Truly yours L. Chittenden.

THE RELIGIOUS INVECTIVE OF CHARLES CHINIQUY: ANTI-CATHOLIC CRUSADER 1875-1900.

by

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August, 1984

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment for the degree of
Master of Arts

ABSTRACT

This thesis evaluates the contribution of Charles Chiniquy (1809-1899) to the religious life of French Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Once a Roman Catholic priest, he converted to "Bible" Christianity and became a Presbyterian minister. The fluid intellectual context between the liberal "Rouge" and conservative "Bleu" elements in French Canadian society is briefly described to explain his conversion. Then, his anti-Catholic, invective-filled works from 1875 to 1900 are studied to discover his contributions to and his observations of the religious mentalities of late 19th-century North America. One finds the concepts of rhetorical repetition and expansion, a projection of moral misconduct, and a "paranoid" mindset fearful of conspiracies.

Cette thèse évalue la contribution de Charles Chiniquy (1809-1899) à la vie religieuse du Canada français dans la dernière moitié du 19e siècle. Prêtre catholique, il est devenu pasteur presbytérien par la voie d'une conversion au christianisme dit biblique. Le contexte intellectuel et fluide entre les elements libéraux "rouges" et conservateurs "bleus" de la société canadienne-française est décrit rapidement pour expliquer sa conversion. Ensuite, ses livres anti-catholiques et pleins d'invectives, de 1875 à 1900, sont étudiés pour découvrir ses apports et ses observations sur les mentalités religieuses de la fin du 19e siècle en Amérique du Nord. Nous trouvons les catégories d'amplification et de répetition rhétorique, de projection de mauvaise conduite morale, et d'un penchant intellectuel "paranoïaque" redoutant les conspirations.

To attempt to document so elusive a matter as the relation of religious attitudes, ideas, and hopes to the actual course of social, political, and economic affairs may seem at times to beg a few questions. Nevertheless, at some points it appeared wiser to be suggestive than to ignore entirely what were important probable correlations.

Richard Allen,
The Social Passion.
p. xxiv.

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PREFACE

The interplay of change and continuity is the passionate centre of historical observation. Chiniquy has offered a focal point in his own personal linguistic and intellectual journeys while remaining true to a context of relative stability. The historical context of European anti-clericalism remained the same yet changed almost imperceptibly in key words and authors into North American anti-clericalism. Reformation anti-Catholicism changed slowly into 19th-century anti-Catholicism with its own stories and conspiracies. Yet each intellectual context, of anti-clericalism, of anti-Catholicism, even of evangelical Protestantism is ultimately true to a community and a tradition of ideas, of words, of stock images which an individual in the tradition manipulated to create his uniqueness. Chiniquy showed, in his creations, his manipulations, that the uniqueness of the phenomenon of the 19th-century Catholic

temperance preacher was not exclusive of the Protestant anti-Catholic crusader. Though Chiniquy's story may have filled some with confusion and despair at the continuation and growth of the tradition of religious invective, one must realize that seemingly irreconcilable positions are never far apart. Opponents, even enemies, live, work, and grow in the same historical context. They continue to be related, no matter what the individual changes.

Although hate literature and, in this case, Protestant "pornography" drew together an ecumenical community in hate, it testified equally, but not as obviously, to the greater community around it which made it possible. It was a strange ecumenicism, but it was not without hope.

Chiniquy, however, also leaves a warning to the reader that the themes in his hate literature recur today.

McGill University in Montreal is the best area for studying Chiniquy's works due to his long association with Presbyterian College now affiliated with McGill. His son-in-law, Rev. J.L. Morin, a professor at Presbyterian College, donated Chiniquy's library mainly to the College and to prominent McGill associates. Unfortunately, there is no reasonably accurate list of Chiniquy's library available. Until some official list is uncovered, works with his signature or name written on the inside fly-leaf could be collected, but this is very difficult. Chiniquy's own writings are scattered throughout the McGill library system, and can be found in the Presbyterian College Library, the Religious Studies Library, the McLennan Graduate Library, McGill Rare Books, the Lande Foundation for Canadiana, and the Montreal and Ottawa Conference Papers of the

United Church of Canada, housed in the McGill Archives. Remaining writings not at McGill were found in the Baptist Historical Archives at McMaster University in Hamilton, the Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives at Knox College, Toronto, and the Montreal Roman Catholic Archdiocese Archives. The pamphlets and books assembled in the primary source bibliography are not a complete Chiniquy bibliography. Most translations and differing editions were excluded by choice and by the difficulty in acquiring them.

In spite of these difficulties, the Library staff of McGill's Religious Studies Library deserve my greatest gratitude for their help and interest in this work. Mrs. Kim Moir at the Presbyterian Archives and the staff at the other archives were always very helpful and enthusiastic. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Thompson of the Centre d'Etudes Théologiques Evangéliques in Montreal deserve recognition for their interest, awareness, and help. I would also like to thank Professor John Hellman and Mr. Tapas Majmundar for their time, their conversations about the nature of intellectual history, and for their reading suggestions, many of which figure in the bibliography. Finally, recognition is due to McGill University for providing a Summer Fellowship in 1984 for the completion of this thesis.

Montreal, July 18, 1984.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAM.....	The Roman Catholic Archives of the Archdiocese of Montreal, Quebec. 402-102: Chiniquy file.
BHA.....	The Canadian Baptist Historical Archives at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.
PCA.....	The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives at Knox College, Toronto, Ontario.
UCAM.....	The United Church of Canada Archives of the Ottawa and Montreal Conferences at McGill University Archives, Montreal, Quebec. 5/Ama/1, 5, 6, 18, 19: Amaron Papers. 5/Chi/1: Chiniquy Papers. 12/1-11: French Work Papers.

INTRODUCTION

On the sixteenth of January, 1899, Charles Paschal Telesphore Chiniquy died in his ninetieth year leaving behind him a long record of religious and oratorical activity. He also left an ambiguous legacy in the form of a substantial body of controversial religious literature which greatly influenced his Canadian contemporaries and is still being published today.

Chiniquy, as Pierre Berton described him, was the

> most controversial of all Canadian zealots in the 19th century ... In the 1840s Chiniquy was perhaps the best-known Roman Catholic priest in the country. In the 1880s he was, probably, the best-known Protestant. As a young abbé in Quebec his oratory was so spell-binding that he was able in a single month to persuade 20,000 tipplers to sign a pledge of total abstinence. After his row with the Church - a row that involved both sexual and financial peccadillos - Chiniquy became a Presbyterian minister and an Orangeman with an undimmed personal charisma. ... He was a world figure, and a contentious one. In Australia, which he toured at the age of 70, one town required four days of martial law to calm it down after his appearance.
>
> But who, even in Quebec, knows much about Chiniquy today?
>
> ("Legends in the Rough" pp. 4-8 in The Canadian. Sept. 11, 1976 p. 4.)

Yet this extraordinary individual had seized the minds of people around the world. His influence across national boundaries and across linguistic barriers indicates a personality essential to the understanding and assessment of late nineteenth-century American religious mentalities. Almost needless to say, Chiniquy can then offer insight into present religious mentalities. The greatest indication for this last statement

comes from the fact that Chick publications in Chino, California still publishes reprints of Chiniquy's works.

As Berton acknowledged in 1976, research in this area is sparse. His own work, My Country, is only a collection of separate stories in which "The Zeal of Charles Chiniquy" (pp. 138-154) is a brief popularization. The most recent writing, but hardly available since it is an unpublished manuscript in the Canadian Baptist Historical Archives in Hamilton, is "The errant shepherd: Chiniquy and the making of Ultramontane Québec" by Jan Noel. It makes a good case for Chiniquy as an example of priest and patriot, but goes no further in its analysis. Its occasionally weak prose, its dependence on Chiniquy's writings for facts, and its emphasis on Chiniquy's Catholic career, as seen in Trudel, severely hamper its usefulness. Marcel Trudel's Chiniquy (1955) is the standard history and biography written by a well-known and competent historian. Most later writers (e.g. J.S. Moir) in Church and in Canadian history refer to this work. It establishes the dates and narrative of Chiniquy's life and work insofar as they might be known at that time and in spite of Chiniquy's own questionable memoirs. More archival work might be done to fill in some minor gaps (e.g. Chiniquy's letters to newspapers), but Trudel has drawn the parameters of this area. Since, however, Chiniquy, is by an avowed Roman Catholic scholar who could not quite rid himself of an easily-formed prejudice against Chiniquy's virulent anti-Romanism and historical falsehoods (and Trudel is an historian), an impartial assessment of Chiniquy's work remains to be done.

Three earlier works complete the basic historiography. Trudel's

bias can be traced to his doctoral thesis, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada, (2 vol., 1945) wherein volume 2, pp. 139-150, he discusses, with evident disgust, Chiniquy's desecrations of the Catholic eucharistic host. Neither of Trudel's works were translated; even though they are standard works, they are relatively unknown in English-speaking circles.

Rieul Duclos' Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux Etats-Unis, (2 vol., 1912) devotes several pages to Chiniquy (Vol. 2, pp. 7-101) but is a repetition of Chiniquy's own words. Other works, such as Whitaker Anderson's Father Chiniquy, do the same. Sydney Smith's Pastor Chiniquy. An Examination of his "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome" (1908) completes the basic historiography concerning Chiniquy. It is a refutation of many of Chiniquy's claims, but because of its polemical nature - Smith was a Jesuit working for the London Catholic Truth Society - it is an incomplete analytical source. It should be seen, with Duclos' writings, as belonging to Chiniquy's heritage to early twentieth-century religious mentalities. Many other works give short sketches of Chiniquy's life or influence. Some of them figure in the bibliography, but they attest more to Chiniquy's omnipresence on the French Canadian stage than to any fullness of analysis.

Using Trudel as a starting point, this thesis will analyze Chiniquy's writings from 1875 (The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional) through 1885 (Fifty Years in the Church of Rome) to his posthumously published Forty Years in the Church of Christ (1900). These three works, in which most of his pamphlets appeared as separate chapters, form the core of Chiniquy's work and fame as a Protestant minister. Some textual

criticism will establish this point, thereby enabling later readers of Chiniquy to confine their attention to these more accessible works.

Trudel and other writers have largely ignored Chiniquy's final years as author and observer of public opinion, though they have used his three main works to establish his earlier influence and history. What needs to be done next is the depiction and an assessment of Chiniquy's impact on late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century religious mentalities, ideas, and opinions. In an effort at constructing an intellectual picture of the "Chiniquyst" world-view, I will follow the lead of intellectual historiography, such as Pierre Savard's Aspects du Catholicisme canadien-français au XIXe siècle (1980), Thomas Curran's Xenophobia and Immigration, 1820-1930 (1975), and other authors such as Jean-Paul Bernard, John Higham, Richard Hofstadter, and Ray Allen Billington. Of course, there is no substantial body of work on Canadian religious mentalities, especially in English; it is a relatively new field, but one which is appropriate to second level, interpretive historical research.

In essence, by a critical reading and indexing of an author's ideas and attitudes embedded in his language, one summarizes the themes dominant in his and, hypothetically, in his reader's minds. To do so, I will first briefly construct an historical context in which Chiniquy's ideas and language must be understood. Then I will describe Chiniquy's written view of the Roman Catholic Church, as seen in his first two anti-Catholic works. I will then extrapolate and infer his readers' views of "Romanism" and of themselves, as seen in his last unpublished book. Finally, I hope to be able to offer some insight into the complex

of ideas underlying the atmosphere of religious intolerance in 19th-century and early 20th-century Quebec.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHARLES CHINIQUY: 1809-1874.

David-Thiery Ruddel, in a recent work,[1] published the fascinating journals of what are reputed to be anomalies: French Canadian Protestants.[2] In Joseph Vessot's journal, kept from 1840 to 1863, Roman Catholicism was seen as "la religion de satan, les fruits de l'ignorance et de la superstition."[3] Such superstition comprised the errors about saints, confession, fasting, and, in a word, "toutes les erreurs qu'ils enseignent et que l'Ecriture sainte condamne."[4] Obviously, the line dividing the French Protestant from the French Catholic was very sharply drawn, but there existed a slight difference between the two in other than religious matters - the French Protestant was more than likely to have come from French Switzerland.

"Les petits suisses," or the 'little chipmunks', as the French

Canadians still pun, mischievously popped up here and there, travelling, as did Vessot, from one small town to another as 'colporteurs' or peddlars of religious books and pamphlets. The religious authorities of these predominantly Catholic towns were disturbed at the steady attacks made on the Roman Catholics' faith and at the small inroads and raids made on their flock's numbers. Monseigneur Bourget of Montreal commissioned Father Charles Chiniquy, then in 1851 a famous Quebec orator and temperance preacher, to meet and debate with these 'suisses'. Debates such as these were common.

A two-fold record of this 1851 meeting has been kept.[5] Chiniquy's side, claiming victory, put forward "unanswerable" arguments supporting the "one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church" - the Roman Catholic Church, naturally - on the grounds of Petrine authority and episcopal succession. The Bible had to be interpreted in line with traditional Roman Catholic teachings, because the Apostles were not commissioned to have a non-existent Bible read, but to have the Gospel - the good news - preached. For Roman Catholics, this meant a continuing, authoritative church community to which the written form of the Gospel in the Bible belonged. These were ancient arguments bruited against every individual or group who dared to interpret the written word of the Bible independently of the community.

Louis Roussy, Chiniquy's opponent, the Swiss colporteur, denounced the novelties introduced into the religious beliefs and practices of the people by the ultramontanists, such as Bourget, Chiniquy, and the Jesuits. The Church hierarchy was not, he declared, faithful to the beliefs of the Church and had, therefore, forfeited its position as

spokesperson for the Church Universal. Of course, with the centralizing Pope Pius IX, and the popular piety encouraged after the devastating French Revolution (such as that which surrounded the concept of the Immaculate Conception, solemnly defined in 1854, but discussed in 1851), Roussy was not entirely unjustified in his complaints. Chiniquy, nevertheless, championed Pius IX and the papacy in clever invective, in abusive language, against "the ignorance of all these creators of new religions."[6] Whether Chiniquy actually 'won' the debate is another question. Roussy also claimed victory. This, too, was common. Chiniquy, however, one year later became a schismatic, a Protestant in 1856 and, very quickly, a famous ex-priest and popular speaker "about the plots of the Catholic hierarchy and the debauchery of the priests and nuns."

It is an extraordinary history. The personal transformation of a French Canadian Roman Catholic priest into a Franco-American Presbyterian minister almost defies understanding. It surely defied the comprehension of his former co-religionists who could not revile him enough! Or was it fear that the same could easily happen to others that brought out their denunciations? Chiniquy's oratory matched their invective. He reviled the Church, the priests, monks, nuns, the doctrines of Mary, transubstantiation, and the papacy. What made this possible? Chiniquy's language needs to be studied in its context.

Many writers have noticed Chiniquy's language. Jean-Paul Bernard, in Les Rouges, mentions "... des outrances verbales de l'abbé Chiniquy" during the 1850s' temperance speeches.[7] Letters of the time denounced him and his exaggerations,[8] because they sometimes caused crowds to mob and destroy distilleries.[9] The introduction to Louis Roussy's pamphlet,

Appel à la raison et à la conscience des habitants des paroisses de Ste. Marie et de St. Gregoire, asserts that Chiniquy, in a light, mocking tone, "shamed, slandered and outraged his opponent in the most hateful and indecent manner."[10] Rieul Duclos judged that Father Chiniquy expertly used the weapons of ridicule and sarcasm in debate.[11] Marcel Trudel refers to Chiniquy's oratorical powers more than once. The biographer describes Chiniquy's language as "honeyed flattery, imposing humility, using excessive phrases, and overabundant examples" in his writings to his superiors.[12] His opponents received "sacrilegious and blasphemous language ... which made his listeners finally cry out with horror."[13] Unfortunately, Trudel also omits to place Chiniquy's language in its context, so that one may at least understand, if not like, Chiniquy's excesses.

The Anti-Clerical Tradition

The rhetoric of anti-clericalism has had a long history. Muted and not so muted protests against the power of the priesthood have been recorded in every civilization sophisticated enough to support a professional class. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the 'prophets' were more than welcome in their periodic denunciations of the insincerity and rapaciousness of a priest-class exercizing both spiritual and, unfortunately for some of the prophets, temporal power. In the Christian tradition, there has been a continual discontent on the part of many dissidents, so-called heretics or schismatics, with the Constantinian development of the Christian churches into an organized, hierarchical Church. With the creation of the sixteenth-century Reformation churches, medieval anti-

clericalism and its special rhetoric split intro strong anti-Roman Catholic and anti-Protestant traditions used by respective members and non-members. Both streams drew on pre-Reformation traditions, but the changes in the respective institutional and religious camps during the Reformation gave an impetus to renewed criticism and combative controversy. José Sánchez, in his Anti-clericalism: A Brief History, swiftly brings the controversy from Luther and the humanists through to the salons of the Enlightenment. Afterwards, advances "of the industrial revolution and the development of mechanized printing made the myth [of clericalism] a standard element of nineteenth-century liberal culture."[14]

In North America, religious differences fuelled the political struggles to plant colonies in New England and New France. The heady ideals of the French Revolution fed a movement of Voltairean scepticism, especially in British North America where French and English Canadian circles eagerly spread republicanism and liberalism with anti-papal and anti-Jesuit ideas.[15] It seems that the first weighty anti-Catholic work to be published in what is now Canada was Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers (1808) by McCulloch who, two years later, added Popery Again Condemned.[16] It is useful to consider the significance of the above works. Both were written in a specific controversy over educational privileges. They made use of copious references to scripture and to the early Christian Fathers in their heavy-handed condemnation of 'Popery'. Chiniquy's immediate English Canadian ancestors could not be more easily found.

