

“I am not my own director”: Catholic Slavery and Protestant Freedom in George Bourne’s Lorette

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*F*or nineteenth-century reformers, the term *popery* designated all that was despotic, bigoted, and slavish. Such fiery language was used to expose those forces that sought to undermine the moral strength of the young American republic. Hostility toward Catholicism did not even escape the most liberal and radical of antislavery advocates. William Lloyd Garrison believed that the “main pillars” of “man-enslaving religion” were partially infected by “Popery.”¹ Even when Garrison distanced himself from the narrow-mindedness among Protestant reformers, he continued to use anti-Catholic terminology to describe all forms of unjustified prejudice. The earliest immediate abolitionist who not only played a leading role in convincing Garrison himself of the “inherent sinfulness of slavery under all circumstances, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit and precepts of Christianity,” the Reverend George Bourne (1780-1845), also originated the escaped-nun genre in American literature, linking it with the fight against slavery.² Unlike any other reformer, Bourne consistently and doggedly balanced his time in combating both southern slavery and Roman Catholicism, “the two foes,” as he wrote, “of the Republic and of a pure Christianity.”³

Contemporary historians have recognized Bourne’s central role in directing the early efforts of immediate abolition. His 1816 booklet, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, published after becoming a minister in the Virginia branch of the Presbyterian Church, was the first immediatist

work of its kind in America according to David Brion Davis.⁴ Bourne's intent in publishing *Book and Slavery* was twofold. Laying the context, he argued first that biblical Christianity and slavery could not be reconciled. A failure to recognize slavery as hostile to authentic Christianity was a willful suppression of biblical doctrine, an internal acceptance that "divine revelation is not our sole infallible directory."⁵ Every man-stealing minister lacked Christian sincerity, for he was "disguised in a hypocritical garb of exterior decorum."⁶ And a heart that tended toward "every moral obliquity [would] *change the truth of God into a lie*."⁷ Consequently, men-stealers extinguished the light of redemption by misinterpreting the letter and spirit of the Bible: "they only quote the scriptures, Satan-like, to falsify their meaning."⁸ Since they violated the dictates of the scriptures, slaveholders in Bourne's mind were not even "nominal Christian believers." "How can a person pretend to be a disciple of the crucified Jesus," he wrote, "who hinders his worship and contravenes his commands; in whom all evangelical charity is extinct; and who will neither enter the kingdom of heaven nor permit those to approach who would crave admission at the gate?"⁹

The Book led to his removal from the Presbyterian Church not because it proclaimed instant and universal emancipation but because it sought the excommunication of all slaveholding ministers. The experience exposed the complicity of the church in the institution and galvanized him to work tirelessly toward the abolition of chattel bondage. Both *The Book* and its author played a vital role in convincing a number of reformers of the moral and religious obligation to support immediacy: English scientist and philanthropist William Allen, Methodist abolitionist Orange Scott, Quaker author Benjamin Lundy, "come-outer" William Goodell, Lane Seminary rebel Amos Dresser, who had been publicly whipped in Nashville for simply carrying an updated edition of *Book and Slavery*, Finneyite antislavery architect Theodore Dwight Weld, and escaped slaves William and Ellen Craft and Frederick Douglass.¹⁰ Joshua Leavitt, a zealous evangelical abolitionist and editor of the *Emancipator*, once said that the early abolitionist movement had the great "benefit of

George Bourne's instruction."¹¹ Writing around the time of the Civil War, Lewis Tappan, who, along with his brother Arthur, became a close companion of Bourne, concurred: "all the important doctrines of abolitionists of the present day were clearly announced and published by Mr. Bourne as far back as 1816, long before Lundy, Garrison, and other champions of freedom had written or lectured upon the subject."¹²

What is less acknowledged among historians, however, is how Bourne, a few years before teaming up with Garrison to establish the American Antislavery Society, began to identify the similarities between slavery and Catholicism, intensifying the need to eliminate both in the development of a truly free nation. Thus, like his work in the antislavery movement, Bourne laid the groundwork for anti-Catholicism in the antebellum period, popularizing escaped-nun tales in American literature. His first and only novel, *Lorette: A History of Louise, Daughter of a Canadian Nun: Exhibiting the Interior of Female Convent* (1833), was, according to historian David Reynolds, the "prototype of the most popular type of post-1835 anti-Catholic fiction – the exposé of convents."¹³ The novel was second in sales to John Abbott's *The Mother at Home*, the highest-selling work of fiction in 1833. Through *Lorette*, Bourne "set the pattern for anti-Catholic fiction in America" and paved the literary way for the immensely successful *Six Months in a Convent* (1835) by Rebecca Reed and *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* (1836), the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of American nativism, by Maria Monk.¹⁴ *Lorette* – which had been dedicated as "a tribute of respect" to friend and fellow-reformer Arthur Tappan, "for his Christian Philanthropy and zeal, on behalf of the Blind and Wretched" – represented an important moment in Bourne's reformist development. The anti-Catholic overtones were crucial in the additions made in his later antislavery writings, figuring prominently in *Picture of Slavery* (1834), a reprint of *Book and Slavery*, and *Slavery Illustrated in Its Effects on Woman and Domesticity* (1837). These later works, widely read by antislavery leaders, uncovered the shared religious root and social consequences that fortified southern and Romish tyranny.

In his mind, American slavery rested on the institutionalization of false religion, derived from a distortion of true doctrine by ecclesiastical élites, who, through the suppression of the Bible, elevated themselves to a status reserved only for God. They enslaved bodies and souls, crushed true piety, impeded spiritual enlightenment, and severed communal relationships. The same organizational structure and social consequences found in slavery were at the base of the Roman Catholic Church. In his lesser-known *Condensed Antislavery Bible Argument*, a historical-grammatical explication of specific Bible passages related to slavery, Bourne stated that Catholicism was the type of slavery that historically preceded southern slavery. More specifically, the theological hermeneutic that supported human bondage, “as a historical fact worthy of notice,” he wrote, “first originated among the members of that [Catholic] Church.” Revelation 18:13 prophesied about how the mystical Roman beast became the first to traffic, along with other propertied items, “the souls of men” – “an exact description of human slavery.”¹⁵ Bourne was not saying that southerners evolved organically from Catholicism or that they followed consistently a detailed blueprint for racial enslavement laid out by the Pope and his minions. Rather, the perversion of the Bible was the initial act by which humans, stripped of their reason and social identity, could easily be turned into items of property, and Catholicism, as prophesied in the book of Revelation, was the firstborn of such practice.¹⁶ Only when “Protestants correctly interpret the holy scriptures,” Bourne advised, would the “blasphemous imposture,” the Pope, be destroyed. The same was true for southern slavery. Institutionally, the churches of “Negro-Thieving preachers,” Bourne wrote, were like those of Jesuit priests: “genuine Synagogues of Satan.”¹⁷ And like “Popish lessons,” the beliefs and practices of men-stealers were of “little more value than the rays of the sun during a total eclipse.”¹⁸

