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**European Contacts with Canada
Les contacts entre l'Europe
et le Canada**

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INTRODUCTION

1492-1992: five centuries of relations between what has come to be called two worlds, two cultures: European culture, age-old and steeped in a wealth of traditions, and “new world” culture, which quickly set itself apart from the parent societies, asserting its individuality in every possible area. The uniqueness of the “new world” owes a great deal to the relationship between European colonizers and aboriginal societies. Like any anniversary, 1992 has no intrinsic significance, and yet it provides a convenient opportunity to reflect on the nature of the ties between these various groups in Canada and Europe over the past five centuries.

The present issue of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies* was designed with this in mind. Like the complexity of current relations between the two worlds, the articles included in this journal offer the reader a highly diversified menu in terms of subject matter, author’s origin and the range of periods covered.

From Canada’s image as reflected in reports by agents of the Holy See (Sanfilippo) to the internationalist longings of the CCF Party (Donaghy), from Canadian music in the 18th century (McGee) to the Canadianization of technological know-how in the pulp and paper industry (Hull), the range of topics covered is vast. This issue aptly illustrates the diversity of themes and approaches covered in Canadian Studies, as well as the

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PRÉSENTATION

1492-1992: cinq siècles au cours desquels se sont établies des relations entre ce qu’il est convenu d’appeler deux mondes, deux cultures : l’une, européenne, déjà ancienne et riche de ses multiples traditions, et un « nouveau monde » qui, très vite, se démarquera des sociétés-mères et affirmera son individualité dans tous les domaines. Cette spécificité du « nouveau monde » devra d’ailleurs beaucoup aux rapports qui se formeront entre colonisateurs européens et sociétés autochtones. Comme tous les anniversaires, 1992 n’a aucune signification intrinsèque, mais il fournit un prétexte commode à une réflexion sur la nature des liens qui se sont créés entre ces divers groupes au cours de cette période de cinq siècles.

Ce numéro de la *Revue internationale d’études canadiennes* a été conçu dans cette perspective. À l’image de la complexité des relations actuelles entre les deux mondes, les articles réunis dans cette livraison offrent au lecteur un menu très diversifié, tant par les sujets abordés que par l’origine des auteurs et par l’éventail des périodes traitées.

De l’image du Canada dans les rapports des fonctionnaires du Saint- Siège (Sanfilippo) aux velléités internationalistes du parti CCF (Donaghy), de la musique au Canada au XVIII^e siècle (McGee) à la domestication du savoir technologique dans l’industrie des

variety of ties established between Canada and Europe during five centuries of shared history.

Without claiming full coverage of this lengthy period, the articles presented in this issue nevertheless pertain to most of the eras. The first contacts between Natives and Europeans are glimpsed through a few outstanding works by contemporary anthropologists and historians in an essay by Codignola. Articles by Sanfilippo, McGee and Hull, mentioned earlier, as well as McLaren's study of travel literature, focus on the 18th and 19th centuries from various angles, while the remainder cover the modern era.

We should also draw attention to the international nature of this issue, with contributions by Italian, French, Irish and Canadian authors. Similarly, the critical essay by Paul-André Comeau on *Le Canada vu d'Europe* forcefully underscores the international nature of Canadian Studies. In his essay, Comeau analyzes the proceedings of an international conference held in The Hague in October 1990, which gathered together some 300 academics from more than 22 European countries to discuss Canada's problems and the progress of Federation.

It would be futile to search the ten articles and essays for a common thread or theme. However, each in its own way illustrates the diverse and long-standing ties that bridge the time and space that separate Europe and Canada, from the 16th century to this very day. Also, they plainly attest to the vitality and

pâtes et papiers (Hull), l'éventail des sujets abordés est large : éloquente démonstration à la fois de la diversité des thématiques et des approches en études canadiennes, et de la complexité et de la variété des liens qui se sont tissés entre le Canada et l'Europe au cours de cinq siècles d'histoire partagée.

Sans prétendre à une couverture complète de cette longue période, les articles rassemblés dans ce numéro touchent cependant à la plupart des époques : les premiers contacts entre Amérindiens et Européens, vus à travers quelques ouvrages marquants d'anthropologues et d'historiens contemporains, font l'objet d'un essai de Codignola; les articles de Sanfilippo, McGee et Hull, déjà cités, ainsi que l'étude de McLaren sur la littérature de voyage, abordent sous divers angles les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, les autres études portant sur la période contemporaine.

Il convient de souligner enfin le caractère international de ce numéro, où se côtoient des auteurs italiens, français, irlandais et canadiens. Dans le même ordre d'idées, l'essai critique de Paul-André Comeau sur *Le Canada vu d'Europe* souligne avec force le caractère international des études sur le Canada. Comeau y analyse les Actes d'un congrès international tenu à La Haye en octobre 1990, et qui réunissait quelque 300 universitaires de plus de 22 pays d'Europe, pour discuter des problèmes du Canada et de l'évolution de la Fédération.

coming of age of Canadian Studies
throughout the world.

Christian Pouyez
Managing Editor

Il serait vain de chercher, à travers ces dix articles et essais, un fil conducteur, une thématique commune. Toutes ces contributions cependant illustrent à leur façon la profondeur, la diversité et l'ancienneté des liens qui se sont créés à travers le temps et l'espace entre l'Europe et le Canada, du XVI^e siècle à nos jours. Ils témoignent aussi, de façon évidente, de la vitalité et de la maturité des études canadiennes dans le monde.

Christian Pouyez
Secrétaire de rédaction

Matteo Sanfilippo

L'image du Canada dans les rapports du Saint-Siège, 1622-1908¹

Résumé

Plusieurs auteurs ont affirmé que Rome avait été la troisième métropole du Canada, mais aucun historien n'a encore décrit l'évolution de l'image du Canada dans les rapports des fonctionnaires du Saint-Siège. Cet article compare les exposés rédigés par la Congrégation de la Propagande, responsable du Canada de 1622 à 1908, aux relations écrites par ou pour le Secrétariat d'État du Vatican. Cette étude explique pourquoi, à partir du XIX^e siècle, les colonies canadiennes furent considérées comme le noyau d'une nouvelle nation nord-américaine, semblable aux États-Unis. Malheureusement pour les Canadiens français, cette vision prévoyait un avenir dans lequel l'anglais devait faciliter la communication entre les groupes ethniques de religion catholique.

Abstract

Several authors have argued that Rome was Canada's third city, although historians have yet to study the evolution of Canada's image in reports by agents of the Holy See. This article compares the written accounts of the Congregation of Propaganda, responsible for Canada from 1622 to 1908, to correspondence by or to the Vatican's Secretary of State department. It explains why, beginning in the 19th century, Canadian colonies were viewed as the heartland of a new North American nation similar to the United States. Unfortunately for French Canadians, this vision provided for a future in which English would serve as the lingua franca of Catholic ethnic groups.

Au cours des dix dernières années, plusieurs auteurs ont affirmé que Rome avait été la troisième métropole du Canada, après Paris et Londres. S'il est exact que la France a colonisé le Canada et que l'Angleterre l'a conquis et gouverné, il est également vrai que le Saint-Siège a régi le destin des catholiques canadiens du XVII^e siècle à nos jours². Cette thèse est désormais bien connue³ et nombre d'historiens canadiens mènent des recherches à ce sujet dans les archives romaines. Toutefois, on s'est surtout intéressé au côté canadien des documents romains sans être toujours très attentif à la manière dont les fonctionnaires du Saint-Siège percevaient le Canada. On n'a encore écrit aucune histoire des stratégies romaines relatives au Canada qui soit fondée sur l'évolution de l'image de ce pays dans les rapports de ces fonctionnaires. Pour la période où l'Église catholique du Canada fut sous la tutelle de la Congrégation de la Propagande (1622-1908)⁴, c'est dans les rapports qui informaient les Papes sur l'état des missions qu'on peut se faire

idée de l'image qu'on avait de ce pays. Nous pouvons aussi comparer ces exposés, rédigés à partir des documents de la Propagande, aux rapports que celle-ci envoyait à d'autres congrégations vaticanes. De fait, même avant 1908, la Propagande n'était pas la seule institution romaine à se renseigner sur le Canada. On risque de sous-estimer le rôle du Secrétariat d'État en ne rappelant pas qu'il était en même temps le ministère des Affaires intérieures et extérieures du Saint-Siège⁵. Par conséquent, le secrétaire d'État pouvait intervenir dans n'importe quelle affaire concernant l'Église.

Pendant les XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, cette intervention se limita aux questions diplomatiques telle la désignation d'évêques, qui dépendaient du roi de France ou encore des guerres coloniales⁶. Au XIX^e siècle, le secrétaire d'État intervint dans les affaires canadiennes soit directement, soit par l'entremise d'autres Congrégations dont celle des Affaires ecclésiastiques extraordinaires qui avait été créée en 1814 par Pie VII⁷.

Aussi y-a-t-il lieu d'analyser également les relations écrites par ou pour le Secrétariat d'État. Peu nombreux aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, ces documents augmentent en nombre et en intérêt au XIX^e, quand Rome commence à envoyer des délégués au Canada.

Entre 1676 et 1679, M^{gr} Urbano Cerri, secrétaire de la Propagande, adresse à Innocent XI une relation sur l'état des missions catholiques dans le monde⁸ qui comporte un exposé sur les Amériques qu'il décrit comme un continent plus vaste que l'ensemble formé par l'Europe, l'Asie et l'Afrique. La description de la Nouvelle-France insiste sur les dimensions géographiques.

Ce vaste pays, écrivait le secrétaire de la Propagande, Cerri, était aussi dit « Canada », mais en réalité, le Canada était pour lui la région la plus septentrionale de la Nouvelle-France et la plus froide. Semi-désertique et montagneuse, elle était habitée par les « sauvages » dont il donne une description, faisant état de leurs rites « diaboliques » et superstitieux ainsi que de leur cannibalisme. Cet aperçu servait d'introduction à l'histoire des missions canadiennes. L'auteur rappelait le travail des Jésuites chez les Hurons, les massacres de ceux-ci par les Iroquois et le martyre des missionnaires.

En ce qui a trait à la période la plus récente, Cerri rappelait qu'en 1658, la Propagande avait envoyé un vicaire apostolique qui devint ensuite l'évêque de Québec, forteresse de la colonie française le long du Saint-Laurent. Il ajoutait qu'une relation présentée à la Congrégation en 1666 précisait que dans la colonie vivaient 3 000 Français et 20 000 Indiens convertis. Cette population était desservie par les Jésuites, lesquels possédaient deux églises, un collège et des écoles à Québec et Trois-Rivières et géraient deux missions. Dans les petites villes coloniales travaillaient aussi les Soeurs Hospitalières et les Ursulines.

Le travail de Cerri reposait sur les documents qui se trouvaient dans les archives de la Propagande. À ses débuts, celle-ci ne savait pas grand-chose sur l'Amérique du Nord⁹. En 1625, le récollet Gregorio Bolívar expliqua à la Propagande que l'Amérique du Nord était divisée en trois colonies : au nord, la Nouvelle-France; au centre, la Virginie anglaise; au sud, la Floride espagnole¹⁰. Dans les années qui suivirent, la Propagande reçut quelques lettres sur les missions des Jésuites et d'autres ordres¹¹, mais il est évident que durant cette période, elle ne savait même pas quelles étaient les frontières de la Nouvelle-France¹². Ce fut seulement après l'arrivée de Laval que Rome commença à tenir de véritables archives sur le Canada¹³ et sur la conversion des Indiens¹⁴.