In the United States, a group of intellectual historians has studied an analogous situation of growing religious invective within

nativist thinking. John Higham, summarizing their findings, writes that some historians regarded nativism and anti-Catholicism as more or less synonymous, since it drew

> ... heavily, for example, from the very beginning of the Reformation on a conception of popery as steeped in moral depravity. Generation after generation of Protestant zealots have repeated the apocalyptic references of the early religious reformers to the Whore of Babylon, the Scarlet Woman, the Man of Sin, to which they have added tales of lascivious priests and debauched nuns. (17)

Examples of such opinions could be found in the writings of Samuel F.B. Morse, who began his anti-Catholic career in 1832. Parson William Craig Brownlee began the American Protestant Vindicator (and Defender of Civil and Religious Liberty Against the Inroads of Papacy) which publicized Rebecca Reed's lurid stories of the Charleston Ursuline Convent. This led to its burning in 1834.[18]

The controversies raised by sensational crusaders as well as the very real political Catholic Emancipation Bill (1829) or the Tractarian movement in England (1833), gave rise to serious anti-Catholic and anti-Irish riots in Kensington, Philadelphia from May 7 to May 11, 1844.[19] Organized religious nativism in the States throughout the first half of the nineteenth century was periodically enflamed by travelling speakers. Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal (1836) gave readers a "heady mixture of sex and religion" in sordid accounts of the relations between priests and nuns.[20] "Apostate priests were especially popular speakers if they presented startling revelations about the plots of the Catholic hierarchy and the debauchery of the priests and nuns."[21] Chiniquy climbed onto this speaking circuit.

In the Canadas, political and economic sectional tensions between

English Protestants and French Catholics were exacerbated by their religious differences. The politically powerful George Brown of The Globe kept up a running battle with Roman Catholic assumptions about the Clergy Reserves, the Jesuit Estates, and educational questions which, in turn, threatened Protestant assumptions of Protestant superiority, dominance, privileges and rights. The polarized atmosphere erupted into riots around Alessandro Gavazzi, an ex-priest, in 1853. Throughout the 19th century, the Catholic ultramontanists faced the Protestant Orange Lodge; there was very little middle ground. Chiniquy had to make a choice between these two major camps.

Chiniquy to 1856: The Making of a Protestant

Actually, Chiniquy's personal history before his anti-Catholic career has been amply documented elsewhere,[22] especially by himself in his two massive tomes, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome (1885) and Forty Years in the Church of Christ (1900).[23] In summary: of French and Spanish descent (hence the name Etchiniquia), Charles was born in Kamouraska and studied at the seminary in Nicolet. Fatherless in 1821, he was supported by his uncle Amable Dionne until 1825, whereupon two professors at the school paid for his tuition. Fulfilling their hopes, Charles succeeded in winning the prizes of verse recitation in Belles Lettres and in "amplification française" in Rhetoric.[24] The young man was quickly distinguishing himself as an orator.

Ordained in 1833, he served at Saint-Charles de Bellechasse, Charlebourg, Saint-Roch, and as chaplain of the naval hospital. In 1838, he became pastor of the large and important parish of Beauport and,

there, began his famous temperance crusades. He left Beauport suddenly in 1842 for Kamouraska and then joined the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1846. Dismissed as being too unsuitable for Oblate life, he resumed his temperance preaching in the diocese of Montreal at the invitation of the formidable ultramontane bishop, Bourget. Here, he published his widely read Manual of the Temperance Society (1847) which soon became a school handbook in Quebec. His reputation as a 'saint' grew with his oratorical successes.[25]

In 1851, he requested from Bourget permission to go to Illinois and minister to the French Catholics there. Settled in Kankakee, he and his parish quickly found themselves at odds with the Irish bishop, O'Regan of Chicago, who finally excommunicated him in 1856. Chiniquy and his followers in the schismatic "Christian Catholic Church" quickly joined the Old School Presbyterians of Illinois.

In French Canada, letters by Chiniquy, the former ultramontanist supporter, were quickly ridiculed, adopted, and then used by the liberal "Rouge" press. Alliances were necessary fluid in the politically unstable Canadas. The Rouges, who were mainly liberal Catholics with some Protestants, first welcomed the formerly establishment - "Bleu" - Catholic priest. Only when Chiniquy renounced his Roman Catholicism did the Rouges slowly join with the ultramontane Bleus to denounce a renegade who had betrayed an important element in the cultural and political make-up of the 19th-century French Canadian. As Thomas Chapais wrote, "Un Canadien français qui n'est pas catholique est une anomalie. Un Canadien français qui l'a été et qui ne l'est plus est une monstruosité."[26] This particular 'monster' was quickly reviled by all who wished thereby

to prove their own French Canadianism. He, in turn, brought his famous oratory to bear upon his opponents.

Marcel Trudel sees unsympathetically in this early period only the results of a great character flaw. He relies heavily on a written 1884 report, which he terms absolutely reliable,[27] to explain the puzzling gaps in Chiniquy's life. For example, when Chiniquy's uncle stopped supporting him, Chiniquy merely passed over it and rooted his misfortune in his family's poverty at his father's death.[28] Trudel raises, with Sydney Smith,[29] the possibility that Chiniquy had sought the virtue of one of his uncle's daughters. In any case, this same 1884 document brings Trudel to make a similar accusation to explain Chiniquy's rapid exit from Beauport in 1842 and his sudden vocation for the Oblates in 1846.[30] Relying then on the strength of these previous assertions about Chiniquy's morality, Trudel continued to believe the worst about Chiniquy's motives throughout his turbulent career.

Trudel's use of the 1884 document was restrained - he used it explicitly only three times. His vehemence, however, as to its certainty and his tone throughout the remainder of the biography show he gave its words greater weight than something written in Chiniquy's polemic-charged later life deserved. The report, it must be emphasized again, was written in 1884, almost sixty years after the first alleged lapse in morality. Moreover, the author of the document, the Jesuit, Resther, who had at first asked for anonymity, relies sometimes on hearsay and public opinion to denigrate Chiniquy. Trudel states that it was based on Mgr Henri Têtu's notes.[31] An English translation of these notes was deposited in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Montreal. It says that,

> In 1846, tradition relates that he [Chiniquy] was caught in the very act of sin against morals; he was thereupon obliged to leave the diocese of Quebec, and entered the noviciate of the Oblates at Longueuil. The archives of the Archbishop's House, in Québec, contain no official document regarding the above crime, as there had been no canonical inquest held in the case. (32)

So, Trudel had relied on a later anonymous document which, in turn, relied on Têtu's hearsay.

This 1884 document has received no attention from Trudel's readers, even though Chiniquy's early reputation is seriously compromised by it, and even though Trudel's historical judgement seems skewed by it. Of course, this is not to imply that Trudel's work must be dismissed on the basis of three footnotes to a questionable report. This is not to deny the primary importance of Trudel's Chiniquy to any subsequent work. There is other evidence which Trudel cites for Chiniquy's adventures.

In May, 1851, Bishop Bourget wrote to Chiniquy advising him to take strict precautions with "personnes du sexe."[33] As Trudel elaborates, this is strange advice to an older priest who should know this already. Such indications, as well as the reports of contemporaries,[34] those puzzling changes in Chiniquy's 'vocation,' place of residence, and the widespread opinion incline one to accept Têtu's, Smith's, Resther's, and Trudel's explanations. One must not, nevertheless, categorically rule out, as Trudel does, a concomitant motive in Chiniquy's vocational searches worthy of the high opinion many Catholics had before his publicized troubles and of the high opinion many Protestant still have of Chiniquy. The union of opposites in one man, giving both sides their due, remains a possibility.

It is a shame that polemical considerations have obscured the implications of Chiniquy's writings. Luckily, the writings have survived while the controversies have almost died out, so that an assessment is possible. Previous writers, for the most part, have not bothered to trace the connections between Chiniquy's later Protestantism and his earlier involvement in the French Canadian temperance and emigration movements. This thesis will now consider these connections.

Taken together, temperance and emigration were of great importance to religious leaders throughout the 19th and the early part of the 20th century in North America. Chiniquy's temperance crusades were immensely popular, because they pleased every powerful segment of the population, except the tavern keepers, in Lower Canada. The Bleus and the social-reformist Rouges could unite along with the English Tory Conservatives and Reform Grits in a great crusade.

In Chiniquy's Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, the relations between temperance and religion were sharply drawn. Drunkenness was on a par with "immoralities of the most degrading kind." Alcoholic beverages "are cursed in hell, in heaven and on earth" and are "the most formidable enemy of our dear country and our holy religion" for "... alcohol kills the body and damns the soul of its blind victim."[35] The Manual of the Temperance Society had been even more filled with stories of deaths, murders and the damnation of drinkers, to convince its readers of the religious significance of the virtue of temperance. The 1849 edition had been approved by no less than four bishops and had included psalms, prayers, and scripture passages.

Naturally, temperance societies set up by Chiniquy were then

pictured as "nothing else than drops of living water which comes from the fountains of eternal life to reform and save the world."[36] Chiniquy saw opposition to himself and his activities as irreligious. His opponents in other matters were labelled as drunkards. Bishops and priests were said to perceive temperance societies as Protestant schemes for spreading heresy.[37] Actually, Upper Canada had about a hundred societies by 1831. Chiniquy had jumped aboard with moderate temperance in 1840 and went T-total in 1841.[38] Most temperance societies were set up and animated by lay and clergy of Protestant denominations. Perhaps some French Catholics would be nervous at the single-minded effort to make temperance almost the only repository of salvation. A split between the T-totallers and those moderates whom the T-totallers saw as being as bad as intemperate fuelled, moreover, some of Chiniquy's invective. He spoke from strength.

Chiniquy's later crusade for French Canadian emigration to a more prosperous land empty of English Protestant influences would have seemed as capable of uniting the French population as temperance had. There was, however, a polarization of liberal, republican opinions and the conservative, royalist opinions in the Canadas.[39] What kind of cradles' revenge could there be if the children wandered to the States, spoke English, and worked in the factories for Americans of British descent? Such a scheme, to build a French American West, would draw away precious human resources from ultramontane Bleu and liberal Rouge plans to reconquer Canada for French Catholics.

Chiniquy had been given the chance to emigrate by Bishop Bourget in 1851. He made a virtue of exile, writing to the newspapers the following.

> But, my dear son, if thou hast no more room in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and if, by the want of protection from the Government, thou canst not go to the forest without running the danger of losing thy life in a pond, or being crushed under the feet of an English or Scotch tyrant ... Go to Illinois. (40)

Though, it seems, the references to English or Scotch tyrants were standard in French circles, the encouragement of emigration to the English, Protestant United States was not.[41] When Chiniquy returned to Canada in 1853 from a tour of Illinois to pursue his expatriation schemes, no one was willing to listen.[42]

Lower Canada could not maintain its internal population and send settlers both to Manitoba and to the U.S. Although Chiniquy's arguments were geographically and economically sound, the political and cultural arguments for the preservation of the French Canadian way of life in the Canadas and the Canadian West prevailed. Although thousands continued to stream south, the French leaders of Lower Canada did not encourage them. What a contrast Chiniquy forms with Antoine Labelle's success in convincing so many segments in French Canada of the worthiness of his northern messianic vision! The idea of a true North strong and free from American influences was present in Louis Hémon's popular Maria Chapdelaine and later in Diefenbaker's oratory. Chiniquy's should be seen as an alternative vision which was quickly rejected. His rejection led him to repudiate the ideologies of French Canada fuelling northern emigration.

Tied to emigration in Chiniquy's conflicts with the Roman Catholic hierarchy is the well-known controversy over American Catholic land ownership. Trudel himself analyzed the development of Chiniquy's arguments with Bishop O'Regan about the ownership of church property by the parish

as opposed to the diocese.[43] He overlooked the American context of the great trusteeship controversy within the growing Catholic Church. French Canada, being an older missionary field, has had a unique cooperation of laity and hierarchy in the formation of 'fabriques' wherein the handling of the temporal goods of a parish is the responsibility of elected lay representatives. The United States, being a much younger mission field, fell under the more modern mission methods of an ultramontane Prop. Fide.

The great explosion of Roman Catholic mission activity in the nineteenth century was a result of the greater organization and centralization of the post-1789 ultramontane Church trying to recoup its losses. The United States were approached in a highly Roman-centralist manner. No longer did the laity have as much power as in New France. Nor, indeed, did the priests. Gallicanism was still feared. The temporal goods, in theory, were the property of the Church, administered by the bishops who were appointed by Rome. Chiniquy was caught between two traditions of Catholicism.

Even though Trudel dismisses Chiniquy's sincerity (and his morality) in upholding an opposing viewpoint,[44] Chiniquy's sincerity is hardly ever the historically significant focal point. One must see that Chiniquy's success in keeping the Illinois controversy alive rests in these national types of Catholicism. Chiniquy's "cri-de-race" accusing O'Regan of persecuting French Canadians in favour of the Irish points to controversies in the States between Catholic groups.[45]

On personal grounds, his exile to the States justifies his change from being a French Canadian to being a vehement Franco-American. He

denounced the Canada which exiled him.[46] His exile also justifies understanding his change from a conservative, even ultramontane perspective to a liberal, even Rouge position.

Ultramontanism was an ideology heavily invested with nationalism in Lower Canada. The Rouges were a party which held liberal Catholics, - i.e. Catholics who separated their politics from their religion - Protestants who might well be anti-Catholic, like the Grit Liberal George Brown of The Globe, agnostics, republicans, etc. Some members of the famed Institut Canadien, a nationalistic, liberal debating society, had Protestant members who were equally eager for political liberalization and progress.[47] A French Canadian Catholic had a wide choice of political stances from which to choose.

The Liberal popularity of his temperance crusade[48] indicates the broad audience he had. Furthermore, Nive Voisine in her article, "Mouvements de tempérance et religion populaire,"[49] defined the temperance movement as a collective action (spontaneous or organized) tending to produce a change in ideas or of social organization. Perhaps Chiniquy was capable of changing allegiances because of the nature of his work in temperance. Allegiances were fluid.

Chiniquy's conversion to the Protestant wing of the Rouge constellation is understandable if we remember the particular aspects of the temperance crusade. This Catholic revival movement had borrowed elements from the Protestant anglophone milieu. The crusade attempted the immediate personal conversion of individual hearers to the Church and to a renewal of faith.[50] Chiniquy's familiarity with the conversion experience probably made his own conversion much easier. His familiarity

with Protestant terms of reference made it easier to integrate himself into the common beliefs and practices of a Protestant French Canadian. Remember Louis Roussy with whom he debated in 1851 before leaving for Illinois. Chiniquy's own uncle, Joseph Chiniquy (1778-1814?), had once apostatized in the freer atmosphere of Martinique.[51] The path to Protestantism was well-lighted and well-travelled before Chiniquy stepped onto it.

The Making of an Anti-Catholic: Chiniquy 1856-1874

From liberal Catholicism to Protestantism is one step. From Protestantism to anti-Catholicism is another. The connections between Chiniquy's Catholicism and his anti-Catholicism can be found in the same places. In the temperance movement, he had criticized those clergy who had opposed him. He criticized Catholics for not taking the pledge; he accused them of fostering drunkenness. In his emigration, he found himself in opposition to the ultramontane clergy's plans for a national Catholic emigration northward. The Catholics' political plans were thus criticized. His American bishops were opposed to his imposition of French Canadian patterns of parish management. Bishops were, thus, 'greedy and prejudiced', if not drunk.

In Canada, the Rouges drawing on their European and American anti-clerical traditions had often criticized the power and wealth of the clergy. Rouge writers referred to Antiquity, the Middle Ages, stories of monks and nuns, the crimes of the papacy, Galileo, and even the Tridentine prohibition to read the Bible in the vernacular.[52] Republican nations, especially the States, inspired the Rouges to declare that

reading the Bible, a Protestant past-time, had made the Protestant nations great.[53] In 1861, Louis-Joseph Papineau, famed for his involvement in the 1837 Rebellions, wrote to denounce "jesuitical clergy."[54] These writings, and others about the murder of the Hussites, the massacre of the Albigenses, Saint Bartholomew Day, and the Inquisition, filled out the radical Rouge arsenal against the ultramontane Bleus.[55] Many Catholics were deeply anti-clerical.

Chiniquy merely had to adopt their arguments. There was no sudden hop from one camp to another. He had travelled from his conservative Catholic ultramontane stance in 1851 against Roussy to his Protestant anti-Catholic position through the mediating position of the Rouges. From a radical anti-clerical position to an anti-Catholic viewpoint is a short distance already well-travelled by many of the Institut Canadien. Former priests working as evangelical ministers were proudly documented in Protestant works of history.[56] Every element in Chiniquy's journey was already present in French Canadian society. Trudel believes that Chiniquy had been forced into his anti-Catholic stance through his own pride, because the Roman Catholic Church had thrown him out. This simple psychological reason growing out of a moral lapse on Chiniquy's part is possible and probable, but how did it happen? The more complex, three-fold answer of temperance, nationalism and emigration, and the Rouge anti-clerical tradition is also valid. The union of opposites in one man is quite possible.