The secondary literature on anti-Catholicism in America has focused largely on issues related to immigration, labor, and political formations within the context of the market revolution and an expanding democracy. Leading scholars of anti-Catholicism like Jenny Franchot

and Marie Anne Pagliarini have devoted a considerable amount of time discussing how the cultural images in the ex-nun genre (e.g., the presence of a lustful priestly class, the raped nun, the collapse of marriage, the evil that lurked in the private Catholic sphere, and the need for middle-class patriarchal protection – themes that shared a striking resemblance to the escaped slave narratives), “voiced the tensions of mainstream Protestant culture.”¹⁹ Much less attention, however, has been given to the important theological emphases that structured earlier nonpopery works. In *Roads to Rome*, Jenny Franchot, one of the leading nativist historians to come after Ray Billington, admittedly lumps the “not so interesting waters of theological polemic” with the “more contemporary psychological terrains of the comic or the pathologically hostile.”²⁰ Writing around the same time as Franchot, Richard Cawardine offers an indirect critique of such a conceptual starting point: “the power of evangelicals’ anti-Catholicism is misunderstood when it is seen principally as a vehicle or a cover for more ‘real’ economic or social concerns.” Scholars, Cawardine concludes, often lose “sight of the reality of the religious confrontation.”²¹

In writing *Lorette*, Bourne did not shy away from nineteenth-century literary constructs that shaped class identity, but his central objective in revealing the false religion of Catholicism (as with slavery) was to present a picture of true Bible-centered Protestantism. A failure to take seriously theology is to severely restrict an understanding of the religious and cultural mindset of this author. The theological – however inconsistently applied – interacted with changing cultural understandings of the self in society and played a leading role in Bourne’s conception of absolute freedom. The characters in *Lorette* search for an authentic religion that ultimately leads to the restoration of their identity within the family context, exposing the irreligious nature of Catholic intrigue in its attempt to invert proper gender roles, destroy marriage, and undermine male headship. An important goal of this article, then, is to offer a detailed discussion of *Lorette* as an evangelical theological drama that presents a concept of freedom as a product of the relationship between biblical faith and family cohesion.

Hysteria over “popish” plots in North America sprang up erratically in the mid to late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was not until the early nineteenth – due in large part to the conservatism sweeping Europe after the demise of Napoleon – the success of Pius VII in elevating Baltimore to the status of archdiocese with satellite dioceses in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Bardstown (Kentucky) – and the later waves of Irish Catholic immigrants – that a virulent and violent “no-popery” impulse emerged.²² And according to Bourne, it was popular religious print, particularly “theological discussion and missionary intelligence,” that effectively warned the republic of the growing threat of papal takeover.²³ Upon his arrival to the United States in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Bourne began a career as a newspaper editor in Baltimore before becoming a Presbyterian minister. Although dedicated largely to theological polemic, Bourne used, for the first and only time in his life, evangelical fiction (via *Lorette*) to battle the “Man of Sin.”

Bourne’s attitude toward the papacy paralleled the evolving nativism that shaped local politics in the North. After his removal from the Presbyterian Church, Bourne travelled to New York and spent a few years as a school teacher in Mount Pleasant. At the time, the republic reveled in its nationalistic glory after the War of 1812, accelerating its political and economic development.²⁴ In New York particularly, as Jason Duncan has recently argued in *Citizens or Papists*, Catholics had been involved in community development long before the Irish phenomenon. Wealthier New York Catholic families, having succeeded in the business community, helped establish schools, worked to provide a safe haven for Catholic immigrants, and even engaged in public service.²⁵ Unfortunately, from the colonial period to 1821, opposition to the papacy followed Catholic growth and played a central role in New York’s political culture. It is possible that the expansion of popery in New York inspired Bourne to write his first anti-Catholic work, *The Progress and Perfection of the Church of Christ*, an encyclopedic ecclesiastical history published in 1823 that traced the rise of the papal apostasy in Western civilization as prophesied in the New Testament book of Revelation.

Between 1823 and 1829 – and perhaps because of financial hardships he and other New Yorkers faced as a result of the Panic of 1819, one of the first major economic depressions to hit the United States – Bourne relocated with his family to Quebec.²⁶ Along with his ministerial duties, which included acquiring three separate pastorates, Bourne continued to work with a number of reform agencies. In 1825, he was elected secretary of the Quebec Bible Society and in 1829 became "Librarian and Keeper of the Cabinet" of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.²⁷ When he returned to New York with his family in 1829, to take up a call at the North Street Third Dutch Reformed Church, the Catholic Church was in the midst of its own internal upheaval in the lay trustee controversy – one in which the church, like other Protestant denominations, underwent a kind of democratization. A few Protestants, for a time, supported the actions of the laity to maintain their right to local sovereignty, which included regulating their property and choosing their own ministers.²⁸ But following the political changes occurring in nineteenth-century Europe, papal leaders increasingly took local control away from the laity, bringing American Catholics closer to a new conservative Rome. From the Protestant perspective, then, Catholicism was quickly becoming an inassimilable, foreign, and *un-American* presence.²⁹

Before writing *Lorette*, Bourne attempted to establish his own non-Popery newspaper. Concerned over the influence of Catholics in New York, he began publication of *The Protestant* in January 1830, "the first journal published in America devoted to the Antipapal controversy," according to Ray Billington. The goal of the paper, as outlined in its prospectus, was "to inculcate Gospel doctrines against Romish corruptions"; "maintain the purity and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures against Monkish tradition"; exemplify the watchful care of Immanuel over the church; continue in the history of those who defended the Christian tradition from error (e.g., Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Cranmer, Knox, Baxter, Owen, Whitefield, and Wesley); and denounce the creed of Pope Pius IV and the Council of Trent.³⁰ Leading evangelical newspapers including the *Western Recorder*, the *Rochester Observer*, the *Baptist Register*, and

the *New York Evangelist*, each known for its anti-Catholic tirades, endorsed Bourne's *Protestant* upon its appearance in 1830.³¹ Religious reformers like Nathaniel Beman and Joshua Leavitt found Bourne's work beneficial to the cause of righteousness. Garrison likewise praised the paper and even encouraged African Americans, "as far as their means allow, to patronize this grand 'Expositor of Popery'" in gratitude to the author's efforts in antislavery.³² *The Protestant* had, for Garrison, "a claim to public patronage not surpassed by any other publication" in America; it was the initial unifying step in the clergy's battle against "Jesuitism."³³

Concurrently, conservative Catholic writers, many of whom denounced all forms of fanaticism, including radical abolition, worked to discredit Bourne, characterizing *The Protestant* as "a lamentable ignorance" produced by "the cupidity of [a] brainless mendicant," who had a "bigoted attachment to falsehood."³⁴ As Billington informs us, Bourne was eventually removed as editor-in-chief for not exposing a series of articles written by Bishop John Hughes, American Catholicism's premier nineteenth-century apologist. Under the pseudonym "Cranmer," Hughes sarcastically mocked the tenets of the Catholic Church, inciting Protestant and nativist readers. He later revealed his plot in the Catholic *Truth Teller*.³⁵ But an underlying issue was that the board editors for *The Protestant* disliked the theological focus of Bourne and used the Hughes controversy to remove him. Bourne's associate, William Craig Brownlee, another famous anti-Catholic editor and member of the Dutch Reformed Church, took over the paper, but he too was removed in 1832. The theologically-minded writers failed to arouse the interest of the public and thus to garner a large subscription. Hardly discouraged from their removal from the paper, both reformers established the New York Protestant Association and later the Protestant Reformation Society, which eventually merged with another organization to become the ultra-Protestant American Foreign Christian Union.³⁶

As mentioned above, Bourne's "no-Popery" writings were more theological in orientation, emphasizing the doctrines of biblical authority,

salvation (specifically the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone), and evangelical persuasion in the pursuit of social reform. The anti-immigrationist elements that show up in later nativistic works are largely absent from his. There are a couple of references to the Irish and one comment on the "debasement of Ireland" in his later *American Text-book of Popery*, but presumably not in the sense that the Irish themselves posed a threat, for even they – led as slaves by their master, the Pope – could be redeemed through faith. Lacking an explicitly political nativism, Bourne's battle against Catholicism was more theological in perspective: he never abandoned his commitment to the centrality of historical Protestantism in maintaining a healthy society. False religion, manifested in the systems of both Catholicism and proslavery evangelicalism, not only undermined an individual's divinely ordained economic, political, and cultural duties, but also the very foundation of piety itself.