Les connaissances de la Propagande sur le Canada furent utilisées à l'occasion de la création du diocèse de Québec. Celle-ci envoya alors à la Consistoriale un bref exposé sur la Nouvelle-France dans lequel on insistait sur l'immensité du pays¹⁵. En 1667, la Consistoriale reçut aussi une relation de Laval sur les frontières de son diocèse¹⁶. Ce texte était accompagné d'une brève histoire en latin de la découverte de la Nouvelle-France¹⁷. On retrouve un écho de cet abrégé dans le travail de Cerri, qui utilisa aussi deux rapports sur l'église dans la colonie et sur les Hurons, rapports envoyés par Laval en 1664, mais discutés à la Propagande en 1666¹⁸.

En conclusion, l'oeuvre de Cerri semble marquer la fin d'une période dans laquelle on cherchait surtout à se renseigner sur le Canada. Dans les décennies qui suivirent, on eut moins de doutes sur la géographie coloniale¹⁹. Entre 1706 et 1709, Niccolò Forteguerra fut chargé par Clément XI d'écrire un volume de *Memorie intorno alle missioni*²⁰. Il ne travailla pas sur les seuls documents de la Propagande, mais lut aussi les oeuvres de géographes et d'historiens²¹. Toutefois, il se servit largement de Cerri, dont il emprunta la description des Indiens et des missions. L'oeuvre de Forteguerra présentait toutefois deux nouveautés : les connaissances géographiques dont nous avons déjà parlé et une vision favorable du Canada et de l'Amérique du Nord en général. Forteguerra soulignait que le pays était riche de fruits et d'avoine et qu'on y trouvait des mines d'argent et d'autres métaux. Il répétait aussi que les Indiens étaient idolâtres, mais ajoutait qu'ils étaient aussi nobles et beaux.

La relation de Forteguerra n'eut pas de succès à la Propagande, même s'il en devint le secrétaire. En 1729, l'oeuvre de référence sur le Canada restait encore la relation de Cerri²². En tout cas, dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle l'intérêt pour le Canada semble diminuer et ce n'est qu'au moment de la guerre de la Conquête que l'on porte de nouveau attention au sort de la colonie française. De 1755 à 1763, Rome suivit attentivement l'évolution du Canada²³. Après la Conquête, la Propagande essaya de réorganiser le réseau colonial et d'aider l'Église canadienne²⁴. En 1764, les cardinaux de la Congrégation se réunirent pour discuter de ce qu'on pouvait faire pour les anciennes colonies françaises²⁵. Dans le compte rendu de leur assemblée, ils résumèrent l'histoire des colonies et dressèrent un tableau des propriétés et du

clergé de l'église coloniale. La plus grande part de l'exposé traite de ce qui s'y était passé entre 1759 et 1764, en se fondant sur un mémoire présenté par l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, représentant à Paris du diocèse de Québec²⁶. Entre temps, les contacts diplomatiques du Saint-Siège et les interventions de M^{gr} Briand réussirent à assurer le maintien de ce diocèse²⁷.

Dans les années qui suivirent, la Propagande continua à réorganiser son réseau²⁸ tout en essayant d'évaluer ce qui était arrivé. Les fonctionnaires du Saint-Siège ne savaient pas comment juger la situation nord-américaine. Dans les années 1770, un officier de la Propagande rédigea un rapport sur les missions dans le monde où l'on parlait des colonies anglaises en Amérique du Nord, à l'exclusion du Canada²⁹. Un lecteur, peut-être le secrétaire de la Congrégation, remarqua qu'il y avait 160 000 catholiques dans le diocèse de Québec³⁰. En 1774, un exposé sur l'état du catholicisme dans l'Amérique anglaise relata que la situation était à peu près semblable à celle d'avant 1760³¹. Ce texte était suivi par un autre sur les sectes protestantes en Angleterre et dans l'Amérique britannique, qui faisait état du fait que le Parlement anglais avait octroyé en 1774 la liberté de culte aux catholiques canadiens³².

Après 1774, l'Église catholique reprit très lentement son essor au Canada. Par conséquent, il n'y eut pas de rapports généraux sur le Canada, exception faite de quelques références dans une relation de 1787 sur la situation aux États-Unis³³. On doit attendre 1792 pour avoir le résumé d'une discussion des fonctionnaires de la Propagande sur le long rapport de M^{gr} Hubert, évêque de Québec, concernant les problèmes de l'Église au Canada³⁴. La situation canadienne était alors difficile, moins toutefois que celle de l'Europe. Dans les années qui suivirent, les liens entre le Saint-Siège et le Canada se relâchèrent. En 1798, la Propagande fut abolie par les Français qui avaient occupé Rome. Le cardinal Borgia, ancien préfet de la Congrégation, réussit à continuer son travail mais, en 1810, les archives de la Propagande furent transportées à Paris par les occupants. En 1815, la Congrégation reprit ses fonctions, mais ne fut entièrement réorganisée qu'en 1817³⁵.

Ce bref intervalle eut deux conséquences importantes. En premier lieu, entre 1799 et 1815, les sources et les canaux d'information sur l'Amérique changèrent. Après les guerres napoléoniennes, la Nonciature de Paris devint inutile en ce qui concernait le Canada. Le Secrétariat d'État ne disposa plus de sources de renseignements tandis que la Propagande établit des contacts avec les nouvelles réalités régionales et ethniques qui composaient l'Église canadienne³⁶.

Deuxièmement, la perspective romaine changea. Le choc de l'occupation française fit redécouvrir à l'Église le danger que représentait un État puissant. Les officiers de la Propagande furent effrayés par les instructions données en 1811 à sir George Prevost, gouverneur général de l'Amérique britannique. Ils étaient sûrs qu'elles mettaient en place les éléments nécessaires à la

destruction totale du catholicisme dans les colonies britanniques³⁷. Prevost, au contraire, chercha l'appui des catholiques et de M^{gr} Plessis, évêque de Québec³⁸. Trois ans plus tard, celui-ci étonna le cardinal Litta, préfet de la Propagande, en déclarant qu'au Canada, l'Église jouissait d'une liberté supérieure à celle de beaucoup de catholiques européens³⁹.

Rome s'est réjouie de cette nouvelle, mais resta sceptique à propos de la coexistence pacifique entre protestants et catholiques. Avec le temps, la Propagande vit ses doutes se confirmer. Si d'un côté, il y avait le mépris des premiers pour les seconds⁴⁰, de l'autre, il y avait des problèmes pratiques tels que celui des mariages mixtes. En 1764, la Propagande avait déjà réfléchi à cette question⁴¹. Elle fut toutefois soulevée de nouveau par l'évêque de Québec en 1797⁴² et prise encore une fois en considération en 1820⁴³, avant de hanter la hiérarchie catholique pendant plus d'un siècle et de soulever des polémiques entre les évêques canadiens et la Propagande d'une part, le Secrétariat d'État et les délégués à Ottawa de l'autre⁴⁴.

Dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, la Propagande dut s'intéresser à beaucoup d'autres questions. Dès les années 1820, elle discuta de la division du diocèse de Québec et de la création de nouveaux diocèses⁴⁵. Cette dernière question provoqua de vifs débats. Québec essayant de maintenir le contrôle sur les provinces maritimes : encore en 1836, l'Église québécoise revendiquait le pouvoir de désigner l'évêque de Charlottetown⁴⁶. Au même moment, la création de nouveaux diocèses suscita de fortes tensions, même au sein du clergé de langue française⁴⁷. Lucien Lemieux a étudié en détail les querelles autour de la désignation d'un évêque pour Montréal en 1821, de la succession au siège de Québec et de l'établissement de la province ecclésiastique de Québec en 1844⁴⁸. Il reste à ajouter que ces années sont aussi marquées par la première colonisation de l'Ouest. En 1836, les cardinaux de la Propagande discutèrent, par exemple, un rapport sur la Rivière Rouge, rédigé par M^{gr} Provencher, qui avait jugé utile de se rendre à Rome⁴⁹.

Entre 1814 et 1844, date d'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada, la Propagande reçut plus de rapports que dans les deux siècles précédents. Ce remarquable afflux n'est pas dû au seul Canada : dans tous les pays de missions, on enregistre un essor considérable des Églises locales. Un officier de la Propagande rédigea, vers 1840, un rapport général sur les missions dans le monde⁵⁰. Il s'agit d'un texte fort important par la richesse des renseignements qu'il expose.

Très détaillé, ce rapport se fonde sur les lettres et les relations envoyées à la Propagande par les évêques, les missionnaires et le clergé canadiens. L'étude des établissements anglais en Amérique du Nord est organisée en plusieurs chapitres qui décrivaient les diocèses de Québec, Montréal, Kingston et Charlottetown ainsi que les vicariats apostoliques de la Nouvelle-Écosse et de Terre-Neuve. L'auteur y traçait la géographie du diocèse ou du vicariat, ses

structures et son clergé. Le tout offre aussi un ensemble de remarques intéressantes sur l'histoire et le développement des lieux évoqués.

La précision de l'exposé de la Propagande n'est pas égalée par les articles des 103 volumes du monumental *Dizionario di erudizione storico- ecclesiastica*, rédigé par Gaetano Moroni à partir de 1840. Moroni avait été le secrétaire du cardinal Mauro Cappellari, préfet de la Propagande, et avait transcrit pour lui de nombreux documents des archives de la Congrégation. En 1831, le cardinal avait été élu Pape, sous le nom de Grégoire XVI, et Moroni l'avait suivi au Vatican comme camérier⁵¹.

Moroni connaissait bien les archives ecclésiastiques romaines qu'il exploita pour son *Dizionario*. Il n'était cependant pas très ferré en géographie coloniale. Dans l'article « Canada »⁵², il dressa un tableau de l'histoire des deux Canadas, de Terre-Neuve et de l'Île-du-Cap-Breton en parlant des pays des Hurons, des Iroquois, des Illinois et des Algonquins, comme s'ils existaient encore en plein XIX^e siècle. Dans l'article « Amérique », nous trouvons la même confusion et aussi quelques erreurs sur l'histoire⁵³. Moroni était par contre bien renseigné sur tout ce qui concernait l'Église du Canada au milieu du XIX^e siècle.

Manifestement, il avait lu la relation écrite par la Propagande vers 1840⁵⁴, puisque ses articles sur les diocèses canadiens y font directement référence, mais, il y ajouta des remarques de son cru sur l'économie et l'organisation des villes diocésaines. Ce fut incontestablement le Bas-Canada qui l'attira le plus. Il considérait Montréal comme l'une des villes les plus riches de l'Amérique du Nord et en analysa soigneusement la structure urbaine et architecturale⁵⁵. Trois-Rivières était pour lui une petite ville, un peu laide, mais surtout un centre commercial important sur le plan régional⁵⁶. Ce fut Québec, enfin, qui le frappa le plus. Moroni raconta par le menu l'histoire et l'essor urbain de cette ville ainsi que le développement et les divisions du diocèse⁵⁷.

L'attention portée aux détails économiques et urbains montre que le Canada n'était plus l'autre bout du monde pour la bureaucratie vaticane. Moroni, qui ne vit jamais le Canada, se fondait sur des journaux anglais et canadiens, parfois protestants, et sur le recensement de 1851⁵⁸, tout en puisant une longue relation sur le diocèse de Québec publiée dans le *Giornale di Roma*⁵⁹. Après 1850, la bureaucratie vaticane avait en effet souhaité comprendre ce qu'était exactement l'Amérique du Nord. Elle décida par conséquent d'envoyer des émissaires, dont la principale destination était les États-Unis, qui avaient ouvert une délégation romaine en 1848⁶⁰, mais le Canada n'était pas exclu *à priori*. Quand, en 1853, Gaetano Bedini fut envoyé aux États-Unis, il visita le nord de l'État de New York et de là se rendit au Bas-Canada⁶¹.

