the former Northwest Territory, that is, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. Its new chief pastor, Bishop-elect Résé, still awaiting his bulls from Rome, now appeared at the Green Bay rectory and gave Saenderl a letter from Austria. The missive announced that the five thousand dollars given by the Leopoldine Foundation was to be at the disposition of the new Bishop of Detroit, except for eight hundred dollars which had been specifically allocated to Father Baraga. Saenderl was dumbstruck as he read the communication from the Auxiliary Bishop of Vienna. No mention was made of the Redemptorists who had been pleading for the money for long months.

Since Résé himself needed funds to establish an episcopal residence in Detroit, and to repair the church there and make it worthy of a bishop, the most he could offer to Saenderl of the Leopoldine money was one thousand dollars. Saenderl already owed five-hundred dollars for the church building he had completed, so that the offered amount was not of much help. The failure of support for the Redemptorists from Vienna meant one thing — Green Bay would have to be given up, however reluctantly, as a Redemptorist foundation. To save themselves from starvation the Fathers would have to be dispersed. Saenderl and Haetscher both were a bit down at the news. And Haetscher wrote back to Vienna that if the Redemptorists had to leave the great

(74) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 26 VI 1833.

field they had opened up, the fault lay with lack of support, not with any failure of good will and eagerness to work on the part of the missionaries.

Résé also brought a letter from Passerat to Saenderl in which the latter advised him to accept the foundation offered in Detroit. Saenderl felt that debt on Malchar Farm made such a move impossible, especially since there was no money coming from Vienna. Without money it was out of the question. Besides, in his opinion the priests living in Detroit had hardly enough income as it was. For that reason one suburban church had been suppressed in order to allow greater income for the priests in Detroit proper (75).

There appeared one other possible solution to the difficulty. Father Tschenhens who had been laboring valiantly in the whole district around Norwalk, Ohio, now began to press for the attempt at a regular Redemptorist foundation in that town. Saenderl replied that Bishop Résé wanted the Redemptorists in the Detroit diocese. The prelate had assured Saenderl that the dispersion of the Fathers and lay brothers would be temporary, and that just as soon as he could get going in the diocese, he would aid them in securing a foundation. So the foundation at Green Bay was given up. Résé sent Saenderl to Arbor Croche to join Brother Aloysius who had been there since September; Haetscher was to stay on at Green Bay until Father Mazzuchelli could replace him. A later observer, the second vicegerent of the Redemptorists in America, Father Joseph Prost, claimed that this move by Résé of sending all the Redemptorists to other posts was apparently made to fit in with other plans the prelate had for Green Bay (76).

Saenderl and Haetscher were out of the region one year from the time they entered it, to the keen sorrow of the Menominee and Chippewa Indians and the French Canadians, who had learned to love them (77). For the next two years the Redemptorists were dispersed partly in the Diocese of Cincinnati, and partly in that of Detroit. Each one of them labored intrepidly in his individual post, hopefully awaiting the long sought community home.

(75) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay 24 VII 1833.

(76) *Ibid.* - PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 29.

(77) AG X E. Haetscher to Passerat, Green Bay 2 IX 1833. This very long and very interesting letter had excerpts from in *Berichte* Heft VII(1834) 31. See WUEST, *Annales* I 242-245.

ARBOR CROCHE

When Saenderl went to Arbor Croche on the western shore of Lake Michigan he was entering an Indian reservation where twelve hundred Ottawa Indians lived in a completely enclosed settlement composed of three villages. Arbor Croche, which got its name from a crooked tree that served as a landmark, was very different from Green Bay. Unlike their brother braves, the Indians here gave themselves to agriculture. The neighborhood about Arbor Croche was studded with their lodges. Maize and potatoes, squash and kidney beans and even tobacco were planted. These Ottawa Indians became famous, too, for their birch bark canoes, since cedar and juniper were close at hand, and the resin needed for caulking the seams was gathered from other local trees (78).

The Ottawas had long been spiritual wards of the famed old Jesuits, first at Mackinac and later in Arbor Croche. After the suppression of the Society, the visits of the Padres were few and far between. Gabriel Richard tried to aid them. Later, much later, Fathers Pierre Dejean and Frederick Baraga had successively worked for them with success (79). The last named was in charge of them when the Redemptorists first came to Michigan, but he was leaving the land of the crooked tree to go to Grand River, an outmission. That was why the bishop wanted Father Saenderl in Arbor Croche (80).

