The Redemptorist Mission in Canada, 1865-1885

PAUL LAVERDURE

Between 10 December 1865 and 2 January 1866 in Montreal’s St. Patrick’s church, ten Redemptorist missionaries from the United States heard over 15,000 confessions, helped with almost 1,000 confirmations administered by the bishops of Toronto and Montreal, converted 25 Protestants, administered the Temperance pledge to 2,000 and vigorously denounced secret societies. The mission was so successful that it became known in Rome, and throughout Redemptorist circles in North America, as the classic example of a North-American Redemptorist English mission and was often cited as the first real mission given in Canada. Since historians of Catholicism in North America – Jay Dolan for the United States, Murray Nicolson for the Irish in Canada, Serge Gagnon and Nive Voisine for French Canada – have all cited the Redemptorist mission as an important event in the Roman Catholic mind, this paper will describe the typical Canadian Redemptorist mission. Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission was so successful that the mission itself was frozen into a form that hardly changed until the Second Vatican Council. As such, the mission described here is, with only some qualifications, valid for Canada in the period 1865 to 1965 and beyond, since several individual Redemptorists continue to give missions today as they did thirty years ago. This paper also asks in passing, does the Redemptorist mission – and by extension, the Catholic mission – of the nineteenth century differ significantly from Protestant missions?

During the centralizing and unifying decades of Pope Pius IX, the American Redemptorists turned to Father Joseph Wissel, a veteran of the

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missions in the United States and Canada, to codify the mission rules. From 1875 to 1912 Wissel copied and preserved the English and German sermons from the oldest Redemptorist missionaries in America and made outlines to be used by new Redemptorist missionaries. Wissel’s reminder that his outlines were guides and that each missionary had to develop his own style and adapt to different audiences to be most effective was usually lost in the drive for uniformity and in the realization that the English or Irish Catholic audiences throughout North America were generally homogeneous. So, later North American Redemptorists memorized and delivered the sermons much as the early missionaries had done. Wissel’s book was reprinted, minus the German sermons, in 1920, and was used by the Canadians, the Americans and was consulted by Europeans until the Second Vatican Council. Wissel’s outlines, therefore, remain our best and most representative description of the traditional Redemptorist mission in North America.

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

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

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

Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, had fixed the shortest mission at ten days. Longer missions were the norm. North-American Redemptorists gave missions in blocks of between eight and ten
days, overlapping two Sundays, multiplied by the number of groups a parish could be divided. Missions could be preached to the entire parish in eight days, or it could be doubled and given first to the women and then to the men, or it could be divided again into an eight-day mission for the children, eight days for the women and then another mission for the men. If the parish was very large or the church very small, a four-week mission could be preached to the young women, to the young men, to the married women and then to the married men. Throughout the nineteenth century, Redemptorists attracted women and children first in order to have them prevail upon the men to attend. This presupposes a stratification of sin or innocence by sex and age, but our research has found that women, in general, were present in greater numbers at the Redemptorist mission and, later, at the Redemptorist parish activities, devotions and societies. Several theories for this have been put forward, but none have yet been accepted.9

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

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

Although missions were often measured by the number of confessions, “It should be borne in mind that the end of the mission is not simply to have the confessions of the people heard, but to effect a change in their lives through constant attendance at a series of sermons and instructions which prepare them to receive the sacraments with more than usual care and profit.” Above all, the missionaries sought conversion to Christian perfection as defined by the Roman Catholic Church. Conversion, over a period of time, through devotion to Christ in the Sacraments makes the Catholic revival experience in North America significantly different from the Protestant emphasis on a personal conversion to Christ.