Il y passa plus de trois semaines, visitant Montréal, Québec et Saint-Hyacinthe, et eut aussi l'occasion de se rendre à Bytown. Pendant ce voyage, il fut étonné par l'importance que les Canadiens attachaient à la religion⁶². Il

avait d'ailleurs abandonné les États-Unis pour fuir les attaques d'Alessandro Gavazzi, lequel l'accusait d'avoir signé la condamnation du patriote italien Ugo Bassi⁶³. Arrivé au Canada, Bedini apprit qu'à Montréal, on avait mis en fuite Gavazzi et il se réjouit du zèle des évêques et de l'« amour » des catholiques pour le Saint-Siège⁶⁴.

Il avoua qu'il n'avait pas eu le temps de découvrir les défauts de l'Église canadienne, même s'il déplora le peu de culture de quelques membres du clergé. En réalité, il avait été surpris par le conflit entre les Canadiens français et les Irlandais, conflit qu'il perçut comme un phénomène de rejet de l'immigration d'autant plus regrettable qu'à ses yeux, les Irlandais étaient les plus doués pour défendre le catholicisme. À son avis, les Canadiens français confondaient la prudence avec la pusillanimité et manquaient d'énergie. Bedini n'expliqua jamais pourquoi son jugement était si tranchant, mais on peut penser qu'il était fondé sur le souvenir de l'émeute irlandaise contre Gavazzi à Montréal.

En tout cas, Bedini fut fasciné par le Canada et ses habitants⁶⁵. Dans les lettres qu'il écrivit du Canada, nous trouvons des remarques qui ressemblent à celles de Moroni. Racontant son voyage, Bedini mit en évidence le fait que le Canada n'était plus une colonie pauvre et que l'arrivée d'immigrants, surtout à Montréal et à Bytown, témoignait d'importants progrès économiques du pays. Bytown, surtout, lui sembla très intéressante par sa position géographique, son essor industriel et politique, et son mélange de races et de religions⁶⁶.

Bedini devint ensuite secrétaire de la Propagande. Il put donc contribuer à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle approche à propos du Canada. Déjà avant 1867, Rome se rendit compte que ce pays n'était plus une colonie, mais une nation *in fieri*. D'autre part, Bedini identifia le problème qui allait hanter Rome dans les décennies suivantes : le développement du nationalisme ethnique et les conflits linguistiques. En 1865 et 1869, les cardinaux de la Propagande furent appelés à discuter des conflits interethniques⁶⁷. Ce n'était toutefois pas le seul problème qui allait s'aggraver. Il y avait aussi les conflits entre les villes et les diocèses de Québec et Montréal⁶⁸. À ce propos, il suffit de se rappeler la querelle universitaire qui eut un grand retentissement Rome⁶⁹.

La Propagande jugea donc nécessaire d'envoyer quelqu'un au Canada et profita du fait que le cardinal Antonelli avait décidé que M^{gr} Cesare Roncetti devait porter le chapeau rouge à John McCloskey, premier archevêque de New York. Roncetti fut donc chargé par la Propagande de recueillir des renseignements sur la question de l'Université de Montréal. Le tout à l'insu d'Antonelli, qui ne fut averti par lettre qu'après le voyage de Roncetti au Canada. L'épiscopat canadien, au contraire, avait deviné la stratégie de la Propagande. Profitant de la cérémonie en l'honneur de McCloskey, l'archevêque de Québec et les évêques de Toronto et de Kingston invitèrent Roncetti tandis que l'archevêque de Halifax, lui, avait fait demander par son collègue de New York de visiter la Nouvelle-Écosse. De son côté, M^{gr} Bourget

envoya deux prêtres à Philadelphie pour l'inviter à Montréal⁷⁰. Roncetti avait alors entrepris un voyage qui le conduisit de New York à Boston, puis de nouveau à New York et de là à Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphie, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Toronto, Kingston, Montréal, Québec, Halifax, Portland, Burlington et New York⁷¹.

Un tel périple réalisé en trois mois ne permit pas à Roncetti de vraiment comprendre l'ensemble de la situation; ce qu'il expliqua d'ailleurs aux cardinaux de la Propagande en 1876⁷². Il ne fit donc pas beaucoup de commentaires, sinon que les établissements religieux au Québec étaient magnifiques et que la population de cette province montrait une sincère dévotion envers le Saint-Siège.

L'Ontario et les Maritimes ne semblent pas l'avoir impressionné. La ville de Québec non plus, sinon par le fait que la majorité de sa population était catholique. Ce fut plutôt Montréal qui le frappa : d'un côté, il décrivit à Antonelli le spectacle des Zouaves qui marchaient derrière le drapeau qu'ils avaient porté du Canada à Rome⁷³; de l'autre, il répéta que l'immigration et la Confédération (qui, à son avis, avait déclenché un processus favorisant l'américanisation) avaient fait de Montréal le centre du Canada. Québec, au contraire, allait progressivement perdre de son importance, ce qui expliquait que les catholiques allaient dans une université protestante à Montréal plutôt que dans l'université catholique de Québec⁷⁴.

Roncetti présenta son rapport avant que Moroni ne termine les six volumes des tables de matières de son *Dizionario*. Entre 1840, quand Moroni commença son oeuvre, et 1876, lorsque Roncetti fit rapport à la Propagande à propos de la question de l'université de Montréal, beaucoup de choses avaient changé. L'Amérique du Nord avait acquis une importance considérable pour Rome et les envoyés du Saint-Siège y étaient allés deux fois. Les conséquences de cette prise de contact directe furent très importantes parce que les voyages de Bedini et Roncetti de même que le *Dizionario* de Gaetano Moroni et l'article paru dans le *Giornale di Roma* de novembre 1851 inspirèrent la stratégie romaine au Canada, au moins jusqu'à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Il faut souligner deux aspects de l'image du Canada transmise par ces textes. En premier lieu, les deux Canadas et ensuite le Québec et l'Ontario oriental ne furent pas considérés comme des colonies anglaises, mais comme le noyau d'une nouvelle nation nord-américaine. Par conséquent, on eut tendance à sous-évaluer ou à oublier l'effet de la Conquête sur la société bas-canadienne. De plus, on compara les Canadas aux États-Unis et jamais aux autres établissements britanniques dans les Amériques. Deuxièmement, le parallèle Canada(s)-États-Unis se fonda sur le bouleversement des priorités romaines à propos du catholicisme nord-américain. Jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle, le Canada était pour Rome le berceau du catholicisme nord-américain, mais vers 1850, le premier Concile de Baltimore et l'essor des diocèses étatsuniens

déplacèrent vers ceux-ci l'épicentre de l'Église en Amérique du Nord aux yeux du Saint-Siège. Il ne faut pas oublier que le développement économique des États en fit l'Amérique pour tous les Européens.

Le Canada fut donc globalement considéré de la même façon que les États-Unis, mais on soulignait que ces derniers l'emportaient en raison de leur taille, de leurs richesses et de l'intérêt qu'ils présentaient. On savait bien que le catholicisme bas-canadien avait une tradition ancienne et, d'ailleurs, Bedini, Moroni, Roncetti et le *Giornale di Roma* ne manquèrent pas de souligner la richesse spirituelle et matérielle de ses institutions. On savait aussi qu'on y parlait le français, même si le *Giornale di Roma* fut le seul à mettre en évidence la différence linguistique entre le Bas- et le Haut-Canada. Toutefois, la langue et les traditions françaises étaient aux yeux de Rome moins importantes que les possibilités de progrès économique et d'immigration. En réalité, ce furent le développement économique ainsi que l'arrivée massive d'immigrants qui frappèrent le plus les envoyés romains en Amérique du Nord⁷⁵.

Toutefois, les représentants du Saint-Siège étaient moins fascinés par les perspectives économiques nord-américaines que par le fait que les États-Unis et le Canada attiraient, à ce titre, des flots d'étrangers. L'immigration était une conséquence et une condition du progrès économique, mais constituait aussi une occasion pour l'Église catholique de pénétrer l'Amérique anglo-saxonne. Il s'agissait de rester en contact avec les immigrés catholiques, surtout avec ceux qui parlaient l'anglais, et de faciliter leur établissement dans le Nouveau Monde et leur avancement social. Pour le moment, Rome savait bien que les Irlandais, qui constituaient le noyau de l'immigration catholique en Amérique du Nord, étaient pauvres; mais elle comptait sur leur courage et leur esprit d'initiative. L'article du *Giornale di Roma* de 1851 nota que c'était à eux que revenait le mérite de la fondation de tous les diocèses en dehors du Bas-Canada. Entre 1815 et 1850, Rome n'avait cessé de craindre pour le destin des catholiques nord-américains. Le contact direct lui montra que, tout au contraire, elle pouvait espérer un avenir prometteur.

Nous devons donc lire les réactions romaines aux nouvelles canadiennes et aux rapports des délégués de 1876 à 1898 en tenant compte de cette perspective. Les années qui suivirent la mission Roncetti virent augmenter les tensions au sein de l'Église du Québec, laquelle fut progressivement perçue comme une des plus turbulentes⁷⁶. Les lettres envoyées à la Propagande par Ignazio Persico, curé de Sillery de 1873 à 1876, confirmèrent cette impression. Persico souligna, comme l'avait déjà fait Bedini, que le développement culturel du clergé canadien-français était mauvais et que prêtres et évêques se mêlaient d'affaires politiques qui ne les concernaient pas. George Conroy et Henri Smeulders revinrent sur cette question⁷⁷ et apportèrent d'autres preuves à l'appui de la thèse de Persico, qui d'ailleurs jouait désormais un rôle très important à la Propagande⁷⁸.

Entre 1875 et 1885, Rome commença à craindre que les évêques du Québec compromettent les chances de l'Église au Canada, et cette impression fut confirmée par l'affaire des écoles du Manitoba. Selon nombre de fonctionnaires romains, l'entêtement des évêques de langue française risquait de gêner la bonne entente avec un gouvernement qui n'était pas opposé à l'Église et qui n'empêchait pas l'immigration de travailleurs catholiques. De plus, Rome commençait à douter de l'importance réelle de la langue française, et donc du clergé francophone, dans l'Amérique du Nord. Tous les envoyés romains allaient d'abord aux États-Unis⁷⁹ où ils pouvaient se faire une idée des problèmes linguistiques causés par l'immigration à grande échelle et se renseigner sur les affaires du Canada auprès des évêques américains qui n'appréciaient guère leurs collègues du Québec⁸⁰.

Tous les envoyés de Rome furent donc d'accord pour insister sur le fait que le clergé québécois était mal préparé, rétrograde et trop chicanier⁸¹. Ils étaient en outre convaincus que cette province, ou à tout le moins la région de la ville de Québec, n'avait guère d'avenir économique et politique⁸². Moroni et Bedini avaient indiqué que le cœur du Canada était Bytown et que la richesse était concentrée entre Montréal et Kingston. En 1875, Roncetti visita Toronto, ce qui poussa Rome à penser que l'axe économique Montréal-Toronto remplacerait peu à peu l'axe Montréal-Kingston. Pour le Saint-Siège, l'équilibre politique du catholicisme au Canada était en train de se déplacer vers l'Ontario. Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'en 1897, Merry del Val ait déclaré que le seul espoir du catholicisme canadien résidait dans l'épiscopat ontarien⁸³.