Antebellum religious novels like *Lorette* offered spiritual realities that tapped into a much earlier Protestant understanding of the sacred and the secular. From its inception in the sixteenth century, Protestantism challenged the idea that certain activities were inherently sacred or secular and that the truly pious Christian had to escape the mendacity of the world – renounce mother and father, brother and sister – for sustained spiritual contemplation. In reaction to this separation between the pious and the mundane, what Bourne referred to as "monastic mummery," many Reformers came to affirm that all of life was sacred. Christians in both Europe and America could now maintain an intimate relationship with the divine even in their everyday ordinary lives. According to Alistair McGrath, "The Reformation witnessed a remarkable turnabout in attitudes towards the secular order ... the real vocation of a Christian came in serving God in this world ... in the cities, marketplaces and council chambers of the secular world."³⁷ Secular activities were given sacred meaning. The truly faithful, Protestant reformers believed, worked within the world with a sincere heart before God and, therefore, yielded greater spiritual wealth.³⁸

This sacralization of the secular sharpened cultural distinctions as well, especially those related to domesticity and the cult of true woman-

hood. Reformer Martin Luther elevated housework over hermetic meditation: although having no “appearance of holiness, yet these very household chores are more to be valued than all the works of monks and nuns.” Similarly, English reformer William Tyndale also closed the gap between domestic and ecclesiastical labor: “washing dishes and preaching the word of God,” although vastly different, were “as touching to please God.”³⁹ And America’s market revolution reinforced this sacred-through-the-secular mentality. The spatial division between the work and the home, accelerated as a result of the market revolution, restructured the sacred and secular nature of such spaces that consequently fashioned the identities and duties of the people within them. Popular novels of the 1830s linked domestic chores with spiritual rebirth, showing “evidence of saving grace by sweeping the cottage floors and doing the laundry.”⁴⁰ Duty and practice reflected one’s faith, but it was the character of the feminine mother that instilled such faith. The nineteenth-century middle-class mother became a key avenue toward salvation. In her analysis of this type of literature, Jane Tompkins emphasizes the idea that many early nineteenth-century writers illustrated “the story of salvation through motherly love.”⁴¹ A spate of evangelical reformers identified the analogy between the earthly family as “the aptest illustration” of the heavenly home, placing the wife and mother as its “chief minister.”⁴²

Pumping out images of the self in a commercial society in accordance with “separate sphere” ideology contributed to what historian David Reynolds called the “fictionalization” of American evangelicalism. Such a process was a move away from the more metaphysically abstruse discourses of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Calvinist ecclesiastics. For many, Old World Protestantism and the realm of the sacred seemed distant or élitist, but with the democratization and feminization of Christianity in the post-revolutionary period and the explosion of cheap print there came a wider appreciation for religious fiction that stressed secular morality, sentimental piety, and a more “friendly” and “affectionate” (feminine qualities) Redeemer – themes that represented increased hostility to older (and colder) Calvinistic theological discourse.⁴³

Fictionalization revived individual practical morality as the litmus test for true faith, placing orthopraxy over that of orthodoxy. Acts of piety were interwoven and in some cases conflated with earthly duties and cultural distinctiveness. Henry Ware's *Formation of the Christian Character*, published the same year as the first installment of Garrison's *Liberator*, related religious story telling with the language of the popular mind: "The World is the theatre on which you are to prove yourself a Christian.... We must enter the crowd and distractions of common life." Such "common language" was used to "engage in common and secular affairs."⁴⁴ Antebellum writers and reformers, as Reynolds suggests, "reflected a confidence that individual regeneration and social change were linked and that preachers could help speed conversion by addressing topical social issues in sermons containing concrete illustrations of success or failure in common life."⁴⁵ The religious and cultural alterations in popular print assisted Bourne in presenting the doctrines of Protestant Christianity. If Reynolds's observation is at all helpful, Bourne's novel can be situated between the changes in American religious literature. *Lorette* reflected the cultural imagery of nineteenth-century literature, but still retained a connection with the theological discourse of older religious writings.

In setting the backdrop for the novel, Bourne relied on the bucolic scenery in the area surrounding Quebec – how it revealed God's "beautiful and fascinating material operations."⁴⁶ In 1829, with the help of James Smillie, the "first pictorial engraver" in Quebec and famous New York painter, Bourne published *Picture of Quebec and Its Vicinity*, a guidebook for visitors to northern Canada.⁴⁷ One section of the booklet described the small town of Lorette near Quebec. Upon entering, guests would first encounter Lake St. Charles, an "enchanted picture" that "developes [*sic*] imagery little inferior in natural beauty, which history and poetry have consecrated to perennial remembrance." After passing an Indian village near the lake, visitors would come to an old Hermitage built by an Intendant of the French Government "for the secluded residence of a Lady."⁴⁸ The lady's husband, as one rumor had it, thought his

wife so beautiful that he hid her in the house. Bourne, however, saw this as unlikely, for the “swarms of mosquitoes and gnats” during the summer months “must have rendered the Hermitage anything but an abode of rest.”⁴⁹ Another explanation was that the Intendant, who wanted to live with his family at Beauport, built the abode for his mistress. Regardless of the history of the hermitage and its inhabitant, it is highly probable that the rumors served Bourne’s imagination in creating the narrative’s central character, Louise.

What is most striking about *Picture of Quebec* is the absence of a harsh anti-Catholicism. According to Bourne, tourists would have been edified by Quebec’s scenery, which included numerous French Catholic establishments. He described the artwork in a number of Roman churches – the nativity, the virgin and child, the vision of St. Thérèse, and a meditating St. Bruneau – with no Protestant commentary that linked such images to idolatry or the “son of perdition.” Equally, he portrayed the infamous Hotel Dieu as “a capacious edifice,” taking up a large portion of the northern part of the interior of Quebec between Couillard and Palace streets.⁵⁰ In fact, the interior and exterior of the Ursuline convent was conducive to the domestic arts, for it was, as Bourne wrote, established “to promote female education,” which included things like “needlework.” The Duchess of Aiguillon built the institution in 1637 for works of charity for “the reception and care of the sick.” The presence of benevolence or the domestic crafts like needlework linked the convent to traits associated with female virtue.⁵¹ When discussing the Hotel Dieu, therefore, Bourne offered no warning of a Catholic threat to the United States, no scenes of torture, no lustful priests, and no slavish nuns. His descriptions of the nunnery were nowhere near the horrific gothic scenes most readers would come to be familiar with after reading Reed and Monk.

Nonetheless, Bourne presented Catholic Quebec, especially Lorette, as a kind of old world artifact – a lifeless society tied to an expiring religion, intimating the inherent nature of Protestantism, in contrast to Catholicism, as a religion of progress and civilization. The author describes Lorette as a

"dilapidated memento of anterior times."⁵² Paradoxically, Bourne's admiration of the past may have been offered as a kind of celebratory demise, inculcating on the mind of his readers a greater appreciation for the progressivism of a Protestant civilization. His descriptions of an older unenlightened environment made so by false religion mirrored his picture of the non-Protestant (i.e., non-Christian) slave plantation in both *Picture of Slavery* and *Slavery Illustrated* as barbaric and uncivilized.