Chiniquy, faced with opposition from the French diocese of Montreal and a disapproving English O'Regan, decided that language, culture, and race were not the pivots of their arguments, but politics

were. He decided that Rome, in its bishops, was to be abandoned in favour of the freer frontier of the United States.[57] After 1852, Chiniquy and his parishioners were schismatics who no longer recognized the authority of their immediate bishop. Excommunicated in 1856, Chiniquy founded the Christian Catholic Church - Chiniquy's Church, as it was known.[58]

In 1859, he travelled across the Canadas and returned to Montreal, watched nervously by the Conservative Hector Langevin and the ultramontane Montreal bishop who had once fostered Chiniquy's oratorical talents.[59] Langevin, himself, had written the hagiographical preface to the Manual of the Temperance Society and had been the editor of the ultramontanist Mélanges Religieux before his election.[60] In the company of the French Swiss he had once combated under the hierarchy's eyes, he toured Montreal and Quebec. Riots followed in his wake.[61]

After an economically trying time, in 1860 Chiniquy attached himself and his parish to the Old School Presbyterian Synod of Chicago. Suspended from the American Presbytery, he joined the Presbyterian Synod of Canada who exonerated him from his previous suspension on grounds of linguistic misunderstandings. Chiniquy had been accused of being intemperate in language towards others and of having sollicited funds for a non-existent theological college.

Alexander Ferrie Kemp, who had been sent from Montreal to investigate Chiniquy, made the case that Chiniquy's intemperate language was excusable and did not warrant suspension. Secondly, the word 'college' had a different meaning in French Canada. It meant a classical preparatory school educating boys until they were ready for professional

training. The American Presbyterians' accusations of fraud stemmed from their expectations of a university-level institution. There were certainly boys studying under Chiniquy and under other teachers.[62] Chiniquy joined the understanding Canadian Presbytery eager for such a notable French Canadian. The Montreal Presbyterians in 1863 welcomed him gladly and sped his acceptance, making Illinois a Presbyterian mission field attached to the Chatham Presbytery.[63] In 1864, "he gave what his new friends doubtless regarded as a signal proof of the soundness of his Protestantism, ... he married his housekeeper."[64] After travelling through Europe, in January of 1870, he returned to work for the French Canadian Missionary Society. He stayed with the people willing to overlook his "mistakes" as being the results of a clerical education in the Roman Catholic Church.[65] Remembering the religious enthusiasms of 1859, Protestant evangelicals were ecstatic. They compared him to Luther, to Calvin, Zwingli, and to Knox.[66]

Chiniquy's Language

What brought about so much fame? Chiniquy's religious invective, the abusive language directed against the Roman Catholic Church, is the cornerstone to understanding Chiniquy's particular contribution to a previously existing historical context. Now that the context has been sketched in, this thesis turns to an exploration of Chiniquy's invective.

Repetition and growth were constant factors in Chiniquy's life. As previously stated, as a student, Chiniquy had won the first prize in "amplification française" in Rhetoric. This is a subject dedicated to fostering the ability to develop a theme on set subjects by expanding,

exaggerating, and by adding details. A clue to the development of the anti-clerical genre is inherent in this training, once standard for all of Europe. Ultramontane writing, furthermore, had particular features using frequent references to the sacred, an accentuated stylistic lyricism, and a dramatization through striking, descriptive images.[67] Chiniquy certainly was familiar with oratorical and rhetorical licence and certainly was a master of the descriptive and the striking, as seen in his successful temperance speeches. A third element of 19th-century oratory was the common usage of excessively abusive and insulting language or invective in French Canada. The growing polarization of the anti-clerical Rouge and the ultramontanist fringe of the Conservative party gave rise to vigorous denunciation and invective prefiguring Chiniquy's later anti-Catholic language.[68] French Protestants, such as Louis Roussy in 1851, used many of the same stock images of infallibility, the papacy, auricular confession, celibacy, the Virgin Mary, etc., which distinguished Chiniquy's later writings.[69]

The invective grew as polarization continued. Chiniquy's opponents compared him to the devil and to excrement. They called him renegade, traitor, apostate, and liar.[70] This is nothing less than what Chiniquy accused the Swiss French Protestants of being, but the charge of traitor was doubly used in an insecure French Canadian society uniting nationalism and religion. David-Thiery Ruddel believes that there was a rapport between negative images and unlawful social behaviour. Perhaps religious authorities used and condoned stereotypes and stereotypic language to arouse intense emotions.[71] Curé Labelle's own colonization mission was fuelled, in some part, by an anti-English, anti-Protestant

messianism.[72] Chiniquy, therefore, was used by both Roman Catholics and by Protestants in an ongoing polemic.

The anti-clerical and the anti-Catholic genres were fuelled by repetition and plagiarism. Each side, furthermore, 'amplified' the polemic, repeated their assertions, and added details, sometimes even deformed their opponents' intentions to gain a debating point. Gilles Charest in a modern and somewhat humorous work, Le livre des sacres et blasphèmes québécois, wrote that people "... n'ont rien inventé. Ils sacrent parce qu'ils l'ont appris de quelqu'un. Ce vocabulaire fait partie d'un héritage."[73] Charest was studying the growth and the forms of insults, swear words, and blasphemies in Quebec. He found them predominantly religious and referring to Roman Catholicism. His independently arrived at and similar findings about the continuation and repetition of particular stock phrases in a nation's language make it safer to conclude that the same process was at work in the 19th century. Chiniquy's thinking, and others', reflected the continuity and repetition of religious invective.

Endnotes to Chapter One

[1]David-Thiery Ruddel, Le Protestantisme français au Québec, 1840-1919: "Images" et Témoignages (Ottawa, 1983).

[2]Pierre Savard, Aspects du Catholicisme canadien-français au XIX siècle (Montreal, 1980), p. 19.

[3]Ruddel, p. 25.

[4]p. 20.

[5]Charles Chiniquy, Le Suisse Méthodiste Confondu et Convaincu d'Ignorance et de Mensonge (Montreal, 1851). Louis Roussy, Appel à la raison et à la conscience des habitants des paroisses de Ste. Marie et de St. Grégoire (Napier-ville, 1851).

[6]Chiniquy, p. 17.

[7]Jean-Paul Bernard, Les Rouges. Libéralisme, nationalisme et anticléricalisme au milieu du XIX siècle (Montreal, 1971), p. 76.

[8]p. 90.

[9]Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy (Trois-Rivières, 1955), p. 114.

[10]Roussy, pp. 3-4.

[11]Rieul-P. Duclos, Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux Etats-Unis (Montreal, 1912), Vol. 1, p. 152.

[12]Trudel, p. 47.

[13]Trudel, p. 219, quoting Le Canadien (11 fév., 1859), p. 4.

[14]José Sánchez, Anticlericalism; A Brief History (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1972), p. 3.

[15]Marcel Trudel, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada (Montreal, 1945), Vol. 1, p. 122.

[16]John Moir, Enduring Witness. A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Hamilton, Ontario, n.d.), p. 58.

[17]John Higham, Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (New York, 1974), p. 5.

[18]Thomas Curran, Xenophobia and Immigration, 1820-1930 (Boston, 1975), p. 26.

[19]p. 38.

[20]p. 27.

[21]Curran, p. 52, quoting Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (New York, 1938), pp. 289-314.

[22]Marcel Trudel's Chiniquy being the major biography.

[23]Chiniquy, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome. By Father Chiniquy, The Apostle of Temperance of Canada. ... (Chicago, 1885). Forty Years in the Church of Christ (Toronto, 1900). These were the first editions and are the ones to which we refer in subsequent notes.

[24]Trudel, p. 10.

[25]Chiniquy, Manual of the Temperance Society. Dedicated to the Youth of Canada. Translated from the French by Pierre Octave Démaray, Student at Law. First English Edition (Montreal, 1847). This is the better-known episcopally approved edition. We will refer to this edition in later notes.

[26]Savard, p. 19.

[27]Trudel, p. 8, note 20, "... tout à fait sûr, dont nous n'avons cependant pas encore le droit de révéler l'auteur." This report rests in AAM (402-102), 1883-1908 (Montréal, 25 fév., 1884). We have received permission to quote extensively from this document and to reveal the author's name as being the Rev. P. Resther, S.J.

[28]Fifty Years, p. 738.

[29]Sydney Smith, S.J., Pastor Chiniquy. An Examination of His "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome" (London, 1908?), p. 17.

[30]Trudel, p. 49, n. 66, and p. 67, n. 20, respectively.

[31]p. 8, n. 20.

[32]"Biographical Notes Concerning the Apostate Chiniquy." By Monsignor H. Têtu, Procurator of the Archbishop's House, Quebec, (1907?), AAM (402-102) 1931-1962. Têtu was the grandson of Chiniquy's uncle.

[33]Trudel, p. 129.

[34]p. 188.

[35]Fifty Years, pp. 386, 280, 343, and 369.

[36]p. 350.

[37]p. 346.

[38]Trudel, pp. 32-4.

[39]Bernard, pp. 88-9.

[40]Fifty Years, p. 511.

[41]Bourget had earlier written to Chiniquy, in May, 1849, to rebuke him for exciting "des haines nationales," quoted in Trudel, p. 127.

[42]Fifty Years, p. 147.

[43]Trudel, pp. 176-77.

[44]p. 178.

[45]Fifty Years, pp. 630-42, 752-57.

[46]Trudel, pp. 139-144.

[47]Duclos, Vol. 2, pp. 81-2.

[48]Bernard, pp. 74-5.

[49]pp. 65-78 in Benoît Lacroix and Jean Simard, ed., Religion populaire. Religion de clercs? (Quebec, 1984), p. 67.

[50]Voisine, p. 73.

[51]Trudel, p. 4.

[52]Bernard, pp. 83-4.

[53]Bernard, pp. 238-39, quoting L'Avenir (18 jan., 1850).

[54]p. 202.

[55]p. 243.

[56]Duclos' history, for example.

[57]Fifty Years, pp. 633, 810.

[58]Forty Years, p. 123.

[59]Telegram from Hector Langevin to Rev. Mr. Paré announcing "Mr. Chiniquy left Toronto for Montreal this morning." AAM (402-102) 31 Jan., 1859.

[60]Nadia Eid, Le clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec: une analyse de l'idéologie ultramontaine au milieu du XIXe siècle (Montreal, 1976), p. 48.

[61]Robert Lindsey, "Evangelization of the French Canadians by the Presbyterian Church. 1863-1925" unpublished B.D. thesis, PCA. (Toronto, March 16, 1956), p. 17.

[62]Alexander Ferrie Kemp, The Rev. C. Chiniquy, the Presbytery of Chicago and the Canada Presbyterian Church (Montreal, 1863).

[63]Lindsey, p. 3.

[64]Smith, p. 63.

[65]"Rev. C. Amaron. Jan. 19, 1899," pp. 486-87 in Forty Years, which is the same as "Discours de M. Le Pasteur C.E. Amaron pp. 33-38 in In Memoriam (Montreal, 1899), p. 35.

[66]Eugène Reveillaud, "Preface" pp. 11-16 in Chiniquy's Mes Combats: Autobiographie de Charles Chiniquy. Apôtre de la Temperance du Canada

(Montreal, 1946?), p. 14.

[67]Eid, p. 183-84.

[68]p. 147 quotes Bp. Bourget's words about how revolutions and disturbances are part of democracy and heresy. This is the counterpart of Chiniquy's and the Rouges' statement about Catholic nations being poorer.

[69]Refer to Roussy and to Ruddel.

[70]Trudel, pp. 250-51 quotes X.Y.Z. Honte et mépris au renégat. La vie et la mort de l'apostat Chiniquy (Montreal, 1875), Also, AAM (402-102), Resther.

[71]Ruddel, pp. 11-13.

[72]Gabriel Dussault, Le Curé Labelle. Messianisme, utopie et colonisation au Québec 1850-1900 (Montreal, 1983), pp. 87ff.

[73]Gilles Charest, Le livre des sacres et blasphèmes québécois (Montreal, 1974), p. 66.

CHAPTER TWO

PROTESTANT PORNOGRAPHY: THE PRIEST, THE WOMAN, AND THE CONFESSIONAL

Charles Chiniquy succeeded in arousing the religious enthusiasm of several Protestants faced with a growing, seemingly monolithic Catholicism. In 1874, a Statement and Correspondence of the Pictou Presbytery, P.C.L.P. Respecting the Antigonish Riot was brought out describing one of the effects of Chiniquy's preaching tour in Nova Scotia.[1] He had discussed the Roman question[2] instead of the Illinois mission about which he had been asked. A small disturbance erupted and was zealously continued in the courts by the Presbyterians. Chiniquy continued these 'successes' in 1875.

1875 was a key year in Chiniquy's life and in many of the religious communities in Montreal. After almost twenty-five years of chaotic travelling, tumults, controversies, and ephemeral results, Chiniquy

settled in Montreal. As the minister of the French Protestant church of St. Jean on Dorchester near St. Urbain,[3] he attracted crowds which made it necessary to move to the Craig Street Church. Disorders reappeared and Chiniquy was brought to the Côté Street Church, escorted by three hundred Protestants and students of Presbyterian College.[4] Of course, there were more troubles and more speaking tours, notably in California, Australia, and New Zealand, but Montreal became his home. Bishop Bourget recognized this by sending a circular to his clergy concerning Mr. Chiniquy and the Daily Witness.[5] The Witness and the French Protestant L'Aurore began to publish almost daily installments about Chiniquy's activities.

1875 saw the appointment of Principal Douglas Harvey MacVicar, the founder of Presbyterian College, Montreal, as the Chairman of the newly formed Presbyterian Board of French Evangelization. He brought with him several years experience as an active member of the non-denominational French Canadian Missionary Society and, until his death in 1903, "The era of his leadership as Chairman, ... covered the years of most vigorous, extensive, and successful French evangelization in the history of Canada."[6] L'Aurore kept boxscores of Chiniquy's converts throughout the end of the 1870s just as Les Mélanges Religieux had once kept score of his temperance pledges through the 1840s.[7] His notoriety was equal to his fame. He and MacVicar worked well together.

1875 also saw the Presbyterian Union in Canada. Presbyterians and other Christians had previously found

> a common and unifying cause in such issues as sabbath observance and temperance. This was producing a sort of "omnibus Protestantism," based on shared religious

> beliefs and social attitudes and on the abiding fear of Roman Catholicism. That constant fear of Roman Catholic domination, which had been at the root of so many of Canada's troubles in the 1850s and 1860s, was reawakened in the 1870s... . (8)

Though such ecumenical feelings had not caused the continuation of the inter-denominational French Canadian Missionary Society, it did signal the universal attraction of Chiniquy's preaching. An ex-Roman Catholic priest was always welcome.

That year also saw the publication of his first book since the Manual of the Temperance Society. It became one of the most widely known and translated books of the late nineteenth century in Canada, the U.S., and in Europe.[9] Between 1875 and 1886, twenty-nine editions of The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional were published.[10] The Daily Witness published extracts and rebuttals of criticisms through 1875.[11] Catholic circles in New York labelled it "a mass of filth and of falsehood from beginning to end. No respectable person in this country would consent to touch the book, although in the scum of the populace there will always be found scavengers ready to pick up and feast on offal."[12] In London, England, the Jesuit Sydney Smith said that "To write or to circulate such a work, which cannot fail to pollute the minds of its readers, is an outrage upon decency, ..."[13] A bibliographic entry of that time names it as one of the most evil books published in Canada and apologizes for mentioning it.[14] At the centre of a great controversy, it excited the sectional passions of Canadians in the 1880s. It sold edition after edition; Chiniquy's influence grew among French and English Protestants.[15] Marcel Trudel dismisses this book with a few words, denouncing it as the wicked production of a disgusting imagination.[16] It is necessary to

review this important book to understand, in a more complete way, the religious mentalities of the late 19th century in Canada. To do so, this chapter will first summarize under the headings of 1: popular mentality and 2: women and sexuality the insights Chiniquy presents. Secondly, it will pursue the theme that Chiniquy developed the anti-Catholic genre through repetition, growth, and a different historical sensibility.

The Popular Imagination

The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional, which attempted to prove the evil effects of the confessional on morality and on society, affords several clues to the readers' world-view as well as some insights into Chiniquy's own mental landscape. His book refers to a world-view which encompasses Heloise and Abelard, the moral theologians, Dens and Liguori, Migne, Baronius, Pius IV, Innocent III, Father Gavazzi, St. Teresa, Savanarola, various encyclicals, the "Brahmin" religion, Mormonism, the Chicago fire, and the infallibility question. Of course, these references are Chiniquy's own, but they hint at a corresponding audience capable of appreciating such references. In one instance, Chiniquy refers to an obscure saint, Sainte Philomène,[17] who has since been dropped from the Catholic calendar. Pierre Savard, in his recent work, gives independent evidence of the great fame this now little known figure had once enjoyed. Chiniquy is not an entirely idiosyncratic personality. His book was popular both for its subject matter and its accessibility. It is now a storehouse of 19th-century attitudes towards various elements within the popular culture.