L'intérêt pour l'Ontario préluait celui pour l'Ouest, ce qui était inévitable si on considère l'influence du modèle et donc des mythes étatsuniens⁸⁴. L'Ouest regroupait une véritable concentration d'immigrés de tradition catholique : Allemands, Français, Flamands, Polonais, Ruthènes, dont la plupart ne parlait pas le français. De l'avis des délégués, il semblait logique de penser que la langue nationale du Canada devait être l'anglais⁸⁵.

Dès 1897, l'Ouest fut une préoccupation constante des délégués apostoliques, mais ce ne fut pas la seule. En mars 1901, Diomede Falconio écrivit un rapport sur la propagande protestante au Canada⁸⁶. C'est le dernier grand tableau du catholicisme canadien que nous avons trouvé dans les archives romaines traitant de la géographie et offrant des statistiques sur la population du pays. Ces données lui servirent à démontrer que 41 p. 100 de la population était catholique, mais que les catholiques étaient en minorité dans toutes les provinces, à l'exception du Québec. Toutefois, les protestants étaient fractionnés en plusieurs Églises, dont la plus forte, celle des Méthodistes, ne comptait que pour 17 p. 100 de la population totale du Canada.

Falconio continua en écrivant que la propagande protestante était très active, mais peu efficace. Les Ruthènes étaient les seuls à être en danger parce qu'ils étaient sensibles au fait que quelqu'un s'intéressât à leur sort. On craignait

aussi que les Canadiens français n'en subissent l'influence, eux qui n'avaient pas été, comme les Canadiens anglais, exposés à pareille propagande. En tout cas, le grand avantage des protestants était d'ordre social: ils étaient plus riches, donc ils pouvaient dépenser beaucoup pour les oeuvres de charité. De plus, ils contrôlaient l'enseignement universitaire de langue anglaise.

Falconio affirmait que le gouvernement protégeait la liberté de culte. On ne devait rien craindre de ce côté. D'ailleurs, tous les Canadiens étaient démocrates, peut-être parce que tous, même les protestants, étaient plus intéressés au fait économique qu'aux questions religieuses. Falconio remarqua à ce propos que les catholiques canadiens étaient généreux et dignes d'admiration, mais qu'ils ne reconnaissaient pas la prééminence du fait religieux. Pour un différend avec leur évêque, ils pouvaient abandonner la foi. La faute n'incombait pas aux seuls fidèles, mais aussi au clergé qui n'était pas bien préparé et qui ne savait pas faire comprendre la vérité à ses ouailles.

Falconio recommandait donc qu'un Concile plénier de l'Église canadienne prépare une véritable réforme de celle-ci afin qu'elle puisse faire face à deux grandes tâches : la lutte contre l'« indifférentisme », qui était le vrai danger pour les jeunes catholiques, et l'assistance aux immigrants. Un clergé bien formé pourrait préserver les catholiques du danger de perdre la foi et, en même temps, profiter de la faiblesse protestante pour obtenir des conversions au catholicisme.

En décembre de la même année, Falconio revint sur la question dans un rapport sur l'Église catholique au Canada⁸⁷. Encore une fois, il commença par la description géographique et donna des statistiques démographiques. Il expliqua que le catholicisme canadien était à majorité canadienne-française. Il remarqua toutefois le rôle des Irlandais ainsi que la présence de catholiques rathènes, polonais et allemands dans l'Ouest. On devait donc former un clergé non exclusivement francophone. D'un autre côté, à son avis, le clergé canadien-français avait posé pas mal de problèmes à l'Église. Il commettait des abus pour défendre une position de privilège social qui était désormais menacé par la démocratisation du pays. En conclusion, il conseillait de choisir des évêques qui fussent de l'ethnie majoritaire dans leur diocèse.

Les deux rapports de Falconio ouvrirent la voie à la transformation de l'Église canadienne en Église nationale et constituèrent le point culminant de la série des rapports du XIX^e siècle sur la situation canadienne. Au-delà des évaluations contrastantes de ces exposés qui furent données par quelques secrétaires d'État et quelques préfets de la Propagande⁸⁸, nous devons souligner la continuité qui caractérise les rapports sur le Canada rédigés après 1840. De Bedini à Falconio, mais aussi de celui-ci à Sbarretti et Stagni, si nous prenons en considération les lettres envoyées à Merry del Val, nous remarquons une même vision du Canada et de l'avenir de son Église. Malheureusement pour les catholiques de langue française, cette vision se fondait sur une perspective américanisée et prévoyait un avenir dans lequel

l'anglais devait faciliter la communication entre les groupes ethniques qui auraient enfin conduit l'Église à la victoire en Amérique du Nord.

Notes

1. Ce texte a fait l'objet d'une communication au colloque *Archives Canada Italie. Les archives italiennes et l'histoire du Canada* (Ottawa, 21-22 mars 1991). Sa réalisation a été possible grâce aux inventaires de documents romains, rédigés par Monique Benoît, Luigi Bruti Liberati, Luca Codignola, Giovanni Pizzorusso, Gabriele Scardellato et Nicoletta Serio. Ces inventaires sont disponibles aux Archives nationales du Canada et au Centre académique canadien en Italie (Rome). Je tiens à remercier ces établissements, ainsi que le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada, les Archives du Vatican et celles de la Propagande, pour leur assistance. J'ai aussi une dette de gratitude envers Luca Codignola et Giovanni Pizzorusso, qui m'ont aidé dans la recherche des documents qui sont en train d'être inventoriés, et envers Monique Benoît, Serge Jaumain et Roberto Perin, qui ont relu ce texte, ainsi qu'envers Paul-André Linteau et les évaluateurs anonymes de la *Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*.
2. Yves Tessier, *À l'ombre du Vatican*, Québec, Les Éditions Tessier, 1984; Luca Codignola, « Rome and North America 1622-1799. The Interpretive Framework », *Storia Nordamericana*, 1, 1 (1984), p. 5-33; Luca Codignola, « The Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection in an Age of Revolution, 1760-1820 », dans *Le Canada et la Révolution française*, sous la direction de Pierre H. Boulle et Richard A. Lebrun, Montréal, Centre interuniversitaire d'études européennes, 1989, p. 115-116; *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, dirigée par Nive Voisine, vol. II, tome 1, Lucien Lemieux, *Les années difficiles (1760-1839)*, Montréal, Les Éditions Boréal, 1989; Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada. The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, p. 39-69.
3. Jean-Claude Robert, « La recherche en histoire du Canada », *Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, 1-2 (1990), p. 26; Luca Codignola, « The View from the Other Side of the Atlantic », *ibid.*, p. 231; Nive Voisine, compte rendu de Perin, *Rome in Canada*, *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* (RHAF), 44, 2 (1990), p. 281-283.
4. Pour la juridiction de la Propagande sur le Canada, voir Luca Codignola, *Guide des documents relatifs à l'Amérique du Nord française et anglaise dans les archives de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande à Rome, 1622-1799*, Ottawa, Archives nationales du Canada, 1990, p. 27-28.
5. C'est la définition qui est donnée en 1811 par le cardinal Ettore Consalvi, déjà secrétaire d'État. *Memorie del cardinale Ercole Consalvi*, Roma, Signorelli, 1950, p. 161.
6. Monique Benoît et Gabriele Scardellato, « The Flesh Made Word: The Vatican and the Study of Canadian History, 1600-1799 », *Archivaria*, 20 (1985), p. 77.
7. Lajos Pasztor, « La Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari tra il 1814 e il 1850 », *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 6 (1968), p. 191-318. Voir aussi Luigi Bruti Liberati, « Le fonti per la storia del Canada negli Archivi Vaticani: il pontificato di Leone XIII (1878-1903). Metodologie di ricerca e temi di studio », dans *Canada ieri e oggi*, 2, II, *Sezione storica e geografica*, éd. par Massimo Rubboli et Franca Farnocchia Petri, Selva di Fasano, Schena, 1990, p. 77-95.
8. « Relazione di Mons. Urbano Cerri alla santità di N.S. PP. Innocenzo XI dello stato di Propaganda Fide », dans Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide (APF), *Miscellanea varie*, tome XI.
9. Luca Codignola, « Notizie dal Nuovo Mondo. Propaganda Fide e il Nord America, 1622-1630 », dans *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, éd. par Codignola, Venezia, Marsilio, 1983, p. 34.
10. Josef Metzler, « Der älteste Bericht über Nordamerika in Propaganda-Archiv: Virginia 1625 », *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft*, XXV (1969), p. 29-37.
11. APF, SOGC, vol. 138 (1639), ff. 278rv et 286rv, vol. 141 (1642), ff. 9rv et 14rv.
12. *Ibid.*, ff. 105rv et 116rv.
13. Voir les rapports de 1660 et 1664, *ibid.*, vol. 256, ff. 5-12v et 21-24v.

14. *Ibid.*, ff. 41-42v.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 256, ff. 77-82v.
16. Archivio Segreto del Vaticano (ASV), *Acta Congregationis Consistorialis*, 1668, tome I, ff. 51-52v. Déjà en 1664, on avait transmis à la Consistoriale la traduction italienne d'un autre rapport de Laval, voir ASV, *Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale, Congregationes Consistoriales*, 1 (1663-1667), ff. 468-476.
17. *Ibid.*, ff. 53-55v.
18. APF, *Acta*, vol. 35 (1666), ff. 44-45v. Cerri ne semble pas connaître le rapport sur l'Église du Canada envoyé en 1675 à la Consistoriale, voir ASV, *Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale, Praeconia et Propositiones*, vol. 2 (1658-1679), ff. 347rv et 350.
19. Voir, par exemple, le résumé dans APF, *Acta*, vol. 68 (1698), f. 233rv. D'ailleurs, en 1699, le Nonce à Paris envoya au Secrétaire d'État un plan des deux Amériques, tracé par Cassini, voir ASV, SS, *Francia*, vol. 198 (1699), f. 498rv et 499.
20. Le volume ne fut jamais imprimé, mais le manuscrit était conservé dans plusieurs archives et bibliothèques, voir Niccolò Forteguerrì, *Memorie intorno alle missioni*, éd. par Carmen Prencipe di Donna, Napoli, M. D'Auria Editore, 1982.
21. Francesco Surdich, « L'America nelle *Memorie intorno alle missioni* di Niccolò Forteguerrì », dans *Atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi Colombiani*, Genova, Civico Istituto Colombiano, 1979, p. 621-632.
22. APF, *Acta*, vol. 99 (1729), ff. 466-470v; APF, SOGC, vol. 665 (1729), ff. 524-531v.
23. ASV, SS, *Francia*, vols. 446B, 453, 492-507, 509, 513, 517.
24. Lucien Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada, 1783-1844*, Montréal, Fides, 1968, p. 3-14; Luca Codignola, « Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection », p. 116-117.
25. APF, *Congressi particolari* 137, ff. 3-9.
26. *Ibid.*, ff. 17-20.
27. APF, *Lettere e decreti*, vol. 204, ff. 181-191; Lemieux, *Les années difficiles*, p. 18-24.
28. Luca Codignola, « Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection », p. 118-120. Luca Codignola (« Roman Sources of Canadian Religious History to 1799 », *SCHEC*, 50 (1983), p. 87) remarque que 306 des 460 lettres relatives à l'Amérique du Nord écrites par ou pour la Propagande avant 1800 furent rédigées entre 1760 et 1799.
29. *Notizie e luoghi de Missioni* dans APF, *Miscellanea varie*, 13a.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
31. APF, *Miscellanea varie*, 1, ff. 504-505.
32. *Ibid.*, ff. 506-511.
33. APF, *Acta*, vol. 157 (1787), ff. 231-244v; SOGC, vol. 876 (1787), ff. 384-389v.
34. APF, *Acta*, vol. 162 (1792), ff. 200-226v. Le rapport, qui se trouve dans APF, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi* (SC), *America Settentrionale*, 2, ff. 51-59v, est commenté en marge, paragraphe par paragraphe.
35. Josef Metzler, « La Santa Sede e le missioni », dans *Storia della Chiesa*, XXIV, *Dalle missioni alle chiese locali (1846-1965)*, éd. par Metzler, Roma, Edizioni Paoline, 1990, p. 28-30.
36. Codignola, « The Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection », p. 124-125; Codignola, « The Policy of Rome Towards the English-Speaking Catholics in British North America 1760-1830 » dans *Creed and Culture. The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in the Canadian Mosaics*, éd. par Terrence Murphy et Gerald Stortz, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, à paraître.
37. APF, SC, *America settentrionale*, 2, ff. 208rv.
38. Peter Burroughs, « Prevost, Sir George », *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. V, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983, p. 693-698.
39. APF, SC, *America Settentrionale*, 2, ff. 269-270v.
40. *Ibid.*, ff. 437-38.
41. *Ibid.*, ff. 318-320.
42. *Ibid.*, ff. 86-89.
43. *Ibid.*, ff. 317-323.
44. Au début du XX^e siècle, la question deviendra très importante dans des grandes villes comme Toronto et Montréal, voir ASV, *Delegazione apostolica del Canada* (DAC), boîte 27, dossier 7, et boîte 89, dossiers 12, 15 et 20. Les délégués reprochaient aux évêques une