In the introduction to *Lorette*, Bourne related an experience he had while writing *Picture of Quebec*. During his tour of Canada, he met an elderly gentleman by the name of Diganu, the name of an important character in *Lorette*, who accompanied the author to Montmorenci, Lorette, and Lake Charles. When they came to Lorette, Diganu told Bourne of the "affecting occurrences" of the place and gave the author a sealed package, which contained "the record of some past events and characters." The packet was not to be viewed until after Diganu's death. When he finally perused the document, Bourne was shocked to read the harrowing account of an escaped nun. The incident confirmed in his mind the satanic undertones of Canada's religious and social conditions and rekindled his anti-Catholicism: "The peculiar characteristics of society there elude a slight regard; and to comprehend the state of religious principles, the tone of domestic morals, the mental vassalage, and the profound debasement of the *habitans* [*sic*] of that province, numerous difficulties and obstructions must be surmounted." The events described by Diganu, which detailed his relationship with an ex-nun named Louise, stirred Bourne to write a fictional account about the events. He assured his readers that Diganu, who changed the names of the real characters, affirmed the accounts to be true. For Bourne, this was a true story about human nature placed in a fictional setting: "man as he is, not as fiction describes him," presenting the essence of each person in the story in the "unadorned drapery of truth."⁵³

The main character and heroine of *Lorette*, Louise, breaks away from the clutches of a lecherous priest after reading the Bible and accepting the tenets of the Protestant faith. Two young men, Diganu and Chretien, res-

cue a pale Louise near Lake St. Charles immediately after her escape. The squaws of the local Indian village nurture her back to health. After Louise regains her strength, she tells her male rescuers and close confidants of her life under a despotic priest. She also discusses her conversion to Protestant Christianity, which had inspired her to run away in the first place. Diganu and Chretien express dismay when Louise disavowed Catholicism. Explaining in detail her religious transformation, Louise eventually produces a change in the hearts of her companions, encouraging them to “snap the chain” of Jesuitism that fettered their mind.⁵⁴

During her recovery and interaction with Diganu and Chretien, Louise’s former master, a Jesuit priest, works to recapture his prized possession. Accepting the fact that Louise has renounced the life of a celibate nun, Diganu offers her patriarchal protection through the bonds of marriage, a victimized woman’s only safe harbor from a dissolute and, thus, unmanly tyrant – one who cares little for the well being of the “weaker vessel.” The two agree to a secret ceremony, but before its commencement the Priest enters the scene, stops the wedding, and makes the most startling announcement: Diganu and Louise are in actuality siblings. Readers could only assume that such images of incest were not used to condemn the betrothed (for they were ignorant of their actions) but to denounce the Priest for not educating the two in the proper understanding of courtship and marriage. This type of sexual perversion was the consequence of false religion. After the wedding, the Priest imprisons Louise once again as a heretic. She continues to correspond with her brother, who busily works to find ways to free his sister, which includes working closely with a lawyer. Louise endures the sexual advances of her captor, but her new faith – the protector of her soul – allows her to withstand the theological errors and immoral practices that flow naturally from the Jesuit religion. Although never physically freed from her physical imprisonment, which seems to work against the escaped nun genre, Louise’s acceptance of the true faith after an encounter with Christ and his word suggests the very nature of ultimate freedom.

While imprisoned, the former nun met another heretic, Thérèse, who, the reader comes to find out, is Louise's mother. It is at this point in the story that Bourne's theological and evangelical perspective becomes most salient. As they regularly interact, Louise takes the opportunity to tutor her estranged mother in Protestant doctrine. Central to their discussion is the authority of the scriptures. When an uninformed Thérèse asks where one could find true Christianity, her daughter offers a standard reformed response: "The Scriptures are given to us as a rule by which to try our spiritual condition."⁵⁵ It is only through a direct reading of the Bible and not the words of a priest that salvation came. In fact, everything related to the errors of Romanism stemmed from a refusal to search the scriptures: "The whole fabric, called Popery, is founded upon an impenetrable ignorance of the gospel of Christ."⁵⁶ But despite the work of those who suppressed the truth, Louise argues, the Bible maintained its integrity throughout history as a result of the miraculous work of the Holy Spirit.

According to Bourne, suppressing the word of God was the initial step in securing papal dominance and creating slaves: "the Pope establishes himself above all law, arrogated the god-like attributes of holiness and infallibility and demanded and enforced obedience to his decreetals." Not only did he project himself higher than any earthly or heavenly law, but he arrogantly "exalteth himself above that [which] is called God or that [which] is worshipped, so that as God [he] sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God" (2 Thessalonians 2:4). Priests accomplished this task by convincing their followers that their word was "greater than the word of God."⁵⁷ Allowing the members of the Catholic Church to read the scriptures for themselves would have threatened priestly authority. Consequently, such leaders determined the meaning of "the sacred scriptures," demanding "belief or rejection of them in conformity with the papal decision."⁵⁸ "[B]y grasping and concealing the divine word," Romanists became "unlimited and supreme."⁵⁹ They deprived "men of the true law of their sanctification [and] the progressive holiness which the Gospel demands."⁶⁰

From there, in a kind of evangelical Socratic dialogue, Louise and Thérèse discuss the errors of Catholicism as they relate to faith and works in salvation. Bourne's thoughts on this issue were later articulated in greater detail in his *American Textbook of Popery*. The doctrines of Rome negated the importance of Christ's obedience, death, and resurrection unto salvation. Contrary to reformed theology, then, Catholics divided "the work of salvation between man and Christ."⁶¹ The church rejected the Protestant doctrine of "justification by faith alone": "Faith doth not justify as an instrument ... [it is] not the only cause of justification, but also hope, charity, alms, deeds, and other virtues."⁶² Because additional "works are necessary as efficient causes" for salvation, Rome, according to Bourne, enabled individuals to save themselves by their own efforts.⁶³ If salvation were a matter of human action, then the sacrificial atonement of Christ would not have been necessary. "Thus the Romanists do not acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ to be the only and exclusive cause of eternal salvation [Is. 45:21-25; Matt. 11:28; John 3:16, 36; Acts 4:12]; and therefore their doctrine is contrary to the essential design of the Gospel, because they have devised other means of redeeming sinful men than Christ and genuine faith in him."⁶⁴ Bourne integrated into the story the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, whereby a penitent rested on the active work of Christ in imputing righteousness to sinners. Romanism could not be "Christian" because the work of Christ was removed from salvation.

Convinced of Rome's theological errors, Thérèse is finally instructed to personally apply the Bible – its doctrines, examples, and commandments – with a sincere heart directly onto her conscience; otherwise, it "will be of no permanent advantage."⁶⁵ It is at this stage that the reader would recognize the contrast between the Protestant cultural emphasis on inner sincerity and the shallow exterior of Catholicism. Catholics, like the Pharisees during Jesus' day, paraded their false piety in public according to Bourne. Christ condemned such hypocrisy. Coming to an understanding of the doctrines of salvation, Thérèse asks whether she herself had "experienced godly sorrow," realizing, contrary to Catho-

lic piety, that "religion is more a personal thing of the heart."⁶⁶ Sincerity before God mattered more than outward practices; for, as Karen Halttunen suggests, Protestants who inquired as to whether they were truly saved were, in actuality, questioning their sincerity.⁶⁷ This was perhaps one of the richest literary moments in all of Bourne's writings, for he led his readers to see and thus witness the gradual conversion of Thérèse – a process that incorporates a knowledge of the true religion, the conviction of individual sin, and the final acceptance of the person and work of the messiah.