In every particular Saenderl measured up to his illustrious predecessors. He quickly mastered English, French, Ottawa and Chippewa, and composed a dictionary in the four languages. The reservation became a model of Christian living. Prayers were said in common in the morning, Mass was regularly celebrated, and on Sundays Saenderl had from twenty to thirty catechumens under instruction. Brother Joseph won the admiration of the Indians by showing them how to bake bread. Brother Aloysius, who had been there a whole year before, taught the blacksmith trade, and when a blood brother of Father Saenderl, Brother Vitus, came on to help him, he was put to work teaching school.

(78) LENHART, *Saenderl: Social Justice Review* 34(1941) 243-244, 278-314. - FURLAN, *o. c.* 55-59.

(79) *Diocesan-Bericht aus Cincinnati: Berichte* Heft I(1831) 14-28, II(1831) 5. - *Berichte* Heft IV(1832) 9-12, Baraga to Amalia Gressel, *Arbor Croche* 22 VIII 1831. - *Ibid.* I(1831) 22-25, Dejean to Fenwick, *Arbor Croche* 20 IX 1829; 25-26, Dejean to Fenwick, *Arbor Croche* 24 I 1830.

(80) *Berichte* Heft VII(1834) 10-16, Baraga to the Leopoldine Foundation. - PROST, *Geschichte in WUEST, Suppl.* I 29. - *Relatio REISACH in WUEST, Suppl.* I 286.

Everyone had high praise for the work of Father Saenderl in Arbor Croche, and for two years things went smoothly (81).

MACKINAC — SAULT STE. MARIE

Meanwhile Haetscher had left Green Bay in the spring of 1834, and gone on to Mackinac. Later he went to Sault Ste. Marie to win fame as the « Bon Père François » among the French Canadians and Winnebago Indians. « His rugged character », said Saenderl, « fits him for overcoming the difficulties of pioneering » (82). Haetscher was as good as his reputation. He quickly constructed a log chapel and had one hundred Indians ready for Confirmation when Bishop Résé visited the place in August, 1834. The work of Haetscher, however, excited the jealousy of non-Catholics on the Canadian side of the Sault. One morning he woke up to find the windows of the chapel smashed, the sacred vessels thrown out and the missal torn in shreds. With invincible patience he set to work to repair the damage. On All Saints eve the brigands came back to do more damage, and this time they did a thorough job — the entire chapel was burned to the ground. The angry Catholics drove out the Methodist and Baptist preachers. Haetscher then went over to Mackinac to spend the winter there. When he returned to the Sault in the spring of 1835, the difficulties of rebuilding the church were so great that he moved down to see the bishop at Detroit and to join Father Tschenhens temporarily in Norwalk (83).

NORWALK

From the first days at Norwalk, Tschenhens had been a roving missionary for all the territory about it. To Tiffin, to Sandusky, to Cleveland and even further afield he roamed, seeking out everywhere the lost and strayed Catholics to bring them back to the Faith (84). At Norwalk he completed a church, started a

(81) *Ibid.* 289-292. - WUEST, *Annales* I 17-18.

(82) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Arbor Croche 20 XI 1834.

(83) *Berichte* Heft IX(1836) 39, Summary report on the Diocese of Detroit. - *Relatio REISACH* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 297-303.

(84) The best account of the work of Father Tschenhens at this time is seen in the letters he sent to his superiors overseas and in those he sent to Bishop Purcell. Cfr AG X E. Tschenhens to Passerat, Cincinnati 1 I 1833; Tschenhens to Passerat, Norwalk 2 VIII 1834; Tschenhens to his confreres and friends, Norwalk 28 I 1835. - *Berichte* Heft VII(1834) 25-27, Tschenhens to Passerat, Norwalk 3 VII 1834. The letters of Tschenhens to Purcell

school, and made ready a rectory large enough for five or six Fathers. Enthusiastically he looked forward to the establishment of the long-sought mission house from which the Fathers would radiate over the surrounding country (85). The new bishop of Cincinnati, John B. Purcell, agreed to the plan (86), and Tschenhens wrote to Father Passerat in the spring of 1834 for approval, requesting at the same time services of Father Haetscher, and money from the Leopoldine Foundation (87). Passerat looked with a kindly eye on Tschenhens' activity (88), but Saenderl was decidedly against any foundation at Norwalk, pointing out that the land around the rectory there was marshy, and that the residents were often down with fever because of the polluted drinking water. Moreover, he thought that Tschenhens was over-sanguine about the possibilities of supporting such a foundation. The addition of two lay brothers had already excited the murmurs of the parishioners there who felt they would be overburdened with the extra support needed for their maintenance (89). Nevertheless, circumstances intervened to oblige the Redemptorists to try Tschenhens' plan for a foundation in Norwalk. As already mentioned, Haetscher had been forced out of Sault Ste. Marie and taken temporary refuge in Ohio. Saenderl was soon to go there himself.