This suggests the relative homogeneity at that time of religious and secular culture in Canadian society. The subject matter (an anti-confessional argument) and the form of this book (verbose anecdotes bolstered with profuse biblical quotations)[18] make for unusual reading material in the late 20th century, but it was a best-seller in its day. It speaks of a great interest in religious questions on the part of readers who had some familiarity with the terms of debate.

The level of debate was not high. When Chiniquy states that

> Every one knows that the Septuagint Bible was the Bible that was generally read and used by Jesus Christ and the Hebrew people, in our Saviour's days. Its language was evidently the one spoken by Christ and understood by his hearers (19)

one may assume, therefore, with Pierre Savard, that the clergy were little better trained than the people.[20] Chiniquy, of course, was in his sixties when this statement was written, so one may date its origin to the early nineteenth century, when Chiniquy was educated. Was this statement, however, challenged in the 1880s? Either educated people were not reading this book and this book, then, is an example of the reading materials of the lower classes, or educated people were not greatly separated from the rest of the population. This is evidence for the growing middle class in Canada. Both possibilities are probably correct and need further study.

Another very interesting development in Chiniquy's writing is the fledgling indigenization of anti-clericalism. Chiniquy canadianizes the usual Voltairean themes[21] by adding personal reminiscences of fallen fellow priests. He also writes of the existence of semi-secret societies dedicated, like the Institut, to liberal goals in Canada.[22] Since anti-clericalism was, for the most part, a European concern, Chiniquy's

appropriation of anti-clerical themes may show the growing Catholic receptivity to the critique of an institution recovering from the Conquest's disestablishment and capable of arousing antagonisms with its success.

The indigenization of anti-clericalism seems, however, to be a weak development in Chiniquy's 1875 writings. The majority of the stories are taken from European sources. The moral theologians to whom Chiniquy refers as examples of perversion are Dens, Liguori, Debreyne, Bailly, Kenrick, Burchard, Gury, and Scavani (sic).[23] All but one, Kenrick, are European. The moderns, Gury and Scavini, are barely mentioned in passing. Chiniquy relies on the older European writings. Liguori, the Redemptorist founder and moral theologian, is mentioned most of all, after Dens.[24] One suspects that Canadian society was also facing Europe, like Chiniquy.

Women and Sexuality

Besides accessibility, another reason for Chiniquy's popularity is his liberal use of sensational innuendos of sexual misconduct throughout his book. These innuendos rest upon the assumption that women, innocent temptresses, are the property of their families. If they lead independent spiritual lives under the direction of their confessors, so that they are "at the feet of that spiritual physician showing him all the newly made wounds of her soul; explaining all her constant temptations, her bad thoughts, her most intimate secret desires and sins" they are bound to lead independent moral lives. "... A single word of those intimate conversations [in the confessional] would be followed by an act of divorce on the part of the husband, if it were known by him." Some women may even be led to love their priest "... in a most criminal way

... too monstrous to be repeated."[25] Yet, the priest is usually an ugly beast who, nevertheless, has an irresistible attraction and power over the female penitent.[26]

As for the poor, wronged husband, the rightful proprietor of the object of these criminal attractions, he languishes, celibate, in order to curtail his wife's activities and to ascertain the paternity of ensuing children. The populations of Catholic countries, such as Spain and France, are, therefore, declining. This causes their weakness in international affairs. If the husband ignores his wife's infidelity, he becomes the bread-winner for someone else's family.[27] With over-population, Catholic countries, like Ireland, are poverty-stricken and weak in international affairs.

The picture Chiniquy draws, besides being disjointed in some places, is an instructive one. First, there is a tension between the independence of women as free individuals choosing their spiritual directors and their dependence on either the priest or the husband. As property, they are torn between the power structures of Church or family. In the 1880s, women were considered by men such as Chiniquy, and other anti-clericals, as objects fought over and won. Could there be some inspiration from Chiniquy's past? Stories of women who escape their families[28] may be reflections of former failed attempts at self-emancipation. Chiniquy, however, sees scandal in a woman dressing as a man.

Secondly, Chiniquy's emphasis on the sexual theme prompts some remarks on the psychology of the anti-clerical writer. Hofstadter writes that "Anti-Catholicism has always been the pornography of the Puritan."[29] David Brion Davis has taken this idea further and has suggested that

writings of this kind were the "projection of forbidden desires."[30] The Priest, The Woman and the Confessional could be the product of a repressive, authoritarian, Victorian Canadian society fascinated and repelled by risquē insinuations, as well as the product of Chiniquy's mind. In accordance with prevailing morality, the ugly priest and the fallen women could be self-righteously repudiated, but the books were bought, nevertheless. With a feeling of self-satisfaction, the late nineteenth-century reader safely indulged some vicarious escapist participation. It could be repudiated easily as monstruous, but it could also be read in the name of self-education against the errors of Rome. The reader united himself to such writings in order to denounce their subject matter.

Repetition and Change

The anti-Catholic genre of writing is certainly not new. As stated earlier, it was a standard element of 19th-century liberal culture with a long tradition behind it. In 1849, "more than 2,200,000 pages of such anti-Catholic tracts were being circulated yearly ..."[31] Above all, far

> more attention, however, was paid the confessional as a means for priestly iniquity. A host of writers painted the clerical members of the Catholic church as lecherous rogues who used this instrument of their holy office simply as a device for the seduction and ruin of their fair penitents. To Protestants this conclusion seemed inevitable from the nature of the confessional. (32)

Chiniquy made a substantial contribution to this tradition with his many books and pamphlets. Is The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional anything other than another repetition of the anti-Catholic genre?

As John Higham says, the tradition does not greatly change from one generation to another.[33] Marcel Trudel's L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada makes a strong case that several of Chiniquy's themes and stock illustrations are derived from Voltaire's writings.[34] In fact, Chiniquy's The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional, in a brief examination, shows the heavy debt it owes to previous authors.

In addition to the writers and theologians mentioned above, he alludes, consciously or unconsciously, to classical images in describing the conquering of women in France.[35] From early Church writers, he refers to Marcion's use of confession. This is probably a borrowing from the Middle Ages and the Reformation debates, since, later, he also revives the ever-popular identification of Rome with the biblical archetype of Babylon, "the mother of harlots," "... that great enchantress of souls, whose sect is on the city of the 'seven hills.'"[36] When Chiniquy approached his first confession, he "felt bordering on despair from the fear that it was impossible for [him] to remember exactly every thing, and to confess each sin as it occurred."[37] Though this must be proven elsewhere, it is possible Chiniquy turned to Luther for illumination in his anti-Catholic phase.

Chiniquy then revives old arguments from the Jesuit-Jansenist crisis as seen in Pascal's letters. In a reference to Ravaillac, he mentions that assassins are formed in the confessional. In a satirical reference to Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, he describes how the penitents become like corpses without will, thought, or power except that which is given them by a priest.[38]

Chiniquy is also aware of more recent anti-clerical literature.

The Priest, The Woman, The Family (Paris, 1845) by Jules Michelet, the famous anti-clerical French historian, may prove to be a great source of borrowings. Besides the similarities in titles, Chiniquy refers to it in denouncing the priest coming between the husband and the wife.[39] In other borrowings, Chiniquy acknowledges that his major stories come from Henrietta Carracciolo's Mysteries of the Neapolitan Convents and Miss Eliza Richardson's My Experience of the Roman Catholic Church.[40] Another story, that of the adultery of a rich man's wife with her priest,[41] which he states to be a Canadian example, seems to come from William Hogan's Auricular Confession.[42] In other attempts for relevance to his North American audience, he joins the ideal of Liberty and the emancipation of the slaves with anti-Mormonism and anti-Catholicism.[43] One may begin to speak of the ecumenism of hate.

A closer look at Chiniquy's language after some comparison of differing editions reveals some of the growth factors within this literary genre.[44] There are, at times, significant differences between the first French edition of Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal and the English edition published in the same year. It is probable, though there are no indications on the title page, that the English is the second edition and that it is a translation of the French. Four considerations lead to this conclusion. First, Chiniquy is a French writer. Though he began to preach more often in English, and his subsequent works are, for the most part, published first in English, in 1875 he probably had a translator as he did for his Manual of the Temperance Society. Secondly, Trudel proves that the French edition is a first edition, as mentioned in Gagnon's Essai de bibliographie,[45] so that the English one would be the second

edition. Thirdly, there are textual considerations. French terms are used as italicized quotes in the English edition while they are clearly part of the normal narrative in the French.[46] Finally, a great many of the textual differences between the French and the English editions were simplifications of difficult rhetorical passages in the French.[47] The important differences in the editions can be summarized under four main headings; the Roman Church, God, priests, and pollution.[48]

"Leur église" or their "perfide église" becomes "their false religion" or their "cruel and perfidious Church."[49] It is as if the English translator, not wishing at first to grant the title of church to the Romans, later concedes it but, in so doing, heaps an extra epithet as payment for the privilege. "Rome holds people in chains of dogma" the French edition explains, but, in English, the chains become "dark dungeons of her superstition!"[50]

God, in the French version, received comparatively fuller and more appealing descriptions than in the English. Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal, for example, says

> Le Dieu qui a créé le ciel et la terre est tout puissant. Mais si sa puissance est grande, ses miséricordes le sont encore plus. Un de ses prophètes a dit: "Les miséricordes du Seigneur sont au-dessus de tous les ouvrages de ses mains." (51)

The mercies of God were entirely dropped from the English text. Furthermore, when Chiniquy emphasizes "l'idée d'un Dieu juste, saint et terrible, qui voit tout et pèsera tout dans la balance de la justice éternelle"[52] the English text also ignores the description. When God is mentioned, in English he is the one asked, "... wilt thou rebuke me?" instead of "... recevez moi, dans votre miséricorde!"[53] Finally, early in the

texts, the "jugements de Dieu" become "eternal damnation"[54] leaving no doubt in anyone's mind at the outset about the uncompromising fierceness of the English God.

The description of priests underwent considerable variation and vagueness. "L'homme" became "confessor."[55] "Confesseurs" became priests.[56] "Ces théologiens" are "those shrewd casuists" practicing not theology, "the art of arts" but the "secret art."[57] Finally, "le prêtre" became "the torturer."[58] It is quite a progression!

The "séduisantes paroles" of women's confessors were changed into the "diabolical machinations of their priests."[59] Here again one may see the change from seduction to something diabolical. Sexuality and hellfire were never far apart. These "diabolical designs" of the priests crop up again in the English text without any corresponding French original.[60] What is their design? It is nothing less than to allow the priest to put to the woman "questions which the most depraved woman would never consent to hear from her vilest seducer ..."[61] The priest, nonetheless, enjoys "the confidence of his superiors, the respect of the people, and the love of his female penitents,"[62] of course, only in English. They must be pleasant tortures, indeed. This brings us to our final category.

In a passage which has no immediate counterpart in French,

> The Church of Rome, as if she had an evil conscience for allowing her priest to hold such close and secret converse with a woman, on such delicate subjects, keeps, as it were, a watchful eye on him while the poor misguided woman is pouring in his ear the filthy burthen of her soul. (63)

She speaks about her "most intimate thoughts and desires, and

[the] most polluting deeds."[64] She was prompted, naturally, not by ordinary questions, but by infamous and polluting questions[65] which drove her, not with a "feu devorant," but a deadly poison to love the confessor "in a most criminal way."[66]

What do such revelations reveal to the reader? The same ideas are present, in essence, in both editions, but some are emphasized more or less. The second English edition emphasizes greatly the diabolical power of the confessing priesthood, forced by a cruel Rome to torture sordid confessions out of less than willing penitents who are then irrevocably chained to their priest-lover in degradation, vice, sin, and superstition. God above can only frown, condemn, and rebuke, instead of forgive. Such a frightening picture were the English readers seeing! Why were such additions made to the admittedly horrible original? Did English and mainly Protestant audiences expect, desire, and enjoy these details? Was the added invective necessary to satisfy an already created expectation, or was it part of an unconscious ongoing process in the literature of anti-clericalism? Mistranslations have here led to a distortion and an addition to the anti-clerical genre - an addition which continues in subsequent editions whereby chapters are added in repetition of the same accusations.[67] Perhaps much of hate literature undergoes the same process of growth and intensification with time and transposition from one culture to another.

This leads to a consideration of the reality and the education behind Chiniquy's development of his anti-confessional argument. His use of previous authors' arguments indicates that, indeed, Chiniquy is participating in a literary genre. The rules of this genre, naturally,

do not exclude plagiarism, repetition, or even addition. The repetition of previous arguments was likely regarded as bestowing honour upon their arguments and style. It was less an academic defence than a literary reworking of old themes. Anti-Catholicism is a genre with which Chiniquy's audience was familiar. It is a genre from which certain arguments and a set rhetoric were expected. It presupposed a common education, common reading habits, or, at least, common stock images in the popular oral culture. Thus, Chiniquy could openly refer to Dens and to Ligouri, to Baronius and to Michelet in acknowledgement of their pre-eminence as stock figures in a developing debate, Lesser authorities, such as Hogan, were probably cited anonymously, until their arguments became important or were classically stated by another writer.

The truth or falsehood behind such statements, in an age of emerging modern historiography, could not be proven. That the tradition of anti-clericalism existed and was hallowed by use was sufficient proof of the truth of the stock themes and characters. Adherents did not question the truth of individual elements within the tradition. This attitude on the part of the authors and their readers grants the twentieth century a rare insight into the intellectual atmosphere of the 19th-century author-controversialist. The concept of truth was different. Tradition was an extraordinarily important concept in an individual's world-view. If one was dissatisfied with elements within one tradition of living or of thought, one repudiated the tradition and adopted another. Chiniquy, then, becomes more understandable in his swing from an early anti-Protestantism to an anti-Catholicism. He also becomes understandable in his use of obviously contradictory elements within

his adopted tradition. There cannot be a question of sincerity, therefore, when one finds him contradicting himself to prove a point.

History, furthermore, was not the social science it attempts to be today. It seems to have been identified with tradition and was closer to a literature with rules and conventions which have changed into the modern discipline of history. Chiniquy's genre of history was close to the classical historians who presented ideas or morality tales in a literary fashion. Trudel's own reliance on "tradition" amply demonstrates the continuing appeal of this genre.

Chiniquy's The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional affords, therefore, considerable insight into the world-view of the late 19th-century North American reader. Particulars, such as individual saints, authors, or stock characters, as well as general ideas, such as history or tradition, can be illuminated with a study of such literature. Trudel and other authors, overcome by confusion or disgust, have too quickly dismissed this Protestant "pornography."

Endnotes to Chapter Two

[1]William Harris, printer, (Pictou, Nova Scotia, 1874), 78p. PCA.

[2]p. 42.

[3]Trudel, p. 247.

[4]Moir, p. 155. and John H. MacVicar's Life and Works of Donald Harvey MacVicar D.D., LL.D. by His Son (Toronto, 1914), pp. 165-66.

[5]AAM (402-102) Imprimés. Montreal, 18 mars, 1875.

[6]Lindsey, p. 13.

[7]Trudel, p. 92.

[8]Moir, p. 181.

[9]AAM (402-102) 14 juin, 1889 letter from secretary general Yoder of the Bishopric of Strasbourg. Also Imprimés, Der Priester, die Frau und die Ohrenbeichte von Pater C. Chiniqui. Für Aufklärung! (c. 1888). A handbill warning against Chiniquy, quoting Bourget and Archbishop Corrigan of new York.

[10]Trudel, p. 247. We take this opportunity to point out that references to Chiniquy's The Priest, The Woman and the Confessional are from the F.E. Grafton, Montreal, 1875 first English edition, viii - 184p, or, when specified, from the French first edition of Montreal's Librairie Evangélique. It, too, came out in 1875 as Le prêtre, la femme et le confessional, iv - 337p.

[11]The Daily Witness, March 8, p. 1, March 9, p. 1, March 16, pp. 2, 4, June 3, p. 1, 1875, for example.

[12]AAM (402-102) December 6, 1888. Letter. Archbishop Corrigan of N.Y. to Mr. Bachen of Cologne.

[13]Smith, p. 64.

[14]Philéas Gagnon, "Chiniquy (Le Père)" p. 115, Vol. 1. in Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne (Québec, 1895). "Ce livre est probablement

le plus méchant qu'on ait publié au Canada. A raison de notre qualité de bibliophile canadien, on nous pardonnera de le laisser figurer ici dans notre collection. L'histoire aura besoin de connaître ces ouvrages pour les flétrir."

[15]Trudel, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada Vol. 2, p. 150.

[16]Trudel, Chiniquy pp. 247-48.

[17]The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional p. 73. Savard, pp. 173-196.

[18]Ezekiel, Revelation, and Matthew, for example.

[19]Chiniquy, p. 143.

[20]Savard, p. 27.

[21]Trudel, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada Vol. 2, p. 144.

[22]Chiniquy, pp. 129-133.

[23]p. 169.