Thérèse's change of heart reminds Louise of her own conversion. During her initial enslavement, Louise interacted with an old woman at Guernsey, Marguerite, who warned the aspiring girl of the error of priests in not allowing the freedom to read the Bible. According to Marguerite, an individual's transfer from darkness to light required an unmediated reading of the scripture, the source by which one could fully understand human nature and the person of God. In a scene that would have probably reminded nineteenth-century Protestants of St. Augustine's conversion, the young Louise heeded the advice of the old woman to read the Bible for herself. At once, the scales, as it were, fell from her eyes. "Seeing Jesus," Louise recalled the old woman saying, brought emancipation. The individual encounter with the word, a necessary component of Reformed theology and, more broadly, evangelicalism, transformed Louise, allowing her "to dissipate the mists of error" in which she had been trained.⁶⁸ The youthful girl experienced a new birth. This "born again" motif through direct Bible reading remained in only a few nineteenth-century exposés.⁶⁹ In a late nineteenth-century ex-nun story, a conflicted nun came into contact with "the ranks of Bible Protestantism, her eyes were open, the scales of dark Romanism, error and superstition had been removed." She became, therefore, "a new creature."⁷⁰

Woven into the storyline of *Lorette* is a Protestant discourse concerning identity transformation through spiritual conversion. The restoration of one's true self – i.e., the new birth – followed on the heels of Protestant conversion. In the Calvinist mind, a true knowledge of one's

self demanded a true knowledge of God. A committed Calvinist and student of church history, as evident in his pastoral examination before the Lexington Presbytery and his numerous publications, Bourne was familiar with the writings of John Calvin, a leading architect of the Protestant Reformation. Calvin's opening ontological discussion in Book I of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, underscores the important epistemological link between the individual and God:

no one can look upon himself without immediately turning his thoughts to the contemplation of God, in whom he "lives and moves" (Acts 17:28).... For what man in all the world would not gladly remain as he is – what man does not remain as he is – so long as he does not know himself, that is, while content with his own gifts, and either ignorant or unmindful of his own misery? Accordingly, the knowledge of ourselves not only arouses us to seek God, but also, as it were, leads us by the hand to find him.... Again, it is certain that man never achieves a clear knowledge of himself unless he has first looked upon God's face, and then descends from contemplating him to scrutinizing himself.⁷¹

Complementing Calvin's discussion, Bourne seemed to intimate that a true knowledge of God was not only the basis for a true knowledge of the self, but also the foundation for the true (or ideal) family, an earthly institution from which an individual received their identity. *Lorette* revealed how false religion fractured family relationships and destroyed individuals' earthly duties. Catholicism detached "one individual from another" and thus severed all social and familial relations.⁷² Sent to the Ursuline convent in Quebec at an early age, Louise had been stripped of her identity; she had no knowledge of her age, birthday, or familial line.

In a comparative way, Louise's psychological trauma of not knowing her own origins echoed those of real life slaves in similar circumstances. The only clue linking Louise to a particular identity was the mark "M" on her forehead. Diganu had a similarly placed mark. Her mission – namely, to

find her true self – required a search for family members. Without such connections, Louise had been lost, but so too were the other characters in the story. Her ancestral detachment acted as a metaphor of spiritual wanderings. Since both mother and daughter had been “without God,” Louise and Thérèse were “unconscious of the true character” of their actions.⁷³ As Louise described it, “[Thérèse] was exactly like a traveler without a guide in a desert; where to stand is impossible, but to move is to storm every conceivable danger.” Louise made a similar confession earlier in the story when she told Diganu, “I am not my own director.”⁷⁴ When they finally recognized their relationship to each other, it was Thérèse who expresses the deepest remorse – remorse for her failure as a mother. Such realizations and the reunion of mother and daughter, it should be repeated, were preceded by doctrinal discussions. While evangelizing Thérèse, Louise confessed that there emerged “an indistinct allusion to the possibility of a future personal recognition of each other by associates.” And even though the three were unable to spend the remainder of their earthly lives together they knew that they would one day meet “to enjoy that sanctified undying communion” in heaven.⁷⁵

The absence of the father figure is also a prominent theme throughout *Lorette*. Diganu, like Louise, was Thérèse’s child; his father is the Priest, the same one who chased and ultimately recaptured Louise. Louise, on the other hand, had a different father, a different priest. The tragic rape of Thérèse and the bastardization of Diganu and Louise, heinous acts rooted in Catholic heresy, represented an egregious nullification of a father’s appropriate role. The father-child relationship in the novel was never restored, giving a sense of uneasiness to the reader and suggesting the need to restore and protect patriarchal authority. As is clear from the novel, the priest’s suppression of masculine protection came by attacking marriage, an institution whereby men sheltered women and secured their status as heads of their household. As Pagliani has argued, the need to protect male headship manifested itself in Protestantism’s opposition to celibacy, a papal practice that presented the rejection of marriage and family as a pious act.⁷⁶ The interference in the marriage

ceremony became the occasion for Diganu to renounce his allegiance to the church and to rebuke the Priest's failure as a spiritual father.⁷⁷ The problem of the father was central in Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent*, a narrative that, in part, exposed the efforts of a convent's mother superior in trying to reverse proper gender roles. Equally, the absence of patriarchy not only compelled Reed to escape, but also provoked the actual burning of the Charleston convent.

The reinstating of familial identity after accepting the Protestant faith uncovered the surreptitious endeavors of those who took captive the souls of young women. "The Pope rules the interior and penetrates the heart," Bourne wrote in the *Textbook*, "for *conscience is the seat of his empire*."⁷⁸ Echoing such a statement, a later no-popery author suggested that the Jesuit priest had "mastered ... the understanding of human nature," prying into "the very core of [a] young girl's heart." Auricular confession, "the fertile source of every possible crime," became the most important tool of enslavement, for it dethroned "reason, intellect and self, entirely, and enthrones the superior as absolute King and guide."⁷⁹ Through the dark space of the confessional "the knowledge of the character, propensities, and circumstances of every individual, with the concealment in which it veils all its mysterious communications and acts, eradicates the shield of virtue, and places every person within the controlling power of the Priest."⁸⁰ It involves a "surrender of all personal and mental independence."⁸¹ Capturing the inner self enslaved the whole person. And confession was even more dangerous when offered by a woman to an unscrupulous man: "let the female be of what class she may, simple-hearted or lax, the repetition of her dishonor ... enhances beyond measure when the instincts of nature are violated by making the recital to a man."⁸² As a helpless victim, then, the convent nun fell "entirely [into] the hands of her superiors," which precluded "*all opposition to his commands*."⁸³

The priest, who is never named or "unmasked" to reveal his inner depraved nature, physically and spiritually seduced both Louise and Thérèse by penetrating their hearts, collapsing any hint of sensibility,

disconnecting their family affiliations, and stripping them of sovereignty over their own bodies. Religious slavery transformed women into irreligious beasts. Using the same language to describe the effects of slavery on women, Bourne defined the person of the nun as "a woman abjectly submissive in body, soul, and spirit, to the will of her superior."⁸⁴ Priestly control rested not only on the ability to alter a woman's nature, but also to make such "poor creatures" accept their depraved state. "When animated by the demon of Popery," Bourne argued, aspiring nuns, like women who married southern men, became "daring persecutors, exulting in carnage, and surveying with delight streams of Christian blood, and piles of *naked* mangled human bodies."⁸⁵