Once relieved of the burden of sin through confession, the renewed Roman Catholic was sent to participate in the sacramental and devotional life of the parish in order to persevere in the paths of conversion, perfection and salvation. The Redemptorist missionaries moved on, returning to the parish to preach a renewal or summary of the mission to reach those who had not made the mission, help backsliders, to remind the parishioners again of God’s forgiveness and love as shown particularly in the sacraments of the Church, to teach the practice of the devout life, to promote the sacramentals such as the scapulars, crucifixes, medals, pictures, candles, the rosary, prayer books and, above all, the parish associations such as the Holy Family. Together the mission and the renewal comprised the complete Redemptorist mission and, united with organization, oratory and solemnity, became a powerful experience for thousands.

In 1871, the Holy See named Saint Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, Doctor Zelantissimus, Most Zealous Doctor of the Church. In 1873 the new Archbishop of Quebec, Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, prompted by Saint Alphonsus’ growing fame and by the success of the recent Montreal mission and renewals, invited the Redemptorists to take over St. Patrick’s Church in Quebec City. The Redemptorist missionaries then fanned across English Canada, reaching Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1881.
A successful French mission in the Sulpician Montreal parish of Notre Dame in the spring of 1878 brought 40,000 visitors daily and between 19,000 to 24,000 thousand confessions. Such a triumph had not been seen since the French Bishop Forbin-Janson of Nancy visited in 1840-41. The Archbishop of Quebec then thought of offering the Redemptorists the care of the St. Anne-de-Beaupré pilgrimage shrine. Pilgrims from across North America increased from between 20,000 and 40,000 to over 115,000 annually by the end of the century. The Redemptorists crowned the statue of St. Anne in Beaupré after she was declared a patroness of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. The sodality of St. Anne spread throughout French North America.

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

Toronto’s Globe of 14 January 1881 published a full page description of the Redemptorists. Redemptorists were members of one of the most ascetic, zealous, and active religious Orders in the Roman Catholic Church . . . a proselytizing agency second only, if indeed it is second, to the Jesuits themselves . . . When they began a mission they were to take it for granted . . . that ignorance of . . . faith and morals was the rule, and by simple, fervent, declamatory sermons, not unmixed with wonderful stories as to purgatory, hell, and the glories of the Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to draw the people heavenwards or to terrify them into morality. Their chief means of grace was to be the confessional, the skill in whose manipulation the fathers gave nearly the whole of their attention during their time of study . . . Its fathers were, therefore, ROUGH AND READY in their mode, rather than polished and refined like the Jesuits, or deeply read like the Benedictines and Dominicans. They were to the religious Congregations what the Franciscans were to the great Orders, impressive preachers depending
on their power of moving the multitude by sensationalism, often by vulgarity, rather than by deep, scholarly, and finished theological sermons.

The missions multiplied and in one year alone, between 1882 to 1883, thirty-two missions, several renewals, and nine retreats were preached. In 1882 the Boston mission band under Father Joseph Wissel went to Halifax and to the Diocese of Harbor Grace, Newfoundland. The Redemptorists hammered away at the Irish nationalisms of the local people and upheld the universal nature of the Church. The successes were astounding. The bishop of St. John’s, priests and people, after longstanding conflicts over previous episcopal appointments, were reconciled to the new bishop of Harbor Grace. There were over 13,000 confessions in the church of St. John’s, Newfoundland. Priests and laity inquired about joining; a new archbishop of Halifax, Cornelius O’Brien, offered the Redemptorists a foundation in Bermuda to keep them in his diocese. The missionaries travelled to Prince Edward Island in 1883 and 1884 and gave another series of successful missions. Wissel became so identified with the Redemptorist mission in Canada that bishops wrote him for foundations. Bishop John Sweeney approached Wissel for a foundation in a suburb of Saint John, New Brunswick. On Wissel’s recommendation, the house began in 1884.