[24]Chapter 11 is devoted to Latin quotations from Ligouri, Dens (a 19th-century follower of Liguori), Burchard, Debreyne and Kenrick. Kenrick may have been included, because Chiniquy had spent several years in the States and had become familiar with this moral theologian there. It would be interesting to note the frequency of these authors in other anti-clerical works. Besides the lengthy quotes, Chiniquy refers to Liguori 8 times, Dens 6, Debreyne 5, Kenrick and Burchard twice each, and Bailly, Chevassu, Gury and Scavini once each.

[25]pp. 61, 62, and 11, respectively.

[26]For example, one priest "was a man of about fifty years of age, very corpulent, with a rubicund face, and a type of physiognomy as vulgar as it was repulsive." p. 36.

[27]pp. 81, 72.

[28]pp. 49-57.

[29]Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics" pp. 3-40 in The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York, 1967), p. 21.

[30]David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature." pp. 205-224 in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. 47 (1960), p. 217.

[31]Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860 (New York, 1938), p. 247.

[32]p. 363.

[33]John Higham, "Another Look at Nativism" pp. 147-158 in The Catholic Historical Review Vol. 44 (1959), pp. 150-151.

[34]Trudel, Vol. 2, p. 144.

[35]For example, compare "But as the hardest granite rock yields and breaks under the drop of water which incessantly falls upon it, so that great nation ..." p. 83, with Ovid's Ars Amatoria Book One, lines 475-476. "Quid magis est saxo durum, quid mollius unda? Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua."

[36]Chiniquy, pp. 161, 117, and 69, respectively.

[37]pp. 120-21.

[38]pp. 113, 142.

[39]p. 83.

[40]pp. 37-41 and pp. 133-139, respectively.

[41]pp. 65-72.

[42]Chiniquy writes, "After dinner the merchant asked his lady to call the children, that I might see them, and I could not but admire their beauty; but I do not need to say that the pleasure of seeing those dear and lovely little ones was much marred by the secret though sure knowledge I had that the three youngest were the fruits of the unspeakable depravity of auricular confession ..." p. 72.

Davis, p. 218, quotes Hogan, p. 289, "I have seen husbands unsuspiciously and hospitably entertaining the very priest who seduced their wives in the confessional, and was the parent of some of the children who sat at the same table with them ..." (Hartford, 1855).

[43]pp. 112, 114.

[44]Textual comparisons were made from the first French edition and the English second edition, published in the same year. An arbitrary choice of the respective first, fifth and tenth chapters was made out of a possible eleven. As was stated earlier, the eleventh chapter contains little more than extensive Latin quotations from Catholic moralists on matters of sexuality, theft, murder, regicide, and lies. From one edition to another, this chapter does not vary. The French text pages are 1-52, 103-131, and 306-326. They correspond to the English pages, 1-28, 58-72, and 167-179. The following double quotations list the French text pages first and then the corresponding English text, if it exists, last.

[45]Gagnon, Vol. 1, p. 115.

[46]For examples, "la sainte à la mode" (p. 25), and, in English, "Sainte à la mode" (p. 13). "ver solitaire" (p. 124) and "ver solitaire" (tape-worm)" (p. 68). "le bon dieu" (p. 126) and "the good god" (Le Bon Dieu)" (p. 68).

[47]For example, in French, "souillé mon âme" (p. 38) becomes "been destroyed" (p. 20). "brûlerait la cervelle" (p. 38) is "kill" in English. (p. 20). "Combien est amère la vie d'une foule de ses esclaves!" (p. 8) is reduced to the cliché "how bitter is human life." (p. 4), etc.

[48]Other categories, such as the sacraments, women, and theologians, etc., have less than three references each and, therefore, are not presented or were added to another category.

[49]pp. 8, 6 and pp. 4 and 2.

[50]p. 6 and p. 3.

[51]p. 313.

[52]p. 111.

[53]English, p. 17 and p. 32 in the French.

[54]p. 6 and p. 3.

[55]p. 20 and p. 10.

[56]p. 9 and p. 4.

[57]French, p. 312 and p. 104 with the English p. 171 and p. 59.

[58]p. 11 and p. 6.

[59]p. 5 and p. 2.

[60]p. 67.

[61]p. 1.

[62]pp. 70-71.

[63]p. 173.

[64]p. 172.

[65]p. 26 and p. 14.

[66]p. 18 and p. 11.

[67]Auricular Confession in Australia, By Pastor Chiniquy. And Chiniquy Vindicated (Melbourne, 1879). 16p. This work figures in the New York, 1880 edition of The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional.

CHAPTER THREE

CHINIQUY'S CATHOLICS: FIFTY YEARS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME

From 1875, Chiniquy began a new career in Canada and around the world with the Board of French Evangelization. L'Aurore, the French Protestant newspaper printed on the Witness presses in Montreal, kept an admiring watch on him and reported his activities regularly. His peripatetic ministry to the French in Quebec, Ontario, the Maritimes, and in the Northeastern United States gained him more fame among English Protestants and greater infamy among the Catholics. There is evidence he joined the Orange Lodge,[1] renewed his challenges for debate,[2] entertained students[3] who would later remember him with fondness, gave speeches "at length,"[4] and continued his connection with the mission of Ste. Anne. In 1878, he won the eighteen-year-old court battle with the Bishop of Chicago for possession of the church and lands.[5] Above all,

he continued to woo French Canadian Catholics for Protestantism and his many converts were duly noted.[6]

He and his students from Illinois contributed to an immense increase in French evangelization by the Presbyterian Board, because they were able to speak as French Canadians to the people of Quebec.[7] Robert Lindsey, however, in his B.D. thesis, "Evangelization of the French Canadians by the Presbyterian Church: 1863-1925," analyzed the Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Church and concluded that Chiniquy's personal success was just that: personal, French, charismatic, but, ultimately, with no lasting results. It left no leadership or structure behind it.[8] Chiniquy aroused intense short-term emotions similar to those in the burnt-over district of the States. He had lived in the area; he had heard travelling ministers and had gone to camp meetings.[9] Like them, he rarely helped evangelical causes in any permanent way.[10] The continual bleeding of converted French Canadians to the Canadian West or to the States did not help the establishment of permanent structures enabling an easy assessment of Chiniquy's activities.[11]

The 1880s were to show some more permanent results. In the States, a more hysterical anti-Catholicism was growing. The influx of immigrants from Ireland and the predominantly Catholic South-eastern European countries frightened the older inhabitants in North America. Thomas Curran posits that the economic fluctuations in the 1880s prompted the psychological insecurities behind the anti-Catholic sentiments.[12] In French Canada, education controversies grew between the Catholics and the Protestants. Political alliances were in flux, as seen in the formation of Honoré Mercier's parti national, in the aftermath of Louis

Riel's execution in 1885. French Canadian and, to some extent, Roman Catholic sensibilities, were outraged over the speed and irregularities of Riel's condemnation and over the evident English, Protestant, and Orange desire to see him hang. A new polarization over race, language, and religion formed.

Chiniquy, meanwhile, had been putting the finishing touches to his major autobiography, Cinquante ans dans l'Eglise Romaine, of which the first French volume came out providentially in 1885. No second volume came out until 1902-03. The complete English edition, however, quickly came out also in 1885 and continued to sell phenomenally.[13] His assimilation to English Protestant tastes, obviously, was growing, too. Since the Jesuits were incorporated and their estates were finally settled, arousing Orange animosities in the late 1880s, Chiniquy's new work and his fame were assured.

The accuracies of Chiniquy's historical narrative have already been subjected to criticism. Reverend Sydney Smith's work, Pastor Chiniquy. An Examination of His "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome" (1908) was dedicated to refuting Chiniquy's claims and to slurring his morals.[14] Smith found the effort easy. Marcel Trudel duly enumerated Chiniquy's errors[15] but has not been believed by some Protestant circles, notably Chiniquy's descendants.[16] It is time to go beyond these controversies where, for the past hundred years, historical thought has been mired. Chiniquy's first autobiography is a treasure of ideas, feelings, and attitudes. The following pages will concentrate on his views of the Roman Catholic Church.

Repetition

Fifty Years in the Church of Rome is repetitive. At eight hundred and thirty-two pages, it could hardly be otherwise. The issues which animated Chiniquy in his younger years - temperance, national emigration, and, above all, sexual immoralities - were repeated and reflected in this new work through the prism of "the unsuspected and untold abominations of Romanism."[17] Stories in The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional were retold;[18] various pamphlets reappeared as chapters.[19] His conflicts over emigration which had filled the newspapers reappeared. Testimonials, letters and affidavits were recopied whole or in part. Chiniquy had filled out his repertoire and had given each of his passions play on the greater stage of anti-Catholicism.

From 1875 to 1885, Chiniquy's references to earlier writers grow in depth. He repeats Voltaire's accusations of paganism within Catholicism.[20] Referring to the Holy Fathers,[21] he mentions St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Tertullian, Justin, Clemens, and Cyprian.[22] The historians, Baronius and Henrion,[23] the Inquisition, and Galileo[24] figure prominently as stock characters and themes, as do Lamennais, Pascal, and Bossuet.[25] Each of these last three men are cited as brilliant men in disfavour with the Church. Pascal's Gallican Jansenism and Lamennais' condemned liberalism are easy supports for Chiniquy's stand against the increasingly ultramontane Church. What of Bossuet? This great orator, one whom Chiniquy no doubt studied, imitated and admired as a young man, had been declared a secret Protestant by Louis Veuillot of L'Univers![26] L'Univers, that mouthpiece of the extreme ultramontane infallibilists, itself received

separate mention.[27] With St. Thomas, Dens, Bailly, etc., and the other moral theologians condemned so thoroughly in The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional, Alphonsus Liguori again receives extra attention.[28] The Jesuits were also denounced, especially in relation to the assasinations of Henry III, Henry IV, William the Taciturn,[29] and of St. Bartholomew's Day.[30] The medieval injunctions, backed with the state, against heresy[31] were repeated. French anti-clericalism was strong and still valid in North America.

In his more recent references, Chiniquy quotes Gladstone,[32] Samuel Morse's Conspiracies Against the Liberties of the United States, Richard Thompson's The Papacy and the Civil Power,[33] Justin Fulton,[34] and Brownson's Review.[35] These last four references strongly testify to the continuing indigenization of Chiniquy's anti-clericalism. English American references, such as the anti-Catholics, Morse, Thompson, and Fulton, versus the conservative Catholic, Brownson, were quickly overtaking the French Catholic liberal anti-clericalism prevalent in his 1875 writings. The greatest example of Chiniquy's own intellectual journey to North America from Europe is his thesis of the Jesuit assassination of Abraham Lincoln.[36] With Chiniquy's Americanization went a growing anti-Catholicism. While he had generally restricted the main focus of his observations to questions of immorality, questions which were repeated in Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, his focus now widened to take in the entire hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. The secrets of the priests, monks, nuns, bishops, Rome, its theology, its doctrines, and its conspiracies were to be revealed.[37]

Priests, Monks, Nuns, and Bishops

First, Chiniquy's career as a Catholic priest brought him into contact with other priests. Unfortunately, he met only two types. Rarest of all was the irreproachable priest, with a child's faith,[38] honest, sincere, and self-sacrificing in epidemics.[39] "But, shall we conclude from that, as the priests of Rome want us to do, that their religion is the true and divine religion of Christ? ... No!"[40] The majority of the priests of Canada were, furthermore, only

> Fine fellows - social and jovial gentlemen - as fond of smoking their cigars as of chewing their tobacco and using their snuff; fond of fast horses; repeating the prayers of their breviary and going through the performance of their ministerial duties with as much speed as possible. With a good number of books in their libraries, but knowing nothing of them but the titles; possessing the Bible, but ignorant of its contents; believing that thay had the light, when they were in awful darkness; preaching the most monstrous doctrines as the gospel of truth; considering themselves the only true Christians in the world, when they worshipped the most contemptible idols made with hands. Absolutely ignorant of the Word of God, while they proclaimed and believed themselves to be the lights of the world. Unfortunate blind men, leading the blind into the ditch! (41)

The absolute levity and lack of seriousness on the part of these gentlemen priests scandalized the young Chiniquy.[42] He contrasted their moral laxity with that of one priest whom he greatly admired for his self-flagellation.[43] His admiration of Pascal, added to the peculiar praise he gave to this severe morality, suggests that Chiniquy was greatly influenced by Jansenism. When one remembers his opposition to the Jesuits, rivals in France of both the Jansenists and Pascal, and his opposition to the Redemptorists for their Liguorian moral theology - a theology allowing greater

moral laxity than the Jansenists' - one may be sure of the continuation of French anti-clericalism in North America.

Other priests were considerably worse. Belonging to Rome, they were steeped in its theology corrupting hearts, perverting intelligences, and poisoning souls.[44] Taught by the theologians - again! - Liguori, Dens, and Debreyne, who were approved by the Pope, priests were "obliged to take darkness for light, and vice for virtue."[45] They were, moreover, obliged to allow liars, murderers, and thieves to commit their crimes and believe that they did not offend God if they had followed the theologians' rules.[46]

It was not surprising that Chiniquy could reveal these morally perverted priests as guilty of being "notorious drunkards, or given to public or secret concubinage: several of them have children by their own nieces, and two by their own sisters ... Religion is nothing to them but a well-paying comedy."[47] Priests were continually drunk,[48] licentious,[49] and bastard-begetting infidels and atheists.[50] Hearkening back to French anti-clericalism, Chiniquy declared that the priests of France were rich! And who is ignorant of the fact that the greatest part of the priests of Paris are also infidels, and that many also publicly live with concubines?[51]

What was worse was that these clerical Don Juans were still extraordinarily ugly! Corpulent, stupid,[52] lean, ugly, lisping, and stammering, dirty, or just fat and ugly,[53] no priest was handsome or ordinary. The clue to understanding Chiniquy's fascination with personal appearance lies in his description of another priest.

> Who could have thought, for instance, that that lean and ugly superior of the oblates, Father Allard, could have fallen in love with his young nuns, and that so many would have lost their hearts on his account. (54)

Was it envy? Richard Hofstadter explains that "Much of the function

> of the [clerical] enemy lies in what can be wholly condemned. The sexual freedom often attributed to him, his lack of moral inhibition, his possession of especially effective techniques for fulfilling his desires, gives exponents of the paranoid style an opportunity to project and freely express unacceptable aspects of their own minds."

These are aspects which are also admired and, sometimes, imitated.[55] Chiniquy's projection, begun in The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional, grew in Fifty Years in the Church of Rome.

No matter how depraved the priest may be in Chiniquy's gallery of villains, his concentrated venom fell on the celibate and obedient life of monasticism[56] - the very life from which he was dismissed in 1847. A 'friend' says that the regular clergy

> gives himself with more impunity to every kind of debauch and licentiousness than the secular. The monks being concealed from the eyes of the public, inside the walls of their monastery, where nobody, or at least very few people have any access, are more easily conquered by the devil, and more firmly kept in his chains, than the secular priests. The sharp eyes of the public, and the daily intercourse the secular priests have with their relations and parishioners, form a powerful and salutary restraint upon the bad inclinations of our depraved nature. In the monastery, there is no restraint ... (57)

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were presented "as the most perfect system of Pharisaism the world had ever seen."[58] The competition among Jesuits and Oblates and the regular and secular clergy furnished Chiniquy with some of his insights.[59] As an oblate novice, in a "splendid mansion," he perceived that "laziness, stupidity, filthiness, gluttony, superstition, tediousness, ignorance, pride and unmentionable immoralities, ... reigned

supreme."[60] Celibacy was a torture often evaded in the prisons and dungeons raised by Satan.[61] Obedience was the opportunity for spying and was the lifelessness of a machine. Since there are neither virtues nor vices in a machine, monasticism is a "mere diabolical caricature of the humility of Christ."[62] Nuns, sisters, and others agree with Maria Monk's denunciations,[63] but are prevented by obedience from revealing their slavery, scandals, and deceit.[64] Raising himself to a height of oratory, Chiniquy exclaims,

> Christ is the light of the world; monachism is its night! Christ is the strength, the glory, the life of man; monachism is its decay, shame and death! Christ died to make us free; the monastery is built up to make slaves of us! Christ died that we might be raised to the dignity of children of God; monachism is established to bring us down much below the living brutes, for it transforms us into corpses! Christ is the highest conception of humanity; monachism is its lowest. (65)

Bishops, the Pope's helpers, were swindlers, superstitious liars, ugly, spiteful thieves.[66] Bishop Bourget of Montreal was "a monster of hypocrisy, injustice and tyranny," diabolically malicious and depraved.[67] One must realize that bishops as a whole were not overly popular with parish priests in the United States during the trusteeship controversy. Chiniquy himself used this grievance.[68] He, therefore, accused Bourget and other bishops of every vice, especially of drunkenness, as he did priests, whom he as a temperance preacher knew so well how to condemn.[69] His opposition to Bourget is easy to understand, since Bourget's archives and letters formed the main opposition to the spread of Chiniquy's credibility. Of course, it was Bourget who exiled Chiniquy to Illinois and refused to employ him as a priest. Furthermore, Bourget was a strong

personality, an ultramontane, and the centre of the Bleus.