- rigidité excessive et cherchaient à arracher à la Propagande la faculté de donner les dispenses nécessaires; voir APF, *Nuova Serie*, vol. 265, ff. 233-235v.
45. APF, *Acta*, vol. 178 (1815), ff. 67-68, et vol. 180 (1817), f. 14rv.
 46. APF, *Acta*, vol. 199 (1836), ff. 4-10v.
 47. *Ibid.*, ff. 48-63; APF, SC, *America Settentrionale*, 2, ff. 380-436, 486-488, 522-523, 533-534, 544-545, 554-557, 716-732.
 48. Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province*, p. 139-228, 299-402, 432-435, 497-518. Pour la position prise par la Propagande, voir APF, SC, *America Settentrionale*, 2, ff. 634-639.
 49. APF, *Acta*, vol. 199 (1836), ff. 142-152.
 50. « Stato attuale e cose notabili delle missioni della S.C.P.F. (circa 1840) » dans APF, *Miscellanea Varie*, XXVIII, sans numéro de folio.
 51. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica, Indice*, IV, Venezia, Tipografia Emiliana, 1878, p. 446-78.
 52. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, VII, Venezia, Tipografia Emiliana, 1841, p. 149-151.
 53. *Ibid.*, I, 1840, p. 7-19. Pour l'histoire du Canada selon Moroni, voir aussi « Vicariati apostolici », XCVIII, 1860, p. 320-321 et 339.
 54. « Canada », *ibid.*, VII, p. 150-151. Dans « Trois-Rivières », LXXXI, 1856, p. 95-96, il rappelle le fait d'avoir consulté les Archives de la Propagande pour chercher le bref d'érection du diocèse trifluvien.
 55. *Ibid.*, XLV, 1847, p. 285-287.
 56. *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 1856, p. 95-96.
 57. *Ibid.*, LV, 1852, p. 128-132.
 58. *Ibid.*, XCVIII, 1860, p. 321.
 59. *Il Giornale di Roma*, n° 254 (6 novembre 1851), p. 3-4. L'article a comme titre « Stati Uniti », mais en réalité il s'agit de la description des diocèses des Canadas et des Maritimes.
 60. Leo Francis Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*, vol. I, Washington, Catholic University Press, 1933.
 61. Le voyage de Bedini aux États-Unis est raconté par James F. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America*, Rome, Analecta Gregoriana, 1960. Malheureusement, ce livre est très faible et son auteur n'a pas pu voir les documents du Secrétariat d'État. Voir ASV, *Segreteria di Stato* (SS), 1852, rubrica 251, ff. 140rv et 142, 1853, rubrica 251, fascicolo 1, ff. 54-57 et 80-81v, 1854, rubrica 251, fascicolo 1, ff. 3-67 et 103-139, et fascicolo 2, ff. 1-302.
 62. ASV, SS, 1854, rubrica 251, fascicolo 2, ff. 57-82.
 63. La documentation du Secrétariat d'État est riche de renseignements à ce sujet. Les documents de la Propagande sur cette affaire sont résumés par Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini*. On peut aussi voir dans les archives du Collège irlandais à Rome les lettres n°s 1248, 1283, 1310-1311, 1332 et 1397. Pour le côté américain, voir Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 138-145; Howard R. Marraro, « Italians in New York in the Eighteen Fifties. Part II », *New York History*, XXX (1949), p. 279-285; R. Sylvain, *Clerc, garibaldien, prédicant des Deux Mondes. Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-1889)*, Québec, PUL, 1962, vol. I, p. 243-257, vol. II, p. 425-441. Voir enfin Matteo Sanfilippo, « 'Questa mia missione cos piena di rose, e di spine': il viaggio negli Stati Uniti di Monsignor Gaetano Bedini (1853-1854) », *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni*, XVII (1992), à paraître.
 64. ASV, SS, 1854, rubrica 251, fascicolo 2, ff. 57-82. Une partie du rapport de Bedini, celle d'ailleurs connue par la Propagande, a été publiée en 1853 : « Canada - Visita fattavi da Monsig. Gaetano Bedini Arcivescovo di Tebe, e Nunzio apostolico », *La Civiltà cattolica*, nouvelle série, IV (1853), p. 471-476. La Propagande savait que Bedini avait écrit le rapport à Antonelli, mais ne put le voir. *Ibid.*, ff. 576-577, et ASV, SS, 1853, rubrica 251, fascicolo 1, ff. 54 et 56.
 65. APF, SC, *America Settentrionale*, 6, ff. 576-577. M^{er} Charbonnel, évêque de Toronto, remarquait que Bedini avait été « traité presque comme le St. Père l'aurait été » (*ibid.*, f. 574).
 66. ASV, SS, 1854, rubrica 251, fascicolo 2, ff. 57-82.
 67. APF, ACTA, 1865, f. 555, et 1869, f. 424.

68. Roberto Perin, « Clercs et politiques au Québec 1865-1876 », *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 50, 2 (1980), p. 168-190.
69. André Lavallée, *Québec contre Montréal: la querelle universitaire 1876-1891*, Montréal, Presses de l'université de Montréal, 1974; Léon Pouliot, « Vingt-cinq années de luttes universitaires, 1851-1876 » dans *Pouliot, Monseigneur Bourget et son temps*, V, Montréal, Bellarmin, 1977, p. 47-286.
70. APF, SC, *America settentrionale*, 13 (1875), ff. 619-620v.
71. La documentation du voyage se trouve dans ASV, SS, 1875, rubrica 251, fascicolo 13, ff. 78-111, et APF, SC *America Centrale*, vol. 26 (1875), ff. 208-257.
72. APF, *Acta*, vol. 244 (1876), ff. 90-94v.
73. ASV, SS, 1875, rubrica 251, fascicolo 13, ff. 102-109v.
74. APF, *Acta*, vol. 244 (1876), ff. 90-94v.
75. Il faut souligner encore une fois qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un cas individuel. Pendant le voyage en Amérique du Nord de Bedini, le *Giornale di Roma* publia quatre articles sur les colonies qui aujourd'hui composent le Canada. Ces articles parlent de la découverte du passage du Nord-Ouest, de découvertes scientifiques et de commerce dans les Canadas, et de statistiques démographiques de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Voir *Giornale di Roma*, 1853, p. 867, 931, 956 et 959.
76. L'abbé Henri Cimon raconta que Léon XIII se serait plaint auprès de l'abbé Proulx au sujet des interminables querelles entre le diocèse de Québec et celui de Montréal. Henri Cimon, *Impressions de voyage de Québec à Rome*, Québec, E. Vincent, 1898, p. 81-82.
77. Nive Voisine, « Rome et le Canada: la mission de M^{gr} Conroy », *RHAF*, 33, 4 (1980), p. 499-519; Roberto Perin, « Troppo ardenti sacerdoti: The Conroy Mission Revisited », *Canadian Historical Review*, LXI, 3 (1980), p. 283-304; Perin, « La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure : la représentation du Saint-Siège au Canada, 1877-1917 », *SCHEC*, 50, 1 (1983), p. 100-104; Perin, *Rome in Canada*, p. 73-81.
78. Perin, *Rome in Canada*, p. 99-100, 122-124.
79. Pour la mission de George Conroy aux États-Unis, voir Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965*, Stuttgart, Hierseman, 1982, p. 17-20.
80. Quand Merry del Val débarqua à New York, il consulta l'archevêque Corrigan qui déplora l'attitude du clergé canadien-français. *Archivio della Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* (AES), posizione 161, fascicolo 91, ff. 58-59v. Les conclusions de Merry del Val sur les évêques du Québec à la fin du voyage ne s'éloignent pas beaucoup de ce que Corrigan lui avait dit. *Ibid.*, posizione 161, fascicolo 95, ff. 2-11v.
81. Perin, « Troppo ardenti sacerdoti »; Perin, *Rome in Canada*, p. 42-120.
82. Voir plus haut le rapport de Roncetti sur l'université.
83. Perin, « La raison du plus fort », p. 107.
84. Les deux premiers délégués permanents au Canada, Diomede Falconio et Donato Sbarretti, avaient travaillé plusieurs années aux États-Unis avant de se rendre à Ottawa. Matteo Sanfilippo, « Fonti Vaticane per la storia canadese: la delegazione apostolica in Canada, 1899-1910 », *Annali Accademici Canadesi*, 3-4 (1988), p. 69-71.
85. Voir les opinions des délégués Sbarretti et Stagni dans ASV, DAC, boîte 17, boîte 78, dossier 3, boîte 80, dossier 5, boîte 81, dossiers 6/1 et 10.
86. APF, *Nuova Serie*, vol. 215, ff. 619-642.
87. *Ibid.*, ff. 676-708.
88. Il suffit de penser aux différences entre Léon XIII, Merry del Val et Rampolla d'un côté et Ledochowski de l'autre au sujet de la question du Manitoba. Voir la lettre de Gonthier à Ledochowski dans AES, dossier 105, posizione 163, f. 222, et Perin, *Rome in Canada*, p. 52-57. Mais on peut aussi penser aux querelles engendrées par la préparation du Concile plénier. *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, dirigée par Nive Voisine, vol. III, Jean Hamelin - Nicole Gagnon, *Le XX^e siècle*, tome I, 1898-1948, Montréal, Les Éditions du Boréal, 1984, p. 65-69; Giovanni Pizzorusso, « Donato Sbarretti, delegato apostolico a Ottawa, e la difficile organizzazione del Concilio Plenario canadese (1909) », *Annali Accademici Canadesi*, 6 (1990), p. 77-88.