The most memorable mission, however, was one that caused an international incident reported in newspapers around the world. Bay Roberts on Conception Bay is thirty miles from St. John’s. After the missions of 1883, at the height of the Orange Order’s power, five men died as a result of the St. Stephen’s Day Parade. During the inquiry, several pointed at the Redemptorist preaching as one of the causes of the tensions between Catholics and Protestants. Five residents swore before a magistrate that they heard one say that “... the Protestant religion was established by Queen Elizabeth who was an illegitimate child – that is a bastard.” Another five stated that they heard the Redemptorists preach to the effect, “... put a collar on a monkey’s neck and he would make a first class Wesleyan preacher.” [They] further stated that the priests asked, “What can you think of the Church of England when it sprang from a bastard? ... From Elizabeth down, we may call the Protestants a set of whores and bastards.”
The missionaries were subsequently heckled on their way to and from the church and during the night. Orangemen built an arch flying Orange flags under which the missionaries and the Catholics had to pass to go to the church. When this did not satisfy the roughs of the place and violence was threatened, the Redemptorists broke off the mission and went on to North River and Harbor Main. They returned with Bishop MacDonald of Harbor Grace who refused to go under the Orange arch. The Redemptorists demanded protection, but the Bay Roberts magistrate refused to admit that the priests were in danger. The Redemptorists, as American citizens, then called on the American consul in St. John’s who wired and received the gunship H.M.S. Tenedos, which were given orders to protect the Orangemen! “On being interviewed the Fathers said that they had completed their mission at the Bay at the point of the bayonet and at the muzzle of the Gatling guns.”

Bishop Edouard-Charles Fabre offered St. Ann’s parish in Montreal and Belgian Redemptorists were officially installed on 30 September 1884. Within a year, the Belgians launched missions identical to their European missions with three sermons daily, solemn procession and setting up of the mission cross, sermons about the Holy Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin Mary, a brilliantly lighted and decorated altar, solemn benediction and other mission acts. To learn English and the slight differences between a North American and a Belgian mission, the Belgians invited Wissel and his mission band to give an English mission in St. Ann, Montreal, and participated in Wissel’s missions in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. All of the missions, French and English, became interchangeable.

Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission in Canada was successful both for the Redemptorists and for the Catholic Church. Uniformity and uniform success was further promoted by Wissel’s handbook, *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*. More missions and then more offers of foundations came each year as the Redemptorist reputation continued to grow. Popular preaching and short-term intensity, similar to the Protestant revival, seemed perfectly adapted to the masses of people attending the mission, but the message of the missions, reconciliation and perfection in the Church through its sacraments was significantly different from the Protestant revival message.

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

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer’s Toronto Province (Eastern English Canada) for funding this article. Materials presented here will appear in a multi-volume general history of the Redemptorists under the editorship of Francesco Chiavarino, C.Ss.R., and in a single volume history of the Redemptorists in English Canada.


Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, eds. Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds (Toronto 1988), II:759-84; Serge Gagnon, Plaisir d’amour et crainte de dieu. Sexualité et confession au Bas-Canada (Sainte-Foy 1990), 38 n. 62; Nive Voisine with Philippe Sylvain, Réveil et consolidation t.2 1840-1898 of Histoire du catholicisme québécois II (Montreal 1991), 312-3; and Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, Le XXe siècle t.1 1898-1940 of Histoire du catholicisme québécois III (Montreal 1984), 339. There is a growing historiography about the Redemptorist mission in other countries: see, for example, John Sharp, Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland 1843-1898 (Dublin 1989).


7. Wissel, 1:3-4.


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

12. RABP: 325 (Schauer) [1886], Schauer to “Dear Rev. Father: . . .” (form letter sent to parish priests before a mission).

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


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

16. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 30 September 1877, Father O’Dowd of St. Patrick’s, Montreal to Schauer, asks for at least ten fathers; 325 (Schauer), 21 October 1877, Provincial Nicholas Jaeckel, C.Ss.R. of St. Louis to Schauer; 325 (Schauer), 12 March 1878, Anton Konings to Schauer [in Latin]; 325 (Schauer), 26 March 1878, Konings to Schauer [in English]; 325 (Schauer), 2 April 1878, Father James Hogan of St. Ann’s Church, Montreal, to Father Keitz; 325 (Schauer), 6 April 1878, Konings to Schauer [regarding the number of confessions and the Jansenism in Montreal]. For Sulpician reactions, see RABP: 325 (Schauer), 30 April 1878, Father V. Rousselot of Notre Dame, Montreal, to Schauer [in French]; for a short description of the mission, see RABP: 528 (Rochester), “Domus Roffensis 1878.”