Rome and the Pope

Finally, for Chiniquy, Rome was an idea; it was a name which he applied to opponents. The names of the great harlot, the great whore, the beast with seven heads, fornicating Babylon, the Mother of Lies, and all of the apocalyptic references to Anti-Christ in Revelation 17 were brought forward, in a reminder of the ancient roots of anti-Catholic invective.[70] Rome, moreover, is conspiring to take over the minds and hearts of every individual.[71] "Rome wants to teach that there is only one man who is free, the Pope, and that all the rest are born to be his abject slaves in thought, will and action."[72]

Rome is dominated by the Pope, and the Pope requires the sacrifice of different opinions, of knowledge, imagination, intelligence, and understanding.[73] There is to be no private judgement. No one is to know or believe anything than what the Pope believes.[74] As Chiniquy so graphically describes it, one cannot go higher "than the toes of the Holy Pope! ... Kiss those holy toes, ... and stop your upward flight!" The Pope is the devil incarnate, the Anti-Christ, and a modern god.[75] His minions are idiots, corpses, automatons, in fact, priests, who have shed the blood of millions.[76] Every plan or action in the Catholic Church is the Pope's responsibility. Rome, therefore, is the Pope's throne - a throne of mindless corpses which become manure for the Pope's gardens.[77]

Theology and Invective

What did the Pope believe? The theology of the Church of Rome was said to be anti-social and anti-Christian.[78] Above all, it was paganism, called Christianity to deceive the world.[79] But

> However great may have been the corruptions in the theologies and priests of paganism, there is nothing in their records which can be compared with the depravity of those of the Church of Rome. Before the day on which the theology of Rome was inspired by Satan, the world had certainly witnessed many dark deeds; but vice had never been clothed with the mantle of theology:--the most shameful forms of iniquity had never been publicly taught in the schools of the old pagan priest, under the pretext of saving the world. No! neither had the priests or the idols been forced to attend meetings where the most degrading forms of iniquity were objects of the most minute study, and that under the pretext of glorifying God. (80)

Rome had created new dogmas and doctrines, like the Immaculate Conception of Mary in 1854.[81] Mary had replaced Jesus in the Roman system![82]

Had paganism, furthermore,

> ever witnessed such a system of idolatry, so debasing, impious, ridiculous and diabolical in its consequences as the Church of Rome teaches in the dogma of transubstantiation!
>
> When, with the light of the gospel in hand, the Christian goes into those horrible recesses of superstition, folly and impiety, he can hardly believe what his eyes see and his ears hear. It seems impossible that men can consent to worship a god whom the rats can eat! A god who can be dragged away and lost in a muddy ditch by a drunken priest! A god who can be eaten, vomited, and eaten again by those who are courageous enough to eat again what they have vomited!! (83)

Chiniquy "extremely abhorred the idea of eating human flesh and drinking human blood, even when [assured] that they were the flesh and blood of

Jesus Christ himself."[84] He was even more sceptical, like others, that he could actually create God in the eucharistic host.[85]

The virulence of Chiniquy's blasphemies against the Roman Catholic eucharistic host is almost incomprehensible. Trudel remarks that in all of Chiniquy's writings, this seems to be the one element of Voltairean anti-clerical literature Chiniquy introduced to Canada.[86] Alphonse Liguori Therrien, a second generation French evangelical, described Chiniquy's desecration of the host.[87] He had consecrated a wafer of bread, stabbed it with a pen-knife, broke it into pieces, and then had ground it into the dust. It was a sensational and frightening act perpetrated in front of Roman Catholics who, in the 19th-century, were developing greater devotion to the Real Presence in the eucharistic host. Isaac Kerr recalled, in 1951, that as a boy he had seen Chiniquy and he remembered a similar scene.[88] The effect on peoples' minds was great and lasting.

Blasphemous invective, especially the virulent phrases against the "wafer-god," may have their roots in Chiniquy's psychological attempt to distance himself from his own religious fears. As Gilles Charest described, "Sacrer c'était se venger de ne pouvoir comprendre ce qui nous dominait. C'était une façon de démystifier, de désacraliser le pouvoir religieux."[89] In this case, perhaps, Chiniquy was intensely sincere in his denunciations of the Catholic Church. He sought to strip the sacredness from its key doctrines, beliefs, and practices. These actions show Chiniquy's effectiveness in seizing the souls of French Canadians and in understanding the important elements within their popular piety, since it was once his own. Chiniquy repeated himself.

Once he had praised French Canadian piety in his debate with Roussy; now the same subjects were denounced.

Conspiracies

The conviction that either the priest must be conscious of his iniquities or be a fool grew to the point that Chiniquy decided that the Church did, indeed, know of its actions. Rome wanted to conquer and rule, as did the Jesuits.[90] A plot had already been revealed in 1851, before he had been exiled. A

> fine-looking girl came to confess sins, whose depravity surpassed anything I had ever heard. Though I forbade her twice to do it, she gave me the names of several priests who were the accomplices of her orgies. The details of her iniquities were told with such cynical impudence that the idea struck me, at once, that she was sent by some one to ruin me. (91)

Bourget was suspected.

While living in the States, the idea of a conspiracy grew until it encompassed the Roman Catholic Church versus the entire United States.[92] "Rome is a viper, which they feed and press upon their bosom. Sooner or later, that viper will bite to death and kill this Republic."[93] The priest "Armed with his theology ... has become the most dangerous and determined enemy of truth, justice and liberty. He is the most formidable obstacle to every good Government, as he is, without being aware of it, the greatest enemy of God and man."[94] The Catholics, under their priests and Jesuits, were massing to form the majority in San Francisco, in order to later control the country through elections.

Although "the Roman Catholics will bravely and squarely deny" it,

a battle of apocalyptic proportions on this continent was developing between "Christian truth and liberty, and the principles of lies and tyranny of the Pope."[95] On the 14th of April, 1865, five days after the surrender of the Confederate forces under Lee, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by the actor, John Wilkes Booth. The entire nation went into mourning. The North lamented the passing of a victorious president at the height of his success. The South feared the arrival of a less conciliatory one. The race to find the assassin ended in Booth's bloody death, but the shameful, mock trial of the 'conspirators' dragged on for weeks, as the military tribunal sought scapegoats to atone for the national trauma of civil war. One murderer was not enough.

In Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, there were chapters dedicated to fulfilling that need. It was Chiniquy's conviction that "Booth was nothing but the tool of the Jesuits. It was Rome who directed his arm, after corrupting his heart and damning his soul."[96] His arguments can be summarized in three sections. 1: The Catholic Church was antagonistic to the Northern Union and to Lincoln who represented the republican ideals of the United States. Lincoln, therefore, was a target for Catholic hatred. 2: Lincoln's assassination had been announced in certain Roman Catholic circles before it had taken place. 3: Booth and the conspirators were either Jesuit tools or were Roman Catholics. Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy's biographer, has researched and summarily dismissed Chiniquy's arguments.[97] The following pages will reconstruct Chiniquy's and counter arguments in order to understand more fully the anti-Catholic genre.

Lincoln's Assassination

Many thundering pronouncements coming from the beleaguered palace of Piux IX were inappropriately applied to the 'universal' Church. The Roman Catholic Church's opposition, therefore, to the republican, democratic form of government in the United States was taken for granted by many Americans, both Protestant and Catholic. Chiniquy, raised in the ultramontane, conservative environment of Quebec under the British monarchy must certainly have felt the same. The New World's seeming departure from hierarchical traditions, and its emphasis on freedom of conscience and on liberty of speech, ran counter to the retrenchment of a Rome faced with the revolutions of 19th-century Europe.

In 1835, Samuel F.B. Morse, it must be repeated, published Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States. Morse and, undoubtedly, some of his readers were convinced that Catholic immigration was a plot by Roman Catholic despots to inundate the States with the poor and ignorant rejects of their own societies. These people would form a majority, as in San Francisco, and would replace republican freedoms with Catholic monarchical, repressive institutions. These opinions, coupled with the American Protestant traditions of intolerance,[98] convinced a sizeable number of people of the danger of Roman Catholicism. Its proximity in French Canada, Louisiana, Mexico, and California, as well as among the growing immigrant numbers, gave rise to the nativist movement, or the Know-Nothing Party (1845).

The Republican party, which Lincoln headed, grew partly out of the nativistic elements within American society,[99] while many immigrant

Americans supported the broader-based Democratic party. With the possible election of Lincoln and his Republican party, the politics of slavery would receive a severe setback, because sectional differences and cultural variety, championed by the Democratic party, would be ignored by the more unity-and-uniformity-minded Republicans. Chiniquy noted this polarization of American society whereby the Democratic (and Catholic immigrant) party became identified with Southern slavery interests.

> ... Above everything, it was ordered to oppose the election of Lincoln at any cost. For, from the very first day his eloquent voice had been heard, a thrill of terror had gone through the hearts of the partisans of slavery. The Democratic press, which was then, as it is still now, almost entirely under the control of the Roman Catholics, and the devoted tool of the Jesuits, deluged the country with the most fearful denunciations against him. They called him an ape ... (100)

From a more modern source comes the information that

> Roman Catholics in the South gave loyal support to the Confederacy, avowing that their brethren in the North were no longer their countrymen. Bishop Augustin Verot, of Savannah, defended slavery as not being "reproved by the law of nature or by the law of the Gospel" and declared that southerners were fighting for justice and freedom. Roman Catholic priests blessed the standards of southern regiments and offered prayers for their victory in arms. (101)

It is, therefore, possible to conceive of a little-known situation whereby Lincoln and the Catholic Church had become opponents.

Was Lincoln aware of this polarity? Chiniquy affirmed that Lincoln did know of the Catholic danger for the Union forces and had spoken of it to Chiniquy. On Chiniquy's first visit to Lincoln (c. August 14-31, 1861),[102] Lincoln had said, Chiniquy reports, that he

felt

> ... that it is not against the Americans of the South, alone I am fighting, it is more against the Pope of Rome, his perfidious Jesuits and their blind and blood-thirsty slaves, than against the real American Protestants, that we have to defend ourselves. Here, is the real danger of our position. ... It is Rome who wants to rule and degrade the North, as she has ruled and degraded the South, ... There are only very few of the Southern leaders who are not more or less under the influence of the Jesuits, ... The fact is, that the immense majority of Roman Catholic bishops, priests and laymen, are rebels in heart, when they cannot be in fact; with very few exceptions, every priest and every true Roman Catholic is a determined enemy of liberty ... (103)

What evidence of these conversations exists? Chiniquy is discouraging. On three separate occasions, Chiniquy quotes Lincoln saying that he, Lincoln, is concealing these fears of a Catholic conspiracy from

> ... the knowledge of the nation; for if the people knew the whole truth, this war would turn into a religious war, and it would, at once, take a tenfold more savage and bloody character. (104)

Modern writers do not mention Lincoln's possible fears. Nor do they mention Chiniquy's presence in Washington.[105] As Trudel states,

> Nowhere, in the most modern and complete editions of Lincoln's writings, do we find the smallest bit of paper which mentions such a warmly awaited visitor: a man whom Lincoln takes as confidant and whom he wishes to name as secretary to an embassy: a man on whom he depends to end the papist plot. Not once do Lincoln's most detailed biographers (except for the 1856 court case) print Chiniquy's name. (106)

This throws a great deal of doubt on the existence of a relationship between Chiniquy and Lincoln, but Trudel did admit that they had met. He quotes Carl Sandburg's Abraham Lincoln. The War Years (IV:325) as giving evidence that Lincoln did have a relationship with Chiniquy.[107]

Since so much of Chiniquy's credibility rests upon the personal relationship he had with Lincoln in their anti-Catholic stand together, one may inspect this meeting in the hope of finding some basis for Chiniquy's statements.

Chiniquy says that he first met Abraham Lincoln on May 19, 1856 in Urbana, Illinois, in connection with a civil court case.[108] He was on trial for the defamation of character of a man named Spinks and had sent for Lincoln, then a rising politician. In Chiniquy's version, Lincoln victoriously fought Bishop O'Regan's attempt to jail Chiniquy.[109] Pierre Berton states that Lincoln "had done nothing of the sort ..."[110] The case had been a purely civil matter with no connection to the Church. the case had been thrown out of court, because Chiniquy had apologised and Spinks had dropped his case![111]

There had been no Lincoln victory over a Catholic bishop. There had been no bishop, no victory, and probably very little contact between Chiniquy and Lincoln. One may look at Chiniquy's later assertions of a fast friendship between the two men, based on a common fear of a Catholic conspiracy dating from Urbana, with more than a sceptical eye.[112]

Although Lincoln refused to endorse the Know-Nothing Party,[113] was he personally fearful of a Catholic plot? If Chiniquy alone spoke of Lincoln's concern for his life, one might give it - a little - weight. There is, however, some contradictory evidence. Lincoln received several threats and "had persistently dismissed all such rumours." Other biographies agree with this portrayal.[114] Chiniquy's picture of an obsessed Lincoln is hardly credible. During the Civil War, overzealous American Protestants had to put their anti-Catholic concerns in storage.[115]

Was it possible that the Catholic Church in America opposed the Union forces because of their historic ties with Catholic countries which had slavery? Here again Chiniquy is misleading. Although the Catholic Church was the only Christian Church not to split over the issue, it did experience some division. While Catholic priests were blessing standards in the South,

> The Roman Catholic Church in the North, never vocal on the subject of slavery, followed traditional church practice in giving its support to the established government. ... Archbishop John Purcell demonstrated his espousal of the Union cause in 1861 by directing that the American ensign be flown from the spire of his cathedral. (116)

Chiniquy was not finished. He presented the information that St. Joseph, Minnesota, a small town populated mainly with Catholics, had already received the information about Lincoln's assassination approximately four hours before the fact. He gathered affidavits in 1883 attesting to that fact, and concluded that the town "got the news from your priests of St. Joseph!"[117] Such a leap in logic is unwarranted. Chiniquy had no proof of priests' participation in the rumour. The affidavits make no mention of it. Chiniquy's affidavits, furthermore, are dated eighteen years after the assassination. One must remember, also, with Marcel Trudel and other biographers, that the threats against Lincoln's life never stopped and that rumours were constantly circulating.[118]

The matter, then, rests on the evidence of the suspected conspirators. Were they Catholics? Were they under the influence of Roman Catholics? Chiniquy states, "There is a fact to which the American people has not given sufficient attention. It is that, without a single exception the conspirators were Roman Catholics."[119] Trudel affirms that only four

out of the ten people brought to trial were Catholic.[120] Chiniquy recognized that three people sentenced to hang asked for Protestant ministers, but he said,

> But when those murderers were to appear before the country, and receive the just punishment of their crime, the Jesuits were too shrewd to ignore that if they were all coming on the scaffold as Roman Catholics, and accompanied by their father confessors, it would, at once, open the eyes of the American people, and clearly show that this was a Roman Catholic plot. (121)

John Wilkes Booth, who had little chance to explain the reasons for Lincoln's assassination, was accused of being a Protestant "pervert to Romanism."[122] Chiniquy bases this claim on the similarity of Booth to Ravaillac, the Catholic assassin of Henry III in 1589.[123] The similarity is rather forced. Booth had once been the steward of the anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party; Catholicism was not a likely religious influence.[124] Chiniquy's thesis has little substance.[125]

This thesis explaining Lincoln's assassination, however, illustrates North American religious tensions. It also demonstrates the increasing indigenization of Chiniquy's French anti-clericalism into American anti-Catholicism. North American influences are becoming obvious. Accusations of idolatry, opposition to the doctrine of physical transubstantiation, to incredible immoralities, etc., were the stock-in-trade of American Protestant crusaders. Chiniquy's contribution to the anti-Catholic genre brought him one step forward to full assimilation into the American mainstream of white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. The French Canadian Catholic had become the English American Protestant. Chiniquy's Catholics were aliens who were no longer recognizable as

having once been his colleagues, superiors, or his parishioners. The next chapter will describe Chiniquy's Protestants, since they now seem to be more real and more understandable through his writings.

Endnotes to Chapter Three

[1]Co. de Ros. to Bishop Bourget, January 10, 1876, AAM (402-102).

[2]L'Aurore, Vol. 12, no. 14, p. 6.

[3]Vol. 12, no. 7, p. 5.

[4]Lindsey, p. 20.

[5]L'Aurore, Vol. 13, no. 27, p. 5.

[6]e.g. Vol. 12, no. 13, p. 5, no. 49, p. 4, and Vol. 13, no. 1, p. 5. The total number of converts mentioned in just these three issues amounts to about 634 people.

[7]Lindsey, p. 44.

[8]pp. 53-4.

[9]Forty Years in the Church of Christ, p. 241.

[10]Ruddel, p. 55.

[11]Moir, p. 21. Forty Years, p. 174.

[12]Curran, pp. 93-4.

[13]Pagination is from the 16th illustrated Toronto edition. It is, nonetheless, identical in all but illustrations to the 1885 Chicago edition and to the accessible current 43d edition of the Fleming H. Revell Co.

[14]Smith, p. 2. "... suffice at least to show that he was not exactly the witness of truth."

[15]Trudel, pp. 255-263.

[16]Jeanne Desrochers, "Le Diable et le Bon Dieu" pp. 8-11 in Perspectives (La Presse) 29 avril 1972, AAM (402-102) 1972.

[17]Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, p. 541.