In essence, therefore, "popery" was totally irreconcilable with domesticity. From Bourne's cultural mindset, nuns could never be true women unless they broke the fetters of their oppressors. Catholic priests "stifle all natural tenderness, and spoil the most amiable dispositions; for gentle and delicate women."⁸⁶ Diganu lamented the priest's intent to fracture the family by suppressing the cultivation of feminine feelings: "How is a human creature to show sensibility, who has never enjoyed a relatives' endearments to keep it in exercise; and just when it was beginning to awake and expand itself, who had had its first fresh and green fruits forever blasted."⁸⁷ Indeed, Louise's conversion allowed her to experience the duties befitting a woman, becoming herself – if for only a short period – an affectionate mother to Thérèse. "I was thus remarkably appointed," she wrote to her brother, "to attend and support the enfeebled and dispirited woman by whom we had been ushered into the world."⁸⁸

With its emphasis on how Catholicism corrupts religion, women, and the family, *Lorette* contributed to the basic literary structure of the escaped nun's story, positioning its author as a highly qualified editor for the most famous of this genre: Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal*. Published in 1836, *Awful Disclosures* sold more copies than Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent*, another popular exposé, and moved to second in sales after Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Monk told the story of her Protestant up-

bringing and her late desire to become a nun. After an elaborate ceremony at the Montreal nunnery, she received the veil and subsequently witnessed the horrors committed in the convent, which included priest-directed rape, murder, and infanticide. Impregnated by a priest and unwilling to comply with her superiors to abort her child, Monk escaped the convent. Convinced “that she had been divinely selected to expose the horrors of Popery,” Monk ran toward male protection, calling for a Protestant clergyman to whom she could tell her story.⁸⁹ William K. Hoyt, a committed no-popery nativist, aided her escape to the United States and compelled her to write an autobiography. J.J. Slocum, Arthur Tappan, and Theodore Dwight were also involved in editing Monk’s report. Dwight, as one report had it, encouraged Bourne to be the “ghost writer” for the exposé.⁹⁰ According to Billington, Bourne and Harper Brothers publication took over the book’s copyrights, offering none of the profits to Monk.⁹¹

There is a noticeable difference in emphasis, however, between *Lorette* and *Six Months*. The latter focuses more on the frightening dungeon-like features of the convent, the murderous activities of the nuns, the external hypocrisy of convent leaders, and the damaging effects of the institution on young girls – themes that contemporary historians highlight as the dominant features of such literature. Although similar matters are brought to light in *Lorette*, *Six Months* does not enter into any extensive discussion regarding the doctrines of the Protestant faith. The Bible is certainly mentioned as an important religious text, but no dialogue occurs over its historical authenticity or the miraculous process by which its doctrines radically change hearts. In an important way, *Lorette* can be read as an apology of the tenets of the Protestant faith, an evangelical message that relies on nineteenth-century cultural constructs.

Centralizing theology as the tool to fight religious despotism mirrored the basic arrangement of Bourne’s antislavery work. *Lorette* lent support to the additions Bourne made to *Picture and Slavery*, published a year after the novel in 1834. This updated antislavery booklet made frequent reference to the relationship between Catholicism and slavery, a

subject absent in the original *Book and Slavery*. At the heart of both Romish and southern slavery, two institutions that demanded total control over body and soul, was the suppression of the scriptures by dictatorial religious leaders. "Like the Papists," Bourne concluded in *Picture and Slavery*, "[slaveholders] will not permit the coloured citizens to learn to read or to possess the scriptures," which offered "the only appointed and effectual means by which this transformation of the human heart and character can be attained: *for men are sanctified through the word of truth*."⁹² "Romish" slave owners take away "the key of knowledge, and defraud the coloured citizens of 'the pearl of great price,' and the light of their feet and the lamp of their path." The deceptive work of Jesuitism, Bourne continued, was no more "base and deficient in religious truth than the soul-deceiving 'strong delusions' with which the slavites attempt to gull the coloured people."⁹³

Furthermore, as the lifeblood of spiritual slavery, counterfeit theology, what Bourne identified as Catholicism, had a negative impact on the family community. The devastating effects on marriage and women, as the characters in *Lorette* understood all too well, represented the full extent of the depravity of absolute oppression. This of course was a crucial matter of discussion in *Slavery Illustrated in its Effects*, published four years after *Lorette*. Both slavery and Catholicism equally eradicated a "wife's affection, the mother's love, and the sister's tenderness, in all their energetic purity."⁹⁴ While men-stealers refused to recognize slave marriages, Catholics specifically desecrated the "connubial" covenant through the pseudo-pietistic practice of celibacy – the "occasion of criminalities" that "poison the well springs of domestic virtue."⁹⁵ They violated marriage with impunity and made it easier for church members to do penance for sexual sins, especially those against the sanctity of marriage, which suggested that the Roman faith did not require an inward change of the heart in order to be saved. "Rome," as in the case of the South, was "one vast brothel."⁹⁶

Slavery shared Catholicism's "theological tragic-farce."⁹⁷ Both were manifestations of false religion, both grew out of a misreading of the

sacred text and the abuse of church authority, both had enslaving tyrants, and both sought to destroy the foundations of civil society: the family unit, sincere piety, and sexual purity. Among reformers, America's besieging evils were not necessarily equal. Radicals saw slavery as a worse institution than Catholicism; more moderate antislavery reformers took the opposite position.⁹⁸ But Bourne maintained a strategy whereby he could evenly battle the two without taking away from either one. As a foot soldier in a Manichean struggle wherein Christ would trample Satan's demonic hordes and eventually purge the church and the nation of its sins, the pioneer of anti-slavery and anti-Catholicism remained steadfast in his crusade against the type of bondage that destroyed doctrine and social identity. *Lorette's* double-edged sword not only intensified evangelical nativism, but also reinforced the cultural arguments related to faith and family used by this radical abolitionist.

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Notes

¹ *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, 1836-1840*, Vol. 2, ed. Louis Ruchames (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971), 14 August 1841, 281; *Letters*, Vol. 5, 164. A host of nineteenth-century reformers likewise made the connection between Catholicism and slavery. Dublin printer Richard Webb, a frequent reporter for the *Liberator* and close friend of its editor, stated at one time that "the rampant, audacious, Ultramontanism of the Romish clergy" was identical with the "kindred spirit of chattel slavery." George Cheever, Congregational minister and correspondent for the *New York Evangelist*, considered the political and social tyranny of southern slavery as "Romish and Romanist." Cheever and Webb quotes in John R. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 57-59. For Jane Swisshelm, "to be a minister of the Roman church was to be a friend of Southern interests." Swisshelm quote in Peter Walker, *Moral Choices: Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineteenth-Century American Abolition* (Louisiana State UP, 1978), 164. Elijah Lovejoy, hailed as the first white martyr of the abolitionist crusade, attributed the rising opposition

against his anti-slavery newspaper, *The St. Louis Observer*, not to southern slaveocracy, but to Popery: "The fire that is now blazing and crackling ... was kindled on Papish altars and has been assiduously blown up by Jesuit breath." "Elijah Lovejoy as an Anti-Catholic," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 62 (September 1951): 172-80.