Timothy J. McGee

An Elegant Band of Music: Music in Canada in the 18th Century

Abstract

An intimate glimpse of musical life in 18th-century Canada can be gleaned from a number of primary sources including the writings of Elizabeth Simcoe and other visitors to Canada, newspapers, and church records. The quantity and variety of music was surprisingly large as the citizens continued the traditions of their European ancestors while adapting some types of entertainment to the needs of their new surroundings. Folk songs were sung for recreation and also were used by the Voyageurs as a method of pacing the paddling of the canoes. Church music took several forms and occasionally included instrumental ensembles on festive occasions. The citizens of Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, Toronto and even Newark (Niagara-On-The-Lake), were often treated to concerts, opera performances, and balls, produced locally and involving the participation of amateurs with the support of the musicians from the garrison bands.

Résumé

De nombreuses sources, notamment les écrits d'Elizabeth Simcoe, ceux de bien d'autres gens qui ont visité le Canada à l'époque ainsi que les journaux et les registres des églises, nous permettent de se faire une très bonne idée de la vie musicale dans le Canada du XVIII^e siècle. La musique y était étonnamment abondante et variée, car on s'efforçait de perpétuer les traditions des ancêtres européens tout en adaptant certains types de musique populaire aux réalités du nouveau milieu de vie. Si les chansons folkloriques étaient sources de divertissement, elles aidaient aussi les Voyageurs, à bord de leurs canots, à rythmer les mouvements de leurs pagaies. Par ailleurs, les habitants de Québec, Montréal, Halifax, Toronto et même Newark (Niagara-On-The-Lake) avaient souvent l'occasion d'assister à des concerts, des opéras ou des bals organisés localement avec le concours de musiciens amateurs et de membres des fanfares de garnison.

We went at 7 o'clock to the Parade, a spacious opening made for place d'Armes. Here we saw the 53rd Regiment and the 65th, which are in garrison here... They have an elegant band of music.

The statement is from the diary account of Joseph Hadfield, a British merchant visiting Quebec in 1785.¹ On first reading one might be surprised that a European visitor would think of using the word "elegant" to describe anything cultural in the new world. But, in fact, not only Mr. Hadfield, but a number of other visitors were quite enthusiastic about the music as well as the rest of the cultural life they encountered while in Canada.

To be sure, the elegant sounds that delighted Mr. Hadfield were not the usual fare in all parts of the newly settled country; cultural life in the rural areas and the bush was far more earthy, as one might expect. But even then, the quality could be surprisingly high. The real surprise is that in such a young country, with so much building and exploring to do—with a population so obviously dominated by outdoor types, young entrepreneurs, and somewhat shady opportunists all seeking to carve a place for themselves in the new land—that there would be any time at all for the more refined cultural activities and enjoyments that were a part of the upper-class European society at that time. The existing records, however, testify to an interest in artistic activity on every level of the new Canadian society. They give evidence of a musical life in Canada during the eighteenth century that was surprisingly rich and varied. Almost all of the culture in the new world was re-creative rather than creative; the early settlers selected works from their heritage and from the contemporary creations in Europe. Few of the citizens had either the time or the training to compose music, paint, write drama, etc., but they brought with them an appetite and respect for culture, and they found more time than we might expect to engage in those activities.

It is clear from the surviving documents that much of the cultural activity—not only in Quebec, but in any other large settlement in Canada—relied heavily upon the participation of the military who became quite involved in the social life of the community. The officers attended and hosted many of the dinner parties and banquets, they were prominent at the formal balls, and they even took an active part in dramatic productions.

One of the Cassettes near Fort Louis Gate has been fitted up for a Theatre. Some Canadian [French?] Gentlemen represented *Le Médecin malgré lui* & *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*. I was surprized those people unused to see Theatrical Representations could perform so well as they did & I was much amused. The Fusileers are going to act Plays but as Coll. Simcoe does not like to see Officers so employed he does not intend to go to the theatre again.²

Each of the British garrisons had one or more bands always in residence in order to provide music for the military ceremonies, and they also provided music for the various dances and played open-air concerts on the green during the summer months, usually in the evenings, while the citizens strolled by:

In the evening we took a walk upon the ramparts and parade. The music of the two bands and the company of so many officers must be a very great inducement for preferring this place to any other.³

The instrumental complement of the regimental bands, as set out in the *Articles of Agreement of the Royal Artillery* of 1762, consisted of two each of trumpets, french horns, and bassoons, and four oboes or clarinets.⁴ This would probably

represent the minimum number of musicians attached to each British garrison in Canada, and in some places the number could be somewhat larger; letters written by Edward Augustus (later the Duke of Kent) from Halifax in 1795 indicate that his musical ensemble numbered as many as sixteen, and that he drew upon the musicians in at least three other regimental bands in the Maritimes when the need arose.⁵

A rich source of information about music in the early years of Canada is Elizabeth Simcoe, a well-educated lady who was wife of the first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. Her diary provides us with numerous vivid glimpses of the cultural life of the upper class in Canada at the end of the 18th century:

I went to a Subscription concert. Prince Edward's Band of the 7th Fusiliers played and some of the officers of the Fusiliers. The music was thought excellent.

I went to Church. The Service is performed in a Room occasionally used as a Council Chamber. Prince Edward always goes to Church and his band plays during the Service.⁶

Both of the above observations are from her time in Quebec City in 1791. In 1793 her husband was transferred to the less exciting post of Newark (the present Niagara-On-The-Lake), but thanks to the military band, even in that relatively bleak outpost there were cultural activities:

Immediately after I have dined I rise from table and one of the Officers attends me home and the Band plays on parade before the House till 6 o'clock. The Music adds cheerfulness to this retired spot.⁷

One of the major forms of entertainment in Canada, as in Europe at that time, was ballroom dancing. Balls were held frequently all year long to celebrate various civic occasions or simply for entertainment.⁸ Music by the military bandmen added to the occasion and the civilians, such as Elizabeth Simcoe in Quebec and Hannah Jarvis in Newark, looked forward to the festivities:

You cannot think what a gay place this is in winter, we do not go to half the amusements we are invited to, and yet are few days alone; a week without a Ball is an extraordinary thing and sometimes two or three in that time.⁹

At six o'clock we assembled at the Place appointed—when I was called to open the Ball—Mrs. Hamilton not choosing to dance a minuet—this is the first assembly that I have been at in this country that was opened with a Minuet—not one in the room followed my

example—of course Country Dances commenced—and continued until Eleven when supper was announced. Supper being ended the Company returned to the Ball Room when two Dances finished the night's entertainment with the sober Part of the company. The rest stayed until Daylight and would have stayed longer if their servants had not drank less than their masters.¹⁰

The two dances Mrs. Jarvis is speaking of were the most popular European dance forms, especially in France and England. The minuet was a graceful couples dance that had been developed earlier in the century, and every self-respecting European aristocrat prided himself on his ability to cut an elegant figure while dancing it. From this account it would seem that the minuet was not much in favour in Quebec by the end of the 18th century quite possibly because most of the Canadians were descended from the middle class rather than the wealthy. More in line with middle-class tastes was the other dance type mentioned, country dances, which had been all the rage in Europe from the mid-18th century. An account of one such ball in 1787 at the chateau Saint Louis in Quebec lends support to such a conclusion:

On commença le bal par des menuets, au son d'une très belle musique. Le lord était au haut de la chambre. Le premier salut du menuet s'adressait au lord, et le second était pour le couple qui dansait. Il ne fut dansé que cinq menuets, après quoi on commença les contre-dances anglaises. À chaque contre-danse il y avait vingt-cinq couples. Elles durent une heure chacune, ce qui est si ennuyant que si ce n'eut été de la musique qui me réveillait, je crois que je m'y serais endormi, ou du moins que j'aurais sorti bien vite.¹¹

Country dancing was an elaboration and stylization of the peasants' dances, something not too different from the practice at Versailles where courtly ladies dressed up in pseudo-peasant clothes and waxed eloquent about the simple, carefree, and idyllic life of the peasant. The dancers formed into groups of various sizes depending on the particular dance. There were line dances, in which all dancers followed a leader in single-file, weaving in and out among the others; some called for sets of two, three, or four couples and consisted of intricate patterns of steps; and some called for a continuing variation of formations that resulted in a constant change of partners. Square dancing as we know it is descended directly from these country dances.

The early newspaper advertisements give only tantalizing hints of the number of musical activities practiced and witnessed by the citizens. Within three years of the 1749 founding of Halifax dancing lessons were advertised (implying at least one musical instrument), and less than a decade later lessons were available in Halifax on flute, violin, French horn, oboe, and bassoon, "or any other instrument of the like kind," all taught by a single teacher, Jacob Althus.¹² In that same year, 1761, merchants advertised a number of different

instruments for sale including harpsichords, and offered a variety of books of music (usually without specifying what was in them); all of which indicates that there was a sufficient number of musicians in Halifax to warrant such imports. By 1870 there were several merchants offering a variety of musical instruments and they advertised printed music which included books of songs and airs from the current London operas. The *Quebec Gazette* and the *Montreal Gazette* published similar advertisements for music, instruments, and lessons, including “a genteel organ with five stops, fit for a small church or a chamber” in one of the earliest issued.¹³

Many of the customers for music and instruments may well have been in the military, for in Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Newark, and eventually York (Toronto), the core of the instrumental activity was the garrison band. In 1770 two bands of music were involved in a procession to the Halifax Anglican church of St. Paul on the feast of St. John. A few years later it was noted that music by Georg Frederic Handel was played in church by members of the garrison bands; a performance which included “the Final chorus from his ‘Messiah’ and a Coronation Anthem.”¹⁴

The centres for civic and cultural activities in Halifax were the coffee-houses, taverns and inns. Several of these establishments offered assembly rooms that were used for political meetings, lavish banquets, balls and ceremonies such as the swearing in of the Chief Justice.¹⁵ There were also a number of formal concerts given each year in these assembly rooms, involving small orchestras, vocal and instrumental soloists, and choruses. Their repertoires consisted of works by many of the composers popular in Europe at that time, including Johann Christian Bach, Franz Kotzwara, Charles Avison, Johann Vanhal, Georg Frederic Handel, Joseph Haydn, and Johann Stamitz. The kinds of compositions performed were quite mixed; any one concert programme could consist of overtures, symphonies, simple art songs, instrumental solos and duets, and excerpts from light opera.¹⁶ The following concert programme, advertised in the Halifax *Royal Gazette* in September, 1790, is typical:

By Permission of His Excellency the Governor
To-Morrow Evening,
the 29th Instant
Will be performed, at the Coffee-House
A CONCERT
of
Vocal and Instrumental Music
in three acts.

ACT 1st
OVERTURE, composed by TOESCHI
QUARTETTO, ditto DAVAUX
A SONG of DIBDIN — Was I a Shepherd’s Maid to keep —

[sung] by Mrs. MECHTLER
OVERTURE, composed by BACH
end of the 1st act
A SONG, one of the much admired Opera of ROSINA —
by Mrs. MECHTLER.

ACT 2nd
OVERTURE, composed by MEBES
GIORDANI's Rondo of Heart beating — by Mrs
MECHTLER
QUARTETTO, of AVISONS
end of act 2nd
A CONCERTO on the Harpsichord — By the Master of
the 20th Band.

ACT 3rd
OVERTURE, by ABEL
A SONG, by Mrs. MECHTLER
QUARTETTO, by VANHALL
A favourite SONG out of ROSINA — by Mrs.
MECHTLER
The Concert to conclude with an OVERTURE of
BACH's¹⁷

From the *Quebec Gazette* of February, 1792, we know that the same type of concert programme was presented there by Sieur Jouve, musician in the band of Prince Edward Augustus, and performer on harp and guitar. The mixture and type of music was quite similar to that on the Halifax programme above, with the exception of the composers, who in the Quebec programme leaned more heavily to the favourite French composers of the time: Christoph Gluck and André Grétry.¹⁸ An announcement of what must have been a similar concert appeared later that year in the *Montreal Gazette*, also for the benefit of Mr. Jouve.¹⁹

Some concerts seem to have been quite well organized in advance with a planned programme, while newspaper notices of others invited participation by volunteers. The announcements often stated that there would be a ball for the ladies and gentlemen following the concert.