The vicegerent was doing well enough at Arbor Croche even though his first enthusiastic plan to buy a large tract of land on which to raise food and promote dairy farming fizzled because the ground was too rocky for the former activity and hired help was needed for the latter. The Indians wanted no whites among them, even as hired help (90). Without some means of support the original idea of Saenderl to establish a foundation was chimerical. In fact, his income was so little that he soon found himself borrowing money to obtain the necessities of life. This difficulty was made worse when some \$400 given by the United States government to the Arbor Croche Indians was not transmitted by

were numerous. The bishop liked the hardworking missionary, and the latter kept the prelate well informed, sometimes making suggestion to send a priest to a growing territory, for instance, Cleveland. See BYRNE, *o. c.* 51. - M. HYNES, *History of the Diocese of Cleveland, 1847-1952*, Cleveland 1953, 32, 41, 65.

(85) AG X E. Tschenhens to Passerat, Norwalk 2 VIII 1833.

(86) AG X E. Purcell to Tschenhens, n. p. n. d. - The Italian translation of this Latin letter says that the original was written in February, 1834.

(87) AG X E. Tschenhens to Passerat, Norwalk 2 III 1834.

(88) AG Passerat to RM. Ripoli, Wien 13 VI 1834.

(89) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, Arbor Croche 20 XI 1834.

(90) AG X E. Haetscher to Passerat, Green Bay 2 IX 1833.

Bishop Résé to the hard-pressed Saenderl. Saenderl decided that this was enough. Passerat had written him that since Michigan gave little promise of a foundation, he should move down to Ohio. He applied for admission into the Diocese of Cincinnati and was readily accepted. Résé loudly proclaimed his displeasure, incorrectly informing Purcell that Saenderl had left the Diocese of Detroit against the will of Passerat and without his own approval. At any rate, when Saenderl moved down to Ohio, the pioneer Redemptorists were together again for the first time in three years, but events soon showed that Tschenhens' great plan for the Ohio mission house was impractical. The Redemptorists were still without a permanent foundation (91).

The whole situation was anomalous. All three had worked hard; Résé declared that Saenderl had proved himself an active and skilful priest (92); Baraga had called Haetscher a holy and fiery missionary (93), and later witnesses confirmed the appraisal, stressing his patience and tireless zeal (94); the circuit riding Tschenhens was a bit simple in his manner and unorthodox in his English, but there was no question about his piety and apostolic activity, and Purcell loved him for it (95). Individual anecdotes confirm the story of their zeal. Haetscher more than once crawled on his hands and knees across the ice to reach the faithful; Saenderl mastered the Indian language in nine months; Tschenhens more than made up for his poor English by going after the German and French-speaking strays from the Faith, and the lay brothers were a versatile group, shifting from making bread to teaching, from carpentry to shoeing horses (96). Passerat was right when he said, « They will not shirk work ».

There were several factors however, which contributed to the failure to establish a regular Redemptorist foundation. The first was the looseness of the original arrangements. Since it was the first overseas mission of the sons of Liguori, one can understand this. The second vicegerent of the Fathers in America pointed out that had a skilled priest been sent over to the United States beforehand and then reported back to Vienna, much

(91) BYRNE, *o. c.* 52-53. - WUEST, *Annales* I 22.

(92) *Ibid.* 249.

(93) WUEST, *Suppl.* I 365.

(94) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 29, 35.

(95) WUEST, *Annales* I 20.

(96) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 31.

misunderstanding could have been avoided. As it was, Prost said the Fathers coming to America were like country boys making their first visit to the city (97). The historian of the Austrian Redemptorists, Father Edward Hosp, and at least one American writer have pointed out this defect (98).

Moreover, the order to live a community life meant that the Fathers would have to operate in a place that could support them as a community. Not one of the places they worked in — Green Bay, Arbor Croche, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, Norwalk — could do this. After the first bitter experience at Green Bay, Saenderl realized this fact, but he did nothing decisive to alter his situation, choosing to wait until conditions became better, while his subjects worked in scattered territories. In this, however, he was not altogether to blame, for the bishops had the say in where a community would establish itself, and at the same time the souls in these smaller parishes needed care. Indeed, heavy criticism was leveled against the Redemptorists because of their desire to live in a community. Many wanted to know why they wished to live together, when the mission stations, where priests had to work alone, were without pastors (99). The bald truth was that frontier establishments were not ready to house a community of religious.