² William Lloyd Garrison, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison: From Disunionism to the Brink of War, 1850-1860*, ed. Louis Ruchames, Vol. 4 (Harvard UP, 1975), 597, n. 254. Theodore Bourne was also ordained in the Presbyterian Church. He later became a professor of language. Like his father, Theodore pursued avenues of social reform, becoming "founder and first secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Crime in New York" (*Ibid.*). He was involved in the African Civilization Society and corresponded often with Benjamin Coates and Henry Highland Garnet. For a recent edited volume of Benjamin Coates's letters and correspondences see Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner and Marget Hope Bacon, eds., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (Penn State UP, 2005), Letters 32, 38, 41, 48, 56. Coates frequently corresponded with Garnet and Theodore on cotton production in Liberia.

³ Theodore Bourne, "George Bourne: The Pioneer of Anti-Slavery" *Methodist Quarterly* LXIV (January 1882), 81.

⁴ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Revolutionary Era* (Cornell UP, 1975), timeline at the beginning of the book.

⁵ George Bourne, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable, With an Animadversion Against Samuel Stanhope Smith* (Philadelphia: J.M. Sander-son & Co., 1816), 97.

⁶ George Bourne, *Picture of Slavery in the United States of America* (Middleton, CT: E. Hunt, 1834), 131.

⁷ Bourne, *Book and Slavery*, 16-17.

⁸ Bourne, *Picture*, 132.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁰ William Allen, *The Philanthropist: Or Repository for Hints and Suggestions*, VI (1816): 334-50; Donald Mathews, *Slavery and Method-*

ism: *A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845* (Princeton UP, 1965), 122. Lawrence Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America*. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980). Ex-slave Frederick Douglass likewise admired Bourne and at least on one occasion referred to his trial and quoted from his *Picture of Slavery*. See John Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews. Vol. 3: 1855-63* (Yale UP, 1985), 24. William and Ellen Craft's brave defiance of social norms had been inspired by Bourne's account in *Picture of Slavery* of tanning young white boys in order to make them marketable for slavery. It is also probable, according to Gerda Lerner, that Angelina Grimke, through her close association with Reverend William McDowell, learned of Bourne's removal from the South for his uncompromising views against slavery. Gerda Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition*. Revised and expanded edition, (U of North Carolina P, 2004), 50.

¹¹ Joshua Leavitt, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 24 (October 1844), 3.

¹² Lewis Tappan, "George Bourne," *The Independent* 13 (31 October 1861), 6.

¹³ David Reynolds, *Faith in Fiction* (Harvard UP, 1981), 181.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 181. Ray Billington largely neglects *Lorette* in his encyclopedic study of the origins of American nativism. According to Frank Luther Mott, author of *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Bestsellers in America*, to become a best-seller a book had to reach 1% of the total population in sales. A runner-up bestseller, like Bourne's *Lorette*, was just below that figure, but nonetheless maintained a wide readership. Susan Griffin, "Awful Disclosures: Women's Evidence in the Escaped Nuns Tales," *PMLA* Vol. 111, No. 1, Special Topic: The Status of Evidence (January 1996): 93-107.

¹⁵ Bourne, *A Condensed Anti-Slavery Bible Argument* (New York: S.W. Benedicts, 1845), 14.

¹⁶ Human nature, Bourne wrote in 1844, was "ever prone and will-

ing to depart from Jehovah" (*Textbook*, 53). Throughout every age, societies express an "inextinguishable hatred" to Christ and his gospel (*Lectures*, 4). Rebellion against the gospel is not something unique to slave owners and Catholics, but endemic to all humanity. It's just that the depravity of the former is organized by religion.

¹⁷ George Bourne, *Picture of Slavery in the United States of America* (Middleton, CT: E. Hunt, 1834), 227.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁹ Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (U of California P, 1994), xvii. The best essay that highlights the common themes shared by most escaped-nun tales is Marie Anne Pagliarini's "The Pure American Women and the Wicked Catholic Priest: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic Literature in Antebellum America," *Religion and American Culture* (Winter 1999), 97-128.

²⁰ Franchot, *Roads*, xix.

²¹ Richard Cawardine, *Evangelical Politics in Antebellum America* (Yale UP, 1993), 81.

²² For political anti-Catholic hysteria prior to the 1830s consider Nathan Hatch's *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England* (Yale UP, 1977) and Ruth Bloch's *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756-1800* (Cambridge UP, 1985).

²³ George Bourne, *Lectures on the Progress and Perfection of the Church of Christ* (Mt. Pleasant, NY: R.W. Knight, 1823), 414; Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 42.

²⁴ One of the best recent works to analyze the fault lines of democracy during the Era of Good Feelings is Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: Norton, 2005). Chapter 6 is entitled "The Era of Bad Feelings."

²⁵ Jason K. Duncan, *Citizens or Papists? The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685-1821* (Fordham UP, 2005), 23.

²⁶ I may be assuming too much in blaming Bourne's economic woes

on the Panic of 1819: he was never good at managing his own finances.

²⁷ Mary Macauley Allodi and Rosemarie L. Tovell, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage: James Smillie in Quebec, 1821-1820* (Ontario: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), 119.

²⁸ Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963); Jay Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1975); Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from the Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY: Double Day, 1985), Chapter 4; Patrick Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), chapters 2 and 3.

²⁹ Dale Light, *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (U of Notre Dame P, 1996), 101-10.

³⁰ Billington, *Protestant*, 53. *Religious Intelligencer* 14, no. 31 (26 December 1829), 496.

³¹ Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in New York* (Cornell UP, 1982), 231.

³² *Liberator*, vol. 2, no. 11 (17 March 1832).

³³ *Ibid.* Quotation from *Liberator*, vol. 2, no. 11 (17 March 1832).

³⁴ *North American Magazine* 2.9 (July 1833), 193; *North American Magazine* 2.10 (August 1833), 253; *United Catholic Miscellany* (8 May 1830), 9, 45, 357; *United States Catholic Miscellany* 13.4 (27 July 1833), 31.

³⁵ Lou Baldwin, "Pious Prejudice: Catholicism and the American Press over Three Centuries" in Robert Lockwood, ed., *Anti-Catholicism in American Culture* (Washington, DC: Center for Media and Public Affairs, 2000), 60.

³⁶ Ray Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 98.

³⁷ Alistair McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 220.

³⁸ Alistair McGrath, "Calvin and the Christian Calling," *First Things* 94 (June/July 1999), par. 17. <http://www.firstthings.com/ftissues/ft9906/articles/mcgrath.html>.

³⁹ Luther's and Tyndale's quotations in McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 220-22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*. (Oxford UP, 1985), 125.

⁴² Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home, or Principles of Domestic Science*. (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1870), 19.

⁴³ Ann Douglass, *Feminization of American Culture*, Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Ohio UP, 1976); Cathy Davidson, *Revolution of the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (Oxford UP, 1986); Mary Kelley, *Private Women, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford UP, 1984). Reynolds criticizes Ann Douglass for exaggerating the feminization of American culture. In *Faith and Fiction*, Reynolds argues that an equally valid argument can be made for a masculinization of American culture. One illustrative point is his analysis of the decline of Calvinism. For Douglass the decline of Calvinism gave way to a more sentimental, effeminate Protestantism. On the contrary, the revolt against Calvinism can be interpreted as an attempt to rebuild masculine Christianity. Calvinism, according to William Ellery Channing, emasculated men, making them slaves of the divine. The renewed man was one who courageously exercised his free will in society. For William Ware, those who were critical of Calvinism were strong and independent. Henry Ware believed that manly labor was necessary for salvation. See also David Reynolds, "The Feminization Controversy: Sexual Stereotypes and the Paradoxes of Piety in Nineteenth-Century America," *The New England Quarterly* vol. 53, no. 1 (March 1980), 96-106.