The introduction of European theatrical activity in North America goes all the way back to the performance in 1606 at Port Royal of the Théâtre de Neptune, a “welcome” celebration written and staged by Marc Lescarbot for Baron de Poutrincourt. The presentation was a type known in France during the 16th and 17th centuries as the *entrée royale*, or *réception*, in which the king was received wherever he travelled by a grand entertainment that included verse and music. It is significant that Lescarbot would attempt to mount such a presentation in

Poutrincourt's honour only two years after the founding of the first permanent settlement in the new world when many very practical projects must have been in need of urgent attention. But this type of refinement was obviously very important to cultured French people, and we have evidence that throughout the 17th and 18th centuries a number of other réceptions were performed in French Canada. In 1727, for example, there was one in Quebec for Bishop Saint-Vallier in which several of the verses were to be sung.²⁰

It is interesting to see that Bishop Saint-Vallier apparently viewed réceptions as different from other types of entertainment and theatre. On several occasions he spoke out officially to discourage his Quebec parishioners from becoming involved in any type of entertainment: "Comédies, Bals, Danses, Mascarades et autres spectacles dangereux"; and even from attending banquets which is described as often "accompagnés du bal et de la danse et de plusieurs autres récréations et libertés dangereuses."²¹ He issued several "ordonnances" against theatrical presentations including the "Mandement au sujet des comédies" of 1694, in which he explicitly condemned the proposed production of Molière's "Tartuffe" at the Chateau Saint-Louis:

Nous déclarons que ces sortes de spectacles et de comédies ne sont pas seulement dangereuses, mais qu'elles sont absolument mauvaises et criminelles d'elles-mêmes et qu'on ne peut y assister sans péché, et comme telle nous les condamnons et faisons défenses très expressees à qualité et condition qu'elles soient de s'y trouver.²²

Theatre was apparently very important to the French-Canadians and, Bishop Saint-Vallier's opinion notwithstanding, productions such as Corneille's "Le Cid" and "Heraclius" were presented regularly in Quebec from as early as 1640.²³ Late in the 17th century amateur theatricals were presented frequently at the Chateau St. Louis in a small theatre built for the governor Comte Louis de Frontenac. The works attempted at that time included Corneille's "Nicomède," and Racine's "Mithridate." And although the players proposed a performance of Molière's "Tartuffe," after the above condemnation by the bishop, it was cancelled.

The absence of newspapers from the first half of the 18th century prevent us from knowing how much theatrical activity continued in Quebec. Beginning in 1783, however, the *Quebec Gazette* advertisements indicate a large number of presentations of comic operas and dramatic productions that included musical offerings. "The Padlock," an extremely popular comic opera written in 1768 by the British composer Charles Dibdin, was performed four times in 1783 alone, and that same year Signor Gaetano Franceschini performed on the violin between acts of a play. The presentation of musical interludes and "afterpieces" along with dramatic works constituted another European tradition that was quickly adopted in the Canadian centres.

In Montreal, visiting theatrical troupes organised several productions each year offering a variety of dramatic and musical entertainment. The first notices appear in the *Montreal Gazette* in 1786, a year after the beginning of the paper.²⁴ By 1791, Halifax boasted the “Halifax Theatre,” and the citizens and military officers possessed sufficient talent and concert experience to attempt scenes from “The Padlock”. The performance must have been successful because it was followed by the production of three full light-operas in the next six months, and from that point forward dramatic works and musical entertainments were offered in Halifax on a more or less regular basis.²⁵

The first opera ever composed in North America was written in Montreal by Joseph Quesnel, a cultured merchant from St. Malo, France, who settled in Montreal where he exported furs and imported wine, played violin, wrote plays and composed music as well. He became involved in the theatrical life of Montreal and was a founding member of the theatre production association “Théâtre de Société” in 1789. Quesnel wrote two plays, “Les Républicains français; ou, La Soirée du cabaret,” and “L’Anglomanie; ou, Le Dîner à l’anglais,” and two operas, “Colas et Colinette,” and “Lucas et Cécile.” His operas are in the style of works known as ‘comic operas,’ a format popular at the end of the eighteenth century in France and England. They are composed of a series of art songs and connected by spoken dialogue—somewhat similar in design to the later works of Gilbert and Sullivan.²⁶ In 1790, the “Théâtre de Société” produced “Colas et Colinette,” and the *Gazette* reviewed it favourably... “Les applaudissements qui ont été donnés, sont justement mérités.”²⁷ The work is available in a modern recording, and still retains its original charm.²⁸

It is clear that the orchestra for all of the performances were comprised of local amateurs and members of the garrison bands. While the proficiency of the amateurs may be questioned, the performance level of the garrison bandmen was professional. One may suspect, therefore, that the quality of music heard in Canadian centres was of a rather high level. It would be nearly a hundred and fifty years before Canadian orchestras were made up entirely of professional civilians; the insufficient opportunities for a professional to make a living carried on until well into the twentieth century. Until such opportunities arose for professionals, the orchestral tradition proceeded at a regular pace by means of this obviously happy mixture of citizens and military musicians. For the few professionals who did attempt to eke out a life in Canada in their chosen profession, versatility was the key.

The career of Frédéric-Henri Glackemeyer illustrates the life of an ambitious musician in the new world. It would be hard to imagine anyone making a career in music, given the relatively small number of settlers in Canada in the late 18th century and what could be described as an undeveloped cultural environment. But Glackemeyer not only did that—probably none too comfortably—but also was responsible for introducing to the Quebec public a large and varied repertory of the very finest music. Glackemeyer arrived in

Quebec in 1776 from Hannover as bandmaster in one of the Brunswick mercenary regiments, and stayed on in Quebec to perform, teach, repair instruments, and eventually to sell instruments and music. He was an extremely versatile musician, performing on viol, violin, and keyboard instruments, as well as writing several small compositions. Regular employment for an orchestral musician being impossible, Glackemeyer obtained a small steady income as organist at the Quebec Basilica. To augment this income, he taught violin and piano to girls and ladies during the day, and violin and viol three nights a week to men. He organized concerts and played in the theatre orchestra, and after the turn of the century founded the Quebec Harmonic Society, an orchestra that was to serve Quebec citizens intermittently throughout most of the nineteenth century. Glackemeyer regularly imported music from Europe in order to supply the various groups he worked with. Much of that repertory still exists in a collection from the Séminaire de Québec, housed in the Laval University library, and reveals his excellent taste in music. The composers he chose included Haydn, Mozart, Bach, and other important composers of his day.

The music I have been describing was that found in the cities or larger settlements. But much of the population of Canada during the 18th century lived a rural life, where coffee houses and garrison bands did not exist. Music for this segment of the population was almost entirely folk music, and there was a rich variety and vast quantity of that available. In French Canada the repertory comprised the folk songs brought over by the original French settlers in the 17th century. A large number of those songs actually date back to the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, folk songs were usually passed on orally, and our knowledge of the details of that repertory comes from a few narrative accounts and from the versions notated in the mid-19th century collections, such as Ernest Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada*.²⁹ From what we can trace, many of the songs are unchanged from their medieval models; they were kept intact by the French settlers as a reminder of their heritage. In some cases, however, the French Canadians would fit a traditional song with an alternate set of words, giving themselves the choice of singing either the original "Par derrière chez mon père," or to the same melody a new Canadian version: "Vive la canadienne."

Folk songs were sung by the settlers while they worked or when they gathered around a fire in the evening to relax, and their melodies reverberated along the lakes, rivers and streams sung by the Voyageurs as a method of keeping time with their paddles while they transported furs and people back and forth across the country. Voyageurs were known widely as lively singers and accounts of them always include some mention of their music—although opinions differed on the purely musical values. We can only imagine the scene described first hand by a visitor to Canada:

They sang their gay French songs, the other canoe joining in the chorus. This peculiar singing has often been described; it is very

animated on the water and in the open air, but not very harmonious. They all sing in unison, raising their voices and marking the time with their paddles. One always led, but in these there was a diversity of taste and skill. If I wished to hear 'En roulant ma boule, roulant' I applied to Le Duc. Jacques excelled in 'La belle rose blanche,' and Louis was great in 'Trois canards s'en vont baignant'.³⁰

The settlers from the British Isles also brought with them their folk song repertory, although since the immigration from Britain continued, there did not seem to be the same need to preserve as many of the original lyrics, and many songs were adapted to the local scene. A song known in England as "Ye Gentlemen of England," for example, was known in Canada only as "Ye Maidens of Ontario." Collection of English-Canadian folk songs did not begin until late in the 19th century, leaving us with only a smattering of knowledge about that area. But it is clear that many of the songs included in the well-known Child collections of popular ballads were sung also in Canada, and some can be traced to their origins in the British Isles in the earlier centuries.³¹

Music connected with the church differed somewhat in the French and English sections of Canada. The French adopted the official music of the Catholic church, which consisted mostly of traditional chant and hymns. But there is also some trace of a repertory from early eighteenth-century Quebec that included more recently composed music. Scholars have found both a large book of organ music in Montreal,³² and some sacred songs in Quebec City,³³ that give evidence that the French-Canadian parishioners heard some of the same kinds of music as those in France—although undoubtedly not in the same quantity. The book of organ music was written in part by Nicholas Lebègue, and the vocal music, written in the most advanced late 17th-century style, bears some indications that it might have been composed in Canada.

The sacred music of English Canada consisted mainly of hymns and psalms. In Halifax, the Anglicans adopted the hymns and spiritual songs of Isaac Watts, whereas the Presbyterian "dissenters'" church chose the Bay Psalm Book, from Boston, the first book printed in British North America. All in all the Protestant church music was fairly austere—the solid hymn types such as "Old Hundred". But there is one rather interesting note relating to the organist at St. Paul's Anglican church in Halifax. An organ was brought over from London in 1766, and four years later the organist and choir director became the object of severe censure by the church "worthies". The choir director, Mr. Godfrey, was criticised for his choice of anthems since they "have not answered the intention of raising the Devotion of the congregation to the Honour and Glory of God, in as much as the Major Part of the congregation do not understand either the words or the music and cannot join therein". The organist, Viere Warner, was accused of playing "voluntaries" (free melodies) "to the great offence of the congregation, and tending to disturb, rather than promote true Devotion." Further he is "directed to play the Psalm Tunes in a plain Familiar Manner without unnecessary graces." It would seem that Warner was embellishing the

melodies in the styles of his European contemporaries. It is interesting to note that Johann Sebastian Bach was dismissed from his position at Arnstadt in 1707 for exactly the same offense.³⁴

The music in Canada during the 18th century was derived from Europe, which is not surprising when one considers how close most of the inhabitants were to their European origins. But the musical life in the New World was quite different, owing to the completely different setting here in the wilderness of North America. There were no Mozarts or Bachs as there were in Europe, but then there was no Vienna, Paris or London, either, and no wealthy monarchs to sponsor the artists or their organizations. There was instead only a handful of professional musicians and a comparative handful of educated citizens to enjoy the more sophisticated music that they did perform. But just as the operas of Mozart fit the surroundings and the artistic needs of the Viennese court, reflecting that genteel society, so the songs of the Voyageurs, the coffee-house concerts, and the promenade band concerts reflected the needs of the new Canadian society.