The failure to get the permanent house as Father Passerat had enjoined had the confreres in Austria shaking their heads. Stories of life on the American mission were filtering back to Vienna that were not nearly so enthusiastic as the *Berichte* accounts. The rumor circulated among the European Redemptorists that the pioneers to America would be recalled (100). Because reports from Saenderl were not coming as often as Passerat thought they should, the latter began to have doubts about the ability of the first vicegerent to carry out the assigned task (101).

In an effort to stabilize the forces in America, Passerat had sent over Brother Joseph Reisach and a young secular priest who

(97) PROST, *Geschichte in WUEST, Annales* I 21-22, 42. - *Ibid.* 235, Prost to Brother Fr. Röder, Puchheim 10 VI 1875.

(98) HOSP, o. c. 295. - F. HOLWECK, *Drei Pioniere aus der Kongregation der Redemptoristen: Pastoral-Blatt* 54(1920) 113-119. - LENHART, *Saenderl: Social Justice Review* 34(1941) 242.

(99) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, 26 VI 1834; 23 XI 1834. - PROST, *Geschichte in WUEST, Suppl.* I 28.

(100) WUEST, *Annales* I 24-25.

(101) AG. Passerat to Ripoli, 13 VI 1834.

was to join the Redemptorists. The first arrived in Michigan safely, finally got to Green Bay, but the secular priest, Father John Raffeiner, stopped off in New York. Being temporarily stranded for lack of funds, he joined the diocesan clergy of New York, and remained working in New York State for the rest of his zealous life (102).

To get the necessary money for the Redemptorist pioneers, Passerat and De Held had urged the Leopoldine Foundation in 1832 to forward funds. As we have seen, most of the funds went to Résé. Passerat again urged the Foundation to send funds and it promised to send 9,000 florins in two installments to the Redemptorists. Again the funds were sent through Bishop Résé, and the Redemptorists in America heard nothing about them. There was a growing suspicion that oblique means were being used to divert the funds (103).

The failure to obtain a permanent foundation naturally reflected on Saenderl's leadership. He was not really responsible for the looseness of the original arrangements; there was no lack of talent and good will. Nevertheless his indecision regarding Detroit, and the false move he made in trying to make Green Bay a permanent foundation and, most of all, his failure to come up with a workable plan himself, seemed to indicate that he lacked the decisive organizing ability needed in a pioneer superior on the frontier. He was convinced, however, that Redemptorists would soon gain a foothold, now that the works of their founder were being sold in Baltimore (104). Prost later said of him that his talents would have made him a good parish priest in Austria or in his native Bavaria. He lacked the fire needed to begin new things (105). Tschenhens found him too phlegmatic (106), and becoming convinced that a new and more energetic superior was needed for America, wrote to Europe along these lines (107).

Passerat was, indeed, distressed at the failure to establish the Redemptorists firmly. Yet he was not ready to give up the

(102) AG X E. Saenderl to Passerat, 26 VI 1834. - *Relatio* REISACH in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 280. For Raffeiner's career, see BLIED, *o. c.* 122-125. - F. HOLWECK, *V. Rev. J. S. Raffeiner: Pastoral-Blatt* 59(1925) 48-54. - R. PURCELL, *John Stephan Raffeiner: Dict. of American Biography* XV, 1935, 322. - *Th. Meehan, V. Rev. Johann St. Raffeiner: Hist. Records and Studies* 10(1916) 161-175.

(103) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 43. - Résé later gave some of this to the Redemptorists, see p. 81-82, 92.

(104) *Ibid.* 28, 83.

(105) *Ibid.* 90.

(106) *Relationes* FR. X. TSCHENHENS in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 260-261.

(107) *IBID.* 260.

task. In 1834 he sent a circular letter to the Fathers in Austria asking for volunteers for the American missions. Two Fathers responded, Father Czackert and Father Joseph Prost (108). Summoning Prost to Vienna, Passerat named him Visitor to the overseas missions with power to look over the situation in America and either to recall the Fathers or to continue on with them as their superior (109). The news of the change came to Saenderl as he was in Norwalk. The first vicegerent's term was over in 1835. He continued to work on industriously in the mission field but in a subordinate role (110).

(108) WUEST, *Annales* I 26. - PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 43.

(109) *Commentariorum KENNING partes selectae* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 319.

(110) PROST, *Geschichte* in WUEST, *Suppl.* I 88.