18. The best modern work on the Redemptorists in French Canada is Jean-Pierre Asselin, Les Rédemptoristes au Canada. Implantation à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré 1878-1911 (Montréal 1981). The appendices in Rodrigue Théberge,

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


22. The history of these Newfoundland controversies is summarized in Latin in RABP: “Annals 1882,” 273-8. Joseph Wissel summarized it all even further by blaming an overly intense “Irishism,” the Franciscan Friars and opposition between the bishops (see RABP: 325 [Schauer], 3 June 1882, Wissel to Schauer). Wissel’s description of the end of the mission is in RABP: 325
23. AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 19 December 1882, Schauer to Mauron [in German].


25. ARPT: “Annals of St. Patrick’s, Quebec” (June 1883). See also ARPT: 620-15, 27 August 1884; RABP: unfiled material, “Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Boston 1884,” which shows that the Boston house held twenty-eight missions, nine renewals and seven retreats in 1884 – thirteen of the missions were in Prince Edward Island and all nine renewals were in Newfoundland.

26. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 11 April 1882, Wissel to Schauer about Halifax; ARCAT: A92 “General Correspondence 1880-1920,” undated letter from Wissel to “Most Rev’d Father!” about Saint John, New Brunswick; RABP: 595.4 (St. John, NB, St. Peter) 22 May 1883, Wissel to Schauer, and 14 November 1883, Sweeney to Schauer.


29. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 4 December 1884, Joseph Henning, C.Ss.R., to Schauer. He suggests that Schauer have the United States government send ships to protect the American Redemptorists “in that savage country.” See also 12 December 1884, where he writes “From a dispatch in the ‘New York Cath. Herald’ I see that appeal has been made to the U.S. government for protection for the Bostonians in Newfdland.” Henning summarized the incident privately for Provincial Schauer by suggesting that one of the missionaries consciously or unconsciously roused the “smouldering fire” of Protestant bigotry into flames. “From the New Zealand Tablet,” 13 February 1885 and 20 March (13), also recounts some of the incidents, although in garbled form. The Redemptorist story is told in William G. Licking, C.Ss.R., Reminiscences of the Redemptorist Fathers Rev. John Beil, Rev. Patrick
30. RABP: 595.2 (Montreal St. Ann), 17 August 1884, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R., to [Schauer].


32. AGR: Belgium, Vice Provincia Canadensis, 8 February 1889, Catulle to [Fr. Lelouchier, C.Ss.R.] [in French]; also 20 November 1889, Catulle to Father Provincial [Schauer]; RANBP: “Amerika,” 21 April 1887, Archbishop Cornelius O’Brien of Halifax to Jean Tielen; RABP: 325 (Schauer), 26 September 1888, O’Brien to [?]; RANBP: “Montréal,” 13 May 1887, Bishop Duhamel to Jean Kockerols.

33. ARPT: 265-02, “Missions,” and also ARPT: “Provincialia” [Scrapbook of letters from the Baltimore Provincial sent to St. Patrick’s, Quebec City, 1880-1914], 15 April 1887, Schauer circular letter. For Wissel’s continued popularity in the Maritimes see RABP: 325 (Schauer), 4 June 1885, Archbishop C. O’Brien to Schauer; The Halifax Morning Herald for Saturday, 1 April 1882, which reported Wissel’s sermon in local news as “magnificently delivered and was listened to with close attention . . .” He was invited to give the mission in Toronto’s St. Patrick’s church in 1890 (see RABP: 595.5 [Toronto, St. Patrick], “Relatio ad chroniam Provincialem facienda de Missione habita”).