[18]pp. 40, 65, 127, 142-45, 265, 398-401 (The woman in the garb of a man), 580-602 (Auricular confession) for example.

[19]"Le Sacerdoce de Rome" pp. 162-172, "The God of Rome eaten by Rats" pp. 360-67, "Perversions of Dr. Newman to the Church of Rome ..." pp. 404-430, "The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary" pp. 570-579,

and "The Abominations of Auricular Confession" pp. 580-602.

[20]pp. 75-7.

[21]pp. 484-496.

[22]pp. 157-59, 237.

[23]pp. 192-93.

[24]pp. 106, 683.

[25]pp. 71-72, 100, 101.

[26]pp. 71, 72, 101.

[27]p. 683.

[28]pp. 79-81, 93, 289, 682.

[29]p. 720.

[30]pp. 686, 695.

[31]pp. 676-77.

[32]pp. 107, 682.

[33]p. 674.

[34]p. 102. An interesting example of Chiniquy's influence can be seen in Justin D. Fulton's Washington in the Lap of Rome (Boston, W. Kellaway, Office of the Free Press; Fremont Temple, 1888), which quotes Chiniquy at length in pp. 115-35. This rare copy consulted is dedicated by hand "To my distinguished friend Rev. Charles Chiniquy with heartfelt love of Justin Fulton. Boston, Oct. 18th, 1888," presented to Presbyterian College by Chiniquy's son-in-law, Rev. J.L. Morin.

[35]pp. 678-79.

[36]pp. 668-735.

[37]"From the supreme art with which the mind of the young and timid child is fettered, enchained and paralyzed, to the unspeakable degradation of the priest under the iron heel of the bishop, everything will be revealed to you as it has never been before.

The superstitions, the ridiculous and humiliating practices, the secret and mental agonies of the monks, the nuns and the priests, will be shown ..." p. 5.

[38]p. 218.

[39]p. 319.

[40]p. 232.

[41]p. 241.

[42]p. 206.

[43]p. 219.

[44]p. 119.

[45]p. 30.

[46]p. 126.

[47]p. 559.

[48]pp. 56, 603, 604, 607.

[49]pp. 26, 546, 603.

[50]pp. 151, 192.

[51]pp. 245, 256.

[52]pp. 11, 15.

[53]p. 543 and the illustrations facing pp. 54, 205, and 436.

[54]pp. 520-21.

[55]Hofstadter, pp. 32-4.

[56]Fifty Years, pp. 17, 21, 134, 403.

[57]p. 443.

[58]p. 434.

[59]p. 446.

[60]pp. 446-47.

[61]pp. 19, 444, 558.

[62]pp. 436, 439, 445.

[63]p. 441.

[64]pp. 91-3.

[65]p. 447.

[66]pp. 244, 621, 654, 737 and 563.

[67]pp. 525-26.

[68]pp. 564ff.

[69]pp. 499, 639, etc.

[70]pp. 569, 804, 831-32.

[71]p. 110.

[72]p. 108.

[73]p. 107.

[74]pp. 98-103.

[75]pp. 61, 129.

[76]pp. 30, 61, 106, 686.

[77]pp. 105-106, 116.

[78]pp. 118-28, (Chapter XIII).

[79]p. 60.

[80]p. 141.

[81]p. 574.

[82]p. 59. "In the Church of Rome it is not Jesus, but Mary, who represents the infinite love and mercy of God for the sinner. The sinner is not advised or directed to place his hope in Jesus, but in Mary, for his escape from deserved chastisement! It is not Jesus, but Mary, who saves the sinner! Jesus is always bent on punishing sinners; Mary is always merciful to them!"

[83]p. 181. Other references to the dogma of transubstantiation and to the eucharistic host can be found on pp. 166-7, 294, and 360-67.

[84]p. 62.

[85]pp. 64, 163, 263.

[86]Trudel, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada, Vol. 2, p. 144.

[87]Ruddel, p. 54.

[88]February 17th, 1951, PCA (AR5-K4W3).

[89]Charest, p. 61.

[90]Fifty Years, pp. 668-87, 787.

[91]p. 522.

[92]pp. 688-710.

[93]p. 673.

[94]p. 128.

[95]pp. 119, 810. "The Protestants, always divided among themselves, will never form any strong party without the help of the united vote of our Catholic people; and that party alone which will ask and get our help by yielding to our just demands, will rule the country. Then, in reality, though not in appearance, our holy church will rule the United States." p. 498.

[96]p. 718.

[97]Trudel, Chiniquy, p. 239-45.

[98]see Ray Allen Billington's The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860 (New York, 1938).

[99]Billington, pp. 199-201.

[100]Fifty Years, p. 691.

[101]Clifton Olmstead, History of Religion in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1960), p. 389.

[102]Fifty Years, pp. 691-97.

[103]pp. 696-97.

[104]p. 699. Chiniquy also has him say, "But I keep those sad secrets in my heart; you are the only one to whom I reveal them, for I know that you learned them before me." p. 697. "I want your views about a thing which is exceedingly puzzling to me, and you are the only one to whom I like to speak on that subject." p. 693.

[105]One modern work which deserves attention is William Hanchett's The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies (Urbana and Chicago, 1983), pp. 233-41, which reconstructs Chiniquy's story, and places it in context in American

anti-Catholic intellectual history. He, too, dismisses Chiniquy's thesis.

[106]Trudel, p. 241-42. "Nulle part, dans l'édition la plus moderne et la plus complète des écrits de Lincoln, nous ne trouvons le moindre petit bout de papier qui fasse allusion à un visiteur aussi chaleureusement attendu, à un homme que Lincoln prend pour confident, qu'il veut nommer secrétaire d'ambassade et sur qui il compte pour mettre fin à ce complot de papistes: pas une seule fois (sauf à l'occasion du procès de 1856), les biographies les plus détaillées de Lincoln n'impriment le nom de Chiniquy ..."

[107]p. 242, no. 67.

[108]Fifty Years, p. 626.

[109]p. 627.

[110]Pierre Berton, "The Zeal of Charles Chiniquy" pp. 138-54 in My Country: The Remarkable Past (Toronto, 1976), p. 153.

[111]Trudel, pp. 158-59.

[112]Nonetheless, Chiniquy feels called to place his prophetic insight into Lincoln's murder by the Jesuits back in Urbana in 1856 at the end of the trial. Fifty Years, p. 664. "There were, then, in the crowd, not less than ten or twelve Jesuits from Chicago and St. Louis, who came to hear my sentence of condemnation to the penitentiary. ... What ... draws my tears, is that it seems to me that I have read your sentence of death in their bloody eyes."

[113]Carl Sandberg, Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years (One volume edition) (New York, 1954), p. 120.

[114]Stephen Oates, With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. (New York, 1977), pp. 415-16.

[115]Billington, p. 430.

[116]Olmstead, p. 387.

[117]Fifty Years, p. 734.

[118]Trudel, p. 242.

[119]Fifty Years, p. 723.

[120]Trudel, p. 243.

[121]Fifty Years, pp. 723-24.

[122]p. 723.

[123]pp. 720-21.

[124]Asia Booth Clarke, The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his Sister, Asia Booth Clarke (New York, 1938), pp. 71, 72, 75, 105.

[125]John Surratt, the son of Booth's landlady, Mary, was a fervent Catholic and Booth's friend. He had studied for the priesthood. Suspected of conspiracy, he had fled through Montreal to Europe and to Rome wherein he clandestinely enrolled with the Papal Zouaves. These facts were knit together by Chiniquy to implicate Montreal's Bourget and Pius IX. Brought back to the States, after the Pope extradicted him, he was acquitted by a different, non-military court in a calmer atmosphere.

Weichmann, another "pervert," Surratt's friend from seminary days, was released in exchange for information about Mary Surratt. Payne, Atzeroth, and Harold, "Booth's and Weichmann's proselytes," were arrested and executed without right to speak except in court. Mary hanged with them in a tragic miscarriage of justice. No Catholic plot was mentioned.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHINIQUY'S READERS: FORTY YEARS IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

In his last years, Chiniquy occupied himself with supporting his family and his admirers in their works. One of his daughters married the Revered S.C. Delagneau, a Baptist minister in Worcester, Massachusetts.[1] His other daughter married the Presbyterian minister and professor, J.L. Morin, who became well-known in Montreal French Protestant circles.[2] Works such as Jesuit Morals: A Paper on the Errors in the Moral Teaching of the Jesuits, by another Presbyterian professor, the Reverend John Scrimger, made reference to Chiniquy and continued his controversies among yet another generation.[3]

Chiniquy, for his own part, regularly filled L'Aurore with letters and, in 1894, presided at the formal entrance of Louis-Joseph-Amédée Papineau, son of the famous "patriote" of 1837, to the Presby-

terian Church of Canada. Chiniquy had been asked, as the "Luther of Canada" to receive the conversion of this heir to the Rouge and anti-clerical tradition within French Canadian Roman Catholicism. The Minerve, a French Catholic newspaper, wailed over the national apostate and the inseparable gulf separating Papineau from his race. Religion and nationalism were still as closely bound in 1894 as in 1854.

As for

> The one who presided ... amidst the sound of hymns, [he] is that white-washed sepulchre, that prevaricating priest, rotten to the very marrow of his bones, that shameless high liver who broke all his vows, who soiled those around him while at the same time saying his mass, who preached temperance in order the better to wallow in licentiousness; who, in the confessional, learned the secrets of human failings only to make use of them; who, having no other means left of blackmailing but apostasy, has ever since been constantly carrying his crimes through every clime and vomiting insult upon the holy religion of which he was for a long time the unworthy defender.
>
> It is unnecessary for us to say that his name is Chiniquy ... (4)

The old controversies, the fantastic name-calling, the invective were very much alive.

At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1889, just before Chiniquy's eightieth birthday, Principal MacVicar moved a vote of congratulations and an invitation to write a sequel to Fifty Years in the Church of Rome to be entitled Thirty Years in the Church of Christ.[5] Amongst travels and speaking tours to New England, Australia, New Zealand, England, France, Germany, and Italy, the continuing newspaper writings, and seeing his older works through their re-editions, Chiniquy did not see the book to press. Forty Years in the Church of Christ was published posthumously in 1900 by his son-in-

law, Professor Morin, with the help of other Presbyterians. The book did not gain much notoriety, but it was well-received in Protestant circles.[6]

Forty Years in the Church of Christ ostensibly portrayed a picture of Chiniquy's life in the Protestant world. To believe this, one must also believe that Chiniquy's Protestant world was very preoccupied with Roman Catholicism. There was a great deal of protesting. A smaller book than its predecessor, it summarized Chiniquy's own interests and opinions once again.

Repetition

Rome "everywhere, and always the same,"[7] was portrayed as corrupted, bloody and idolatrous. The Pope's priests and "priestesses"[8] were still deceitful, drunk, and ugly.[9] The machinery of power behind the throne, combining fanaticism and deception was the "complete military despotism" of the Jesuits[10] who assassinated Lincoln[11] and others. Chiniquy extolled temperance as a Protestant virtue[12] and divulged the secrets of the confessional again and again.[13] Giving some ammunition to his opponents who accused Chiniquy of leaving the Roman Catholic Church on grounds of marriage, he wrote that he "would compare the unspeakable misery and degradation of the bachelor priests of the Pope, with the beauty, dignity and holiness of the married life of the ministers of the Gospel."[14] All the paganism of the saints,[15] indulgences, medals, celibacy,[16] of Mary's Immaculate Conception, of purgatory, transubstantiation, and the eucharistic host, "their ridiculous, execrable and contemptible idol," was denounced.[17] St. Bartholomew's Day, the Spanish

Armada, and the Inquisition were dragged forward for another look.[18] Entire chapters which had been published previously in newspapers, pamphlets and books were repeated.[19]

Religious Paranoia

Chiniquy included another twenty pages dedicated to accusing the Roman Catholic Church of Lincoln's assassination. Why? It was absurd to try to convince people of its truth. Chiniquy's own admirers, in a recent collected edition of Chiniquy's life and works, have let the Lincoln episodes disappear.[20] Although Chiniquy's thesis has influenced some people in the nineteenth and, possibly, in the twentieth century,[21] Marcel Trudel and other historians, have consigned Chiniquy's thesis to the dustbin of history.[22] The 'conspirators' were, in the majority, Protestant, if they were of any religious affiliation. Booth, whose religion was unknown, seemed to have been activated more by personal grandeur and Southern sentiment than by religious feelings. Chiniquy's proofs fall to conjecture, insinuation, and implication.

Richard Hofstadter, in his insightful essay, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," has outlined a method useful for understanding such North American religious mentalities.[23] The paranoid mentality, he explains, is one which perceives an apocalyptic conspiracy as the motive force behind events. Lincoln's assassination provided the event and the Church was the motive force. The enemy is demonic and omnipotent, hated for its aims and admired for its power. The Pope, his priests and bishops, and their sexual successes definitely attracted Chiniquy's descriptive powers. The renegade from the enemy's camp is usually its

most vocal opponent and uses a highly rational pedantic style of rhetoric to state his case. Chiniquy, a 'renegade' Catholic priest, certainly portrayed his enemy in pedantic, footnoted chapters, complete with affidavits, to prove his arguments, but Hofstadter distinguishes the paranoid style as not

> The absence of verifiable facts (though it is occasionally true that in his extravagant passion for facts the paranoid occasionally manufactures them), but rather the curious leap in imagination that is always made at some critical point in the recital of events. (24)

Hofstadter does not claim to pinpoint this illogicality. Chiniquy provides a clue. The flaw in Chiniquy's thinking about Lincoln lies in the deductive syllogistic logic he employs. The jump in logic occurs when he uses his hypothetical, inducted thesis as proven after too few facts. He knew very little about Lincoln's murder. His immediately deducted conclusions were, therefore, hardly credible. Chiniquy had made his first logical leap at the very beginning of his recital. He wrote that Booth "was nothing but the tool of the Jesuits. It was Rome who directed his arm, after corrupting his heart and damning his soul." Then Chiniquy gathered his materials. It is significant that the following sentence is placed after his accusation. "After I had mixed my tears with those of the grand country of my adoption, I fell on my knees and asked my God to grant me to show to the world what I knew to be the truth, viz.: that that horrible crime was the work of Popery." Chiniquy clearly had known his conclusions before gathering the affidavits in 1883.

This is not the first instance of the deductive, syllogistic logic Chiniquy portrays, but it is the most blatant. In fact, most of his

assertions have the same method of logical consistency. For example, one may summarize some of his statements as follows. The Catholic Church is a non-democratic institution, therefore, it is anti-democratic. America is democratic; the Church is anti-American. Deductive reasoning is, nonetheless, useful if some prior inductive method has been used. Chiniquy had not proved his deductive principles.

Northrop Frye has noted the prevalence of a deductive mentality in the United States and explicitly connects the religious mind with such a mentality.

> A country founded on a revolution acquires a deductive way of thinking which is often encoded in constitutional law, and the American reverence for its Constitution, an inspired document to be amended and reinterpreted but never discarded, affords something of a parallel to the Old Testament sense of Israel as a people created by its law. (25)

In a new country, there are few British precedents or inductive particulars to check deductive reasoning. Assuming that Chiniquy was wholly sincere in his writings, once a belief has been acquired, it is nearly impossible for the belief to be changed by contradictory proof. Contradictions become synthesized in ingenious rationalizations. Such a mindset is often prevalent in sectarian religious expressions. The deductive mindset seemed to be the dominant intellectual atmosphere in late 19th-century North American religious milieus. Chiniquy's biographies, moreover, are still being published today, which means that this mindset still exists or an audience is being fed information about the conspiratorial Roman Catholic Church.

Chiniquy's Protestantism

Chiniquy's appeal had been restricted, for the most part, to his anti-Catholicism. In his last book, he took advantage of this strength to advocate a new Protestant unity in opposition to Catholicism. "The Protestant who does not protest against Rome is unworthy of the name," he stated.[26] In a reference to the constant confessional battles between Roman Catholic and Protestant communities, especially in North America, Chiniquy proclaimed his support for Protestant nations. They were better educated and were regions of "light, intelligence, liberty and true charity."[27] Chiniquy showed that he could handle praise as well as invective. After so many years spent in describing his Catholicism, Chiniquy finally turned to describing his Protestantism. The following pages are dedicated to outlining the obverse of his anti-Catholicism.

Instead of the "wafer-god," Chiniquy describes Christ. Instead of "superstitions," he expounds some theology. Instead of "lying traditions," he dwells on the Bible. The reformers of the sixteenth century replace the saints. National hatreds are replaced by frank admiration for British institutions. Conspiracies make way for mission expansion. Priest and Jesuit are set aside for the Protestant layman and clergy. Finally, Chiniquy moved to warn his Protestant brethren against divisions and hatreds. Almost his last words praise the ecumenical spirit and, in a rare moment, present a picture of evangelical unity.

There was less of the God Jehovah, the stern and uncompromising judge, who appealed to the "stern and fierce" Free Church Presbyterians[28] and to those individuals who read The Priest, The Woman and The Confession-

al. In the preface to Forty Years, God is merciful and Christ is a lamb.[29] The "blood of the Lamb"[30] or propitiation theology so favoured by evangelicals, is developed further still. Christ is a gift of God,[31] who pays the debts of sinners to God's "eternal justice, by shedding His blood to the last drop, and dying on the cross."[32] Chiniquy himself felt that it "has required the whole blood of the great Victim, who died on Calvary for you and for me and for all sinners to purify me."[33] Christianity and not "mere Churchianity"[34] depended on blood to pay the debts of sinners. In the mystical and, perhaps, middle-class Protestantism of Chiniquy's day, there was a strange mixture of gory sensationalism and sound business practice.