⁴⁴ Ware's quote in Reynolds, *Faith*, 100.

⁴⁵ David Reynolds, "Doctrine to Narrative," 484.

⁴⁶ Bourne, *Picture of Quebec and Its Vicinity* (Quebec: P. and W. Ruthven, 1831), 51.

⁴⁷ Theodore Bourne, "George Bourne – the Pioneer of American Anti-Slavery," 14-16. Mary Macauley Allodi and Rosemarie L. Tovell, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage: James Smillie in Quebec, 1821-1820* (Ontario: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), 119. Initially, *Picture of Quebec* gained a meager profit. But after Smillie transferred publication to Bourne's eldest son, George Melksham, a New York news agent, profits soared. George Melksham Bourne owned and operated the Depository of Arts, Engravings and Fancy Store at 359 Broadway, New York. Smillie stayed in close contact with the Bourne family.

⁴⁸ Bourne, *Picture*, 47, 49.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Bourne, *Lorette*, xii, xiv. Although *Lorette* is fictional, Bourne assures his readers that the story is based on actual events. I have not investigated further the truth of Bourne's account. In the future, however, I wish to examine the historical function such notes have on establishing the author's veracity in such exposés.

⁵⁴ *Lorette*, 84.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵⁶ Bourne, *American Text-book of Popery*, 54.

⁵⁷ *Lorette*, 162

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 164-65.

⁵⁹ Bourne, *Textbook*, 240.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 236.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 240.

⁶⁵ *Lorette* 167.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁶⁷ Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (Yale UP, 1982), 53.

⁶⁸ *Lorette*, 165.

⁶⁹ This veritable "born again" motif is well illustrated in Margaret L. Shepherd, *My Life in The Convent*, 11th ed. (Canada and New South Wales: Margaret L. Shepherd, 1892).

⁷⁰ Ford Hendrickson, *The "Black Convent" Slave: The Climax of Nunnery Exposures, Awful Disclosures, The "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of Rome's "Convent Slavery"* (Toledo, Ohio: Missionary Publishing Company, 1914), 70.

⁷¹ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book I, chapter 1, section 1.

⁷² Bourne, *American Textbook of Popery*, 349.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 169, 133.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷⁶ Mary Anne Pagliani, "The Pure American Woman and the Wicked Catholic Priest: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic Literature in Antebellum America," *Religion and American Culture* vol. 9, no. 1 (Winter 1999), 104.

⁷⁷ The absence of fatherly protection played a central role in Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent*, published a couple years after *Lorette*. Reed, the daughter of a poor Protestant farmer from Charleston, Massachusetts, converted to Catholicism in 1831 at the age of nineteen and entered the Ursuline convent in the summer of the same year. She secretly left the institution in 1832, telling people of its rigid disciplines, harsh physical conditions, and the lack of affections from the superiors. Motivated by Reed's account, a working-class Protestant mob burned the Catholic establishment in 1834. In the spring of 1835, Reed published *Six Months* – selling 5,000 copies in the first week, 25,000 the first month, and 50,000 the first year. Despite the popularity of the tale, which included a futile rebuttal by the mother superior, Sister Mary Edmond St.

George, Reed fell into obscurity and died in 1838 of consumption. Unique to Reed's memoirs is the Ursuline mother superior as a usurper of male authority. The Catholic matriarch expected the girls to devote themselves to Christ and the Roman Church, "repeating the words of the Savior, 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.'" The violence committed against the convent was largely directed toward an anti-mother who secured her power within a distorted domestic space.

⁷⁸ Bourne, *American Textbook of Anti-Popery*, 370.

⁷⁹ Hendrickson, *The "Black Convent,"* 8-9.

⁸⁰ Bourne, *Textbook*, 309.

⁸¹ Bourne, *Lectures on the Progress and Perfection of the Church of Christ* (Mt. Pleasant, NY: R.W. Knight, 1823), 174.

⁸² Bourne, *American Textbook*, 308.

⁸³ Lorette, 121. Hendrickson, *Black Convent*, 23.

⁸⁴ Bourne, *American Text-Book of Popery: Being an Authentic Compend of the Bulls, Canons, and Decretals of the Roman Hierarchy* (Philadelphia: Griffith and Sons, 1847), 79.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Lorette, 115.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁹ Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 100.

⁹⁰ Michael Williams, *Shadow of the Pope* (NY: Kessinger Publishing Company, 1932), 71.

⁹¹ Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 101, 115. Billington also discusses how each clergyman swindled Monk out of the book's profits: "Maria Monk and Slocum were jointly sued by Hoyt for a share of the profits. *New York Observer*, 26 November 1836. In a second suit brought by Maria Monk through Slocum as next friend against Harper Brothers and others, it was asserted that the copyright on the *Awful Disclosures* had been taken out by Bourne and used by him with the aid of Harper Brothers in such a way that Maria Monk received none of the profits. The

court refused to grant her any relief" (115).

⁹² Bourne, *Picture of Slavery*, 172, emphasis added.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Bourne, *Slavery Illustrated in its Effects on Women and Domestic Society*, 34.

⁹⁵ Bourne, *Lectures*, 182.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁹⁷ Bourne, *Picture of Slavery*, 175.

⁹⁸ The *New York Observer* in 1834 showed a greater fear over the potentially rapid growth of the Jesuit population: "The number of negroes imported from African in one hundred and fifty years, was less than 300,000 – less than the number of Papists we are now importing every five years from Europe! We shall soon have more Papists in the North than they have slaves in the South" *New York Observer* 34.52 (27 December 1834). Another writer for the *Observer* confessed, "Negro slavery is indeed a curse, but what is it compared with the curse of Popery!" *New York Observer*, 34.51 (27 December 1834). Abolitionist Joseph Berg considered the "poor slave ... a freeman, when compared with the man who breathes the atmosphere of liberty, and yet voluntary fetters his soul, and surrenders himself, bound hand and foot, to the sovereign will and pleasure of a popish priest." Joseph Berg, *The Confessional; or, an Exposition of the Doctrine of Auricular Confession As Taught in the Standards of the Romish Church*, 75. The opposite was true, however, for abolitionists like the Grimke sisters. In the words of Sarah, "I believe that if all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the cruelty and oppression exercised by the Church of Rome, could be fully and fairly brought to view and compared with the details of slavery in the United States, the abominations of Catholicism would not surpass those of slavery, while the victims of the latter are ten fold more numerous." Sarah Grimke, "An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States" (1836) in Kenneth Zanca ed., *American Catholics and Slavery: 1789-1866: An Anthology of Primary Documents* (UP of America, 1994). As a result, proslavery Protestants, according to Sarah's sister Angelina, were hypocritical and

“more criminal” because they deprived slaves of “the Sacred Volume by not allowing them time and opportunity to learn to read, and do not a great majority urge the very same reason for their conduct that the Catholics do for theirs.” Charles Wilbanks, ed., *Walking by Faith: The Diary of Angelina Grimke, 1828-1835* (U of South Carolina P, 2003), 55.