Chiniquy wanted the Bible alone to present this bloody Christ.[35] Rome considered the Bible a dangerous book, incomplete without the unwritten Gospel enshrined in tradition, so it was not to be read in the vernacular.[36] It led to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin.[37] Chiniquy praised Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and Melanchthon instead of the "lying traditions of men."[38] They were to be by-passed by the Gospel, the Bible, the Word of God, or the Divine Scriptures. Chiniquy, and his readers undoubtedly, confused these last items.[39] While Chiniquy fought for "the unquestionable right which every Christian has to read the Holy Scriptures and interpret them according to his own honest conscience,"[40] one may wonder whether the immediate, physical, useful, divine, and possibly magic bible sometimes took precedence over a remote Saviour.

Redeemed by a Saviour, and brandishing a Bible which proved it, Chiniquy toured the Protestant world. The Apostle of Temperance became the "Apostle of French Evangelization" who distributed Bibles to his

countrymen.[41] His travels to Australia and Hawaii to lecture and convert aboriginal "pagans"[42] brought him, at his death, comparisons with the Apostle Paul.[43] These foreign missions opened a new chapter in Chiniquy's thinking.

Although the contrast between the "Romish missionary" who "goes forth with his Breviary stuffed with superstition, lies and idolatry" and the "Christian missionary" who "goes out armed with the Holy Scriptures, given by inspiration of God"[44] has been kept alive, there are new concerns. There are emphases on God's creation and on prayer.[45] In order to speak to everyone, missionaries had to tailor their conversations about God to a common denominator. Creation, the world, the universe, the first books of the Bible, and God as father were each used. Prayer as the conversation with the divine being was reemphasized. In order to develop more community of ideas and feeling, England and English evangelicalism were held up as models. To some Nova Scotians Chiniquy once said,

> Be true soldiers of Christ, to-day, as your fathers were true to their King and their country. Go and fight Rome as British men know how to fight. Go to the conquest of Canada with a British heart, a British intelligence, a British pluck and a British liberality ... (46)

One hopes that not too many Scots Presbyterians were in the crowd. References to Britain and to the Queen, in New Zealand and Australia,[47] show a new direction in Chiniquy's usual use of "national hatreds." Although directed in great part against the Irish Catholics,[48] present in every English speaking country, Chiniquy's new language speaks of the eminent place Britain was occupying in the Protestant mind faced with a strange

variety of people and religions.

Both Sir John A. Macdonald and the French Canadian Catholic Sir Wilfrid Laurier loudly proclaimed their Britishness. The ideas of empire and unity held sway and were confused. Chiniquy shows this confusion in the growing anglicization of his own Protestantism. Protestantism and the unity of Protestants meant English Protestantism for Chiniquy. Although Chiniquy had once been related to the Rouge ideals of Lower Canada, it did not mean he adopted their republican ideals. Like Laurier he remained a monarchist, especially if it suited one's purpose in English crowds to proclaim loyalty to the Queen.

In Montreal, he praised the English Protestant citizens,[49] the McKays, the Redpaths, the Morrices, and the Dougalls who met at Sir William Dawson's residence at McGill University.[50] Particular details of the founding of Presbyterian College,[51] its emphasis on French Evangelization,[52] and the Presbyterian opposition to the Jesuit Estates settlement were described.[53]

From particular divisions and oppositions, however, Chiniquy jumped back into the wider perspective. Divisions within Protestant Christianity drew forth the observation that

> Your divisions are a frightful scandal to us: they make us unspeakably sad. There we see the grand Episcopal Church so much opposed to what she calls the dissenters, that she will not allow a single one of their ministers to speak in her pulpits, or receive the communion at her altars. Here we find the Presbyterians divided into several camps fiercely fighting against each other ... Old School and New School. A little further we find the Lutherans with their crucifixes and so many other ways of Romanism, assuring us that they are the best branch of the Church of Christ. But at a little distance further we see and hear the fiery and pious Methodists telling

us a very different story. (54)

The Methodists were honoured to have him at a camp meeting in 1873. He described it as a solemn, orderly, sublime and soul-stirring picture of about two thousand people. He was so moved that he accepted re-baptism, in spite of the possible misinterpretation by his Presbyterian colleagues. He told them that the Bible alone would be his guide to "that Church of Christ" and asked them the privilege to be a Presbyterian "not in a narrow sectarian sense of the word" but in "the large, broad sense of Christianity."[55] The Presbyterians did not contest his second (and last) baptism at Methodist hands. The seeds of unity were already present among the Methodists and the Presbyterians.

In concern, he warned that Rome was not Christianity;[56] he flailed the Anglicans for their drift towards Rome and for allowing Jesuits to masquerade as episcopalians![57] The Tractarian movement, "Puseyism" and the "traitor" Newman were adequately reviled in Fifty Years, so that only the occasional watchful glance at episcopalian confession[58] was necessary in Forty Years. A little paranoia, a little persecution complex cements groups wonderfully well. He reminded his Protestant brethren, in spite of their "deplorable and mysterious slumber,"[59] of the ways he had once persecuted Protestants as a Catholic priest[60] in order to wake them and to unite them in caution.

Finally, however, he wrote of a shipboard experience after surviving a storm where

> Both Jews and Christians, Romanists and Protestants, atheists and infidels, as well as fervent disciples of the Gospel, vied with each other in praising and thanking God with cheerful heart, singing the most beautiful hymns of the Moody and Sankey collection. (61)

There is a glimmer here of a future cooperation between Roman Catholics and Protestants and even with those people Chiniquy has not previously described or reviled. Perhaps Roman Catholics and Protestants, Chiniquy realized, were much closer - even in evangelical witness - than he had portrayed them. His sincerity is a rare emotion to grasp, but he may have realized, in his final years at the dawn of the twentieth century, that Christians might end their paranoid in-fighting.

Conclusion

On January 16, 1899, after a brief illness, Charles Chiniquy died. "Probably no man in modern times did so much to expose Romanism and win Romanists ..."[62] The "world is made better by his labors," the American Advocate proclaimed, "and his printed volumes will perpetuate his influence and keep fresh his name and fame from age to age."[63] Other papers were less uncritical. The Buffalo Express commented, "And Dr. Chiniquy died peacefully in his bed at the ripe old age of 90! The thought that he never was even once killed in a religious riot must have embittered his last hours."[64]

Charles Chiniquy certainly aroused intense emotions either for or against his opinions. At his death, Montreal Presbyterians went to work praising him, collecting his papers, and reprinting his old works.[65] Chiniquy's so-called "religious testament" signed shortly before his death was published in the major newspapers and was sold as a pamphlet. It denounced, once again, the Roman Catholic Church for apostolic succession, transubstantiation, auricular confession, purgatory, miracles, and persecutions. It was sent to the Archbishop of Montreal.[66] He

refused it. A new pamphlet war began. These letters, speeches, etc., were also collected, printed with his religious testament, and offered for sale. They came out again with Forty Years in the Church of Christ.

Judging from these indications, Chiniquy, "the Luther of Canada," a modern St. Paul, would not die easily. His continuing influence seemed assured. La Presse, however, had published a full front-page story two days before Chiniquy's death, explaining that his influence on French Canadians had died forty years before when he had converted. The Reverend Doctor Warden, the Presbyterian Church in Canada Treasurer, wrote from Toronto that he thought "that far too much publicity has been given to Dr. Chiniquy's notarial profession of faith, etc. The universal sentiment here ... is that the whole thing is greatly overdone."[67] He went on to criticize Chiniquy's method as an "individual man prectically (sic) self appointed and responsible to no body." Repudiation quickly made itself known even in Chiniquy's own denomination.

The riots which he raised across several countries, in New South Wales, in Antigonish, in Montreal, and in so many other places not documented here, surely indicate, on the one hand, the hold he had on people's emotions; his ideas were central in their thinking and sometimes violent actions. It has also been written, on the other hand, that physical confrontations in Quebec were getting rarer in the late 19th century and were without serious consequences.[68] This trend reflected North American society as a whole. In the States, "Anti-Catholicism reached a climax in ideology rather than action ..." "The supreme violence occurred inside men's heads."[69] Although such interior violence is hard to trace, one might assume that it died out.

Marcel Trudel argues that Chiniquy's impact limited itself through his preaching to the illiterates within early French evangelicalism and through his writings to the already prejudiced English Protestant circles in North America.[70] Chiniquy and Duclos both have mentioned the rapid assimilation of French converts to the mobile English population of North America, thereby making any permanent influence hard to trace.[71] Although second-generation evangelicals such as Morin, Lafleur, and Calvin Amaron perpetuated Chiniquy's ideas,[72] it must be said that they formed an almost family-like group around Chiniquy and their newspaper, L'Aurore. Later evangelicals, furthermore, quickly abandoned Chiniquy's extreme anti-Catholicism. Lindsey wrote that

> It could be fairly claimed, that Chiniquy gave birth to the larger French Protestant Churches about Montreal and Quebec. But there were dozens of missions throughout Quebec Province, the Maritimes and Ontario that had far humbler beginnings. ... In some areas they were the fruit of steady colportage and missionary endeavour by Presbyterians. In other places they derived from the Synod des Eglises Evangeliques. (73).

Chiniquy himself wrote about "the deplorable and mysterious slumber" of Protestants, which show an already present lack of interest in Chiniquy's causes. The Presbyterian Home Mission report of 1914 stated that thenceforth they were to avoid emphasizing Roman Catholic errors and were to minister to those turning towards religious indifference and incredulity.[74] In 1966, the Final Report of the Commission on French Work of the United Church of Canada, the inheritor of many of the 19th-century evangelical congregations, renounced polemical and proselytizing considerations in French Canada.[75] Chiniquy's influence, except among his closest friends,

admirers, and family, was at an end.

In North America, indeed,

> the vitality drained out of the whole anti-Catholic movement well before the other currents of late nineteenth century nativism subsided. While other xenophobias were still growing, anti-Catholicism began to decline in the latter part of 1894. (76)

One of the reasons for this continent-wide decline was that "by the late nineteenth century many Catholics had become assimilated into 'respectable' society, making editors and politicians reluctant to lose their support by expressing sentiments critical of their religion."[77] Chiniquy had outlived himself.

And yet, and yet ..., Chiniquy's books sell well enough to be reprinted year after year. A comic book based on his life has been put out by Chick publications of Chino, California. Letters from around the world, from Christiana, Norway, from Lat-et-Garonne, France, from Iowa, U.S.A.,[78] trickle into the Montreal Archdiocese Archives asking for information about Chiniquy, this creation of "heretical perversity."[79] Modern anti-Catholic works mention Chiniquy as a quasi-legendary character used as a bogey-man to frighten people.[80] Last of all, one hundred years after Chiniquy published Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, newspapers in Canada note the strange resurgence of similar publications across the continent.[81] The violence done to people's minds can be traced to the present day: it has not died out.

Repetition is a strong human tendency. The continuation of the anti-clerical tradition is assured so long as people repeat the accusations to others who believe it on their authority. The paranoid mindset, tied to the exaggeration of vocabulary, of literalism, and to

projections or historifications of conspiracies, immoralities, plots and enemies, is bound to continue in a world growing rapidly more insecure. A plot, understandable in itself, is more secure than sheer insanity against which nothing can be done. Each country in turn suffers the indigenization of another's paranoid anti-clerical traditions. As Chiniquy relied on France and then the U.S., others will rely on Chiniquy's assertions. Chiniquy has passed into a semi-legendary realm which works subtly and sometimes powerfully on receptive individuals. The tastes of the reading public assure the continuity, the repetition, and the growth of hate literature.

Together, as in Chiniquy, sexual innuendo, the projection of undesirable qualities, and the paranoid mindset have appeared in other cultures and in other times as well as in Canada and in North America today. In the contemporary western world, these elements seem to be experienced mainly by marginal religious sects, cut off from contact with a world which might upset their world vision. These are, however, psychological elements common to people undergoing the stresses and changes of isolation and growth towards a greater ecumenical world. Modern leaders, religious or otherwise, may be prey to these stresses and to Chiniquy's possible solutions.

Endnotes to Chapter Four

[1]"French Protestantism in the U.S." UCAM 5/AMA/18-2.

[2]"The Busy Life of Dr. Chiniquy" The Witness, Friday, Aug. 17, 1984, BHA.

[3](Montreal, 1980), p. 30.

[4]Forty Years in the Church of Christ (Toronto, 1900), p. 421.

[5]p. 17.

[6]BHA "File of clipping book reviews of his post mortem Forty Years in the Church of Christ."

[7]Forty Years, p. 224.

[8]p. 442.

[9]p. 94.

[10]pp. 222-23, 248.

[11]pp. 206-232.

[12]p. 33.

[13]pp. 81-86, 97-103, 131, 363, 389, 415.

[14]p. 130.

[15]p. 201, 458-61.

[16]p. 483.

[17]pp. 54, 297.

[18]pp. 177-78, 204-205.

[19]Chapters 1-4, 21, 38, 40-2, and pp. 478-84 being his testimonial will which had appeared as a separate pamphlet (UCAM Chi/1), and memorial speeches, pp. 484-98, appeared as In Memoriam.

[20]Charles Chiniquy, Chiniquy (précédé d'une notice biographique par Hector Langevin) (Trois Rivières [197-?]).

[21]Higham, p. 60, explains how "The Reverend Justin D. Fulton, a veritable fountain of nativist bilge whose weekly tirades in Boston drew

enormous crowds, devoted a whole book to the papal plot against the American school system, arguing that Cardinal Gibbons had already made himself the actual master of the United States."

[22]Trudel, p. 245.

[23]Hofstadter, pp. 29-39.

[24]p. 37.

[25]Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto, 1983), p. 118.

[26]Forty Years, p. 287.

[27]pp. 128-30.

[28]H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1968), p. 213, quoting Grant's and Hamilton's George Munro Grant (Toronto, 1905), p. 37.

[29]Forty Years, pp. 17-18.

[30]pp. 50, 62, 135.

[31]p. 51.

[32]p. 138.

[33]p. 423.

[34]p. 476.

[35]p. 108.

[36]p. 275.

[37]pp. 56-59.

[38]pp. 47, 473.

[39]"The Word of God, the Holy Scriptures" p. 275 and his confusion of the Bible and Gospel, pp. 184-85.

[40]p. 61.

[41]pp. 489-497. For Bible distribution, p. 187.

[42]pp. 332-33.

[43]p. 12.

[44]p. 462.

[45]pp. 345, 351.

[46]p. 299.

[47]p. 374.

[48]pp. 152, 165, 310, 381-82, 386.

[49]p. 153.

[50]p. 159.

[51]pp. 233-37.

[52]p. 238.

[53]pp. 238-39. Although Premier Honoré Mercier had given $60,000 to the Protestant confessional school system to appease its opposition.

[54]p. 121.

[55]p. 191.

[56]p. 265.

[57]p. 380.

[58]Fifty Years, pp. 404-430. Forty Years, p. 374.

[59]Forty Years, p. 175.

[60]pp. 46-47, 67-69.

[61]p. 354.

[62]Christian Herald New York, Feb. 1, 1899, BHA.

[63]February, 1900, BHA.

[64]January 17, 1899, BHA.

[65]L'Aurore, Vol. 35, no. 21ff.

[66]January 25th, 1899, AAM (402-102).

[67]January 27, 1899, UCAM 5/AMA/6.

[68]Jean Pariseau, "Les mouvements sociaux, la violence et les interventions armées au Québec 1867-1967" pp. 67-79 in Revue d'histoire de l'amerique française Vol. 37 (no. 1. juin 1983), p. 78.

[69]Higham, p. 84.

[70]Trudel, p. 150.

[71]Forty Years, p. 140. Duclos, Vol. 1, p. 259, Vol. 2, p. 209.

[72]"The Future of Canada" by Amaron c. Feb. 1911 blaming Roman Catholics for poor education, UCAM 5/AMA/19. "A Vindication of French Evangelization" by Rev. Theodore Lafleur delivered to the Montreal Ministerial Association in 1896 discusses confession, UCAM Lafleur 12/5.

[73]Lindsey, p. 29.

[74]Moir, p. 156.

[75]UCAM 12/6, p. 6.

[76]Higham, p. 85.

[77]p. 86.

[78]AAM (402-102) 1883-1908, 1908ff.

[79]Bishop of Chambly to Montreal Archdiocese Archives, AAM (402-102) 1883-1908.

[80]Armand Croteau's Fourre-tout d'un ex-Abbé (1970), for example.

[81]The Gazette April 2, 1984, p. B-2. May 5, 1984, p. A-6. The Prairie Messenger March 25, 1984, p. 2. The Globe and Mail April 20, 1984, pp. 1-2.

"Quoique mort,

Chiniquy parle encore."

R.-P. Duclos,
Histoire du Protestantisme Français au Canada et aux Etats-Unis. Vol. 2, p. 174.

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