In eighteenth-century Canada there was little time to relax and reflect upon past artistic and cultural achievements. It was a time to get on with the business of sculpting a nation from the wilderness. And given the enormous and pressing practical needs of the population, it is a tribute to their zest for life as well as their resolve to retain as much as possible of the culture of their European heritage, to think that anyone could take the time to enjoy “an elegant band of music.”

Notes

1. Joseph A. Hadfield, *An Englishman in America, 1785*, ed. Douglas S. Robertson, (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1933), 11 August, 1785.
2. Mary Quayle Innis, ed., *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1965, Feb. 18, 1792.
3. Hadfield, 13 August, 1785.
4. Henry George Farmer, *Military Music*, London: Parrish, 1950, 29, quoted in Juliette Bourassa-Trépanier et Lucien Poirier, eds., *Répertoire des données musicales de la presse québécoise*, Quebec City: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1990, Vol I: 1764-1799, 19.
5. Frederick A. Hall, “Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Halifax,” *Canadian University Music Review* 4 (1983), 295.
6. Innis, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, Nov. 21 and 27, 1791.
7. *Ibid*, April 3, 1793.
8. For a discussion of balls in Quebec and documentation of all such occasions noted in print see *Répertoire des données musicales*.
9. Innis, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*, 13 August, 1791.
10. Hannah Jarvis, letter of June 4, 1792. Quoted in Elisabeth Cryslar, “Musical Life in Present Day Niagara-On-The-Lake In the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” unpub. M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1981.
11. From *Mémoires de Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau*, quoted in *Répertoire des données musicales*, 13.
12. *Halifax Gazette*, May 21, 1761.
13. *Quebec Gazette*, 1764. The *Quebec Gazette* was published weekly beginning in 1764, and the *Montreal Gazette* from 1785. Both papers were printed in English and French.

14. *Royal Gazette*, May 26, 1789.
15. Hall, "Musical Life," 288-289.
16. The term "symphony" was used to refer to single-movement instrumental compositions in general as well as the more specific reference to a work in several movements. It was also a practice to separate individual movements of a symphony and perform them intersperse throughout a concert programme.
17. Reproduced in Hall, "Musical Life," 290.
18. *Quebec Gazette* February 23, 1792. Entire programme printed in Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada 1534-1914*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960, 59-60.
19. *Montreal Gazette* August 23, 1792.
20. *Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier et l'Hôpital de Québec*, Quebec, 1882.
21. Mgr. H. Têtu et Abbé C.-O. Gagnon, ed., *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec*, (Québec: Côte, 1887-88), Vol. I pp. 412, and 170: quoted in Dorith Cooper, "Opera in Montreal and Toronto: A Study of Performance Traditions and Repertoire 1783-1980," unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1984.
22. Têtu et Gagnon, *Mandements*, I, 301-303.
23. Records can be found in Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 cols., Cleveland: Burrows, 1894-1901, vol. 28, 250, and vol. 37, 94. Cited in Cooper, "Opera in Montreal and Toronto."
24. It is more than likely that productions were offered much earlier, advertised by posters in the absence of a newspaper, although this must remain on the level of conjecture for the present.
25. For more on the musical life in early Halifax see Hall, "Musical Life," 278-307, and Timothy J. McGee, "Music in Halifax, 1749-1799," *Dalhousie Review* 49 (1969), 377-387. On opera history in both French- and English-speaking Canada see Cooper, "Opera in Montreal and Toronto."
26. A discussion of the relationship between "Colas et Colinette" and "Le Devin du village" by Rousseau can be found in Lucien Poirier, "La fortune de deux oeuvres de Jean- Jacques Rousseau au Canada français entre 1790 et 1850," *Musical Canada: Words and Music honouring Helmut Kallmann*, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1988, 60-70. For additional information on the popularity of this type of entertainment in Canada see Hall, "Musical Life," 299-301.
27. *Montreal Gazette*, January 21, 1790.
28. Recorded in a modern reconstructed arrangement by Godfrey Ridout, on RCI 234/ Select CC. 15.001 and SSC-24-160.
29. Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons populaires du Canada*, Montreal: Beauchemin, 1865. Many subsequent editions.
30. Ann Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, New York: 1839; reprint Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923, 260.
31. Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols., New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882-1898; reprint, New York: Dover, 1965.
32. Published in facsimile as *Le livre d'orgue de Montréal*, Montreal: Fondation Lionel-Groulx, 1981. For discussion of contents see Elisabeth Gallat-Morin, "Le livre d'orgue de Montréal aperçu d'un manuscrit inédit," *Canadian University Music Review/ Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 2 (1981), 1-38.
33. Published in Erich Schwandt, *The Motet in New France: Twenty Motets, Antiphons and Canticles from the Archives of the Ursulines and the Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec*, Victoria: Jew Editions, 1981. For discussion see Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: 17th and 18th Century Sacred Music in Quebec," *L'orgue à notre époque*, Montreal: 1982, 71-82.
34. For a more detailed account see McGee, "Music in Halifax," 378-380.

I.S. MacLaren

Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author*

Abstract

Studies of exploration and travel writing in most disciplines depend heavily if not exclusively on the published version of texts. However, as a travel-based narrative evolves, sometimes, sufficient changes are introduced among the four stages of composition (because a writer other than the traveller becomes involved, the traveller alters ideas and descriptions after reflecting on the travels, or the traveller alters representations to conform with the expectations of the audience at whom a subsequent stage of the narrative is directed) to cast doubt on the reliability of the publication as the record of what the traveller experienced. The essay will focus this thesis by examining how explorers James Cook and Samuel Hearne, and artist/traveller Paul Kane, evolved into published authors.

Résumé

Dans la plupart des disciplines, les études portant sur les écrits des explorateurs et des voyageurs sont très largement, sinon exclusivement, faites à partir de leur version publiée. Pourtant, au fur et à mesure de l'évolution du texte, les changements qui surviennent aux quatre étapes de leur rédaction amènent à penser que les textes publiés ne reflètent pas fidèlement l'expérience vécue du voyageur. C'est que, bien souvent, une autre personne intervient dans la rédaction, le voyageur lui-même modifie ses idées et ses descriptions, ou encore, rectifie subséquemment ses interprétations afin qu'elles correspondent mieux aux attentes du public auquel le livre est destiné. Le présent essai étaiera cette thèse en examinant l'évolution des récits et des textes des explorateurs James Cook et Samuel Hearne et de l'artiste/globe-trotter Paul Kane jusqu'à leur version publiée.

Any investigation into the creation of cultural understandings of wilderness in Canada must come to terms with the narrative records left by European explorers and early travellers. Interpreting their writings, especially with respect to their constructions of uninhabited space as barren and native peoples as savage, only *appears* relatively straightforward. Following the irresistible urge to read travellers' narratives as their record of wilderness experience, we tacitly accept their stated or unstated claim to the representation of reality: I, John Mandeville (and nearly every traveller, real or fictional, since the fourteenth century), saw it with my own eyes; who are we, as readers, to disagree? If Columbus was at Hispaniola five hundred years ago, and wrote that he took possession of it, finding that "no opposition was offered," his

reader accedes to the statement's veracity, having neither reason to doubt it nor cause to doubt the authority of his medium—written language—by which European and European-derived cultures believed themselves superior to wilderness inhabitants unpossessed of such authority.

This customary reading practice, apparently regardless of readers' different disciplinary interests in the narratives of explorers and early travellers, tends to focus on the world that the explorer/traveller brings to life (by inscribing it, writing it down) rather than on the writer of the account¹. But it is the contention of this essay that a sharp focus must be directed onto the writer. That focus must investigate such customary reading practices as those that equate the explorer/traveller with the author, and published observations with exact representations of reality as it was experienced. This contention involves recognizing the cultural role played for imperial cultures by wilderness travellers, few of whom, at least before this century in Canada, were writers first and foremost.

Understanding the complexities of European imperialism and, because it stems from it, colonialism requires opening for enquiry the process (the evolution) by which a European explorer of the New World becomes the author of a narrative published at the imperial centre for imperial readers in a vital institutional exchange. This enquiry must precede the application of sophisticated theories of discourse and textual analysis, especially those indebted to semiology and post-Structuralism, because it will properly investigate the status and identity of the text to which those theories and others are to be applied. At its base, this is no more or less than bibliography, establishing the authorship of texts at various stages, as well as the chronology of a text's composition.

By bibliography I refer not only to the strict physical bibliography, "the study of the signs which constitute texts and the materials on which they are recorded," which, all the same, is of course bibliography's "starting point," but also to the study of the "processes, the technical and social dynamics, of transmission and reception whether by one reader or a whole market of them" (McKenzie 1986:8). On the present occasion, such an inclusive methodology will concentrate on the discrepancies among various stages of a narrative of exploration or travel. In this way, it departs from most studies, whatever their disciplinary orientations, of the genre. My title therefore echoes with a difference the title of Percy Adams' important survey (1983) of the genre up to the nineteenth century as it relates to prose fiction. Attention is drawn to his *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* because of its typical practice of studying the texts chiefly if not exclusively by way of published books.

Obviously, cultural studies stand to gain in sundry ways from studies of this—usually the final—stage of travel writing. But in reading cultural studies, such as Mary Louise Pratt's "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen" (1985), or Paul Carter's

The Road to Botany Bay (1989), or Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters* (1986), one sees very quickly how previous centuries' travel books are being read straightforwardly as eyewitnesses' reports. Even more individualistic enquiries, such as the psychological study of travel writing made by Dennis Porter (1991), consult the books alone. If, however, the argument is to be, as now it often is in the critique of early ethnographies, and in the literary criticism of travel writing, that the narratives of travel construct every bit as much as they bear witness, is it not imperative that the constructor and the witness, who are treated as one, be one? Are they? Or, put another way, what *did* Mr. Barrow see? Or, more generally, how did travellers and their observations become authors and books?

For it is a remarkably unpredictable genre on the question of its ability to support such seemingly obvious and unproblematical one-for-one correspondences as, traveller equals author, or, to turn it around as Adams (1962) suggested doing in an earlier study, author equals traveller. Its undependability also seems random and inconsistent from text to text, precluding potentially valuable generalizations about ghost writers and editors, whose involvement ought to be a much more prevalent concern than it now is. Only comparative studies among the four stages of individual texts seems possible at this juncture.

The first of those stages is the field note or log book entry, which is written *en route*. It marks the first effort by the traveller (who may or may not be travelling in order to write) to mediate experience in words, and it may be the only stage in which the present tense appears, and sometimes the future, as in: "If all goes well, we will reach Nootka Sound in a fortnight's sail." Occasionally, letters occupy this stage as well, if they are composed and sent during the course of the travels, but they may also belong to the second stage, which is the journal, the writing-up of the travels either at their conclusion or following a stage of them. (Journal can, it may be argued, signify first-stage writing; that this and other terms, such as account, narrative and journey, are imprecise exemplifies the custom of not discriminating among the stages of composition.) Single words, phrases, or names from field notes might be built into sentences and paragraphs, as the traveller (or someone else) begins to shape the experience of the discrete portion or the entire trip from its end point, informing it with continuity and purpose if these did not exist to begin with. It is equally likely that material from the field notes will be edited out. If the travels involved adventure, the survival of them will exert its influence on the presentation of events in so far as the past tense will indicate the traveller's arrival at the planned destination. Where the field note might be tentative, unsure of what lies ahead tomorrow, the journal can transform that quality into assurance or despair by means of foreshadow based on the subsequent experience of that tomorrow's events and of succeeding days. The retrospective statement, for example, "When we passed this village on our return the square which was so full of life in the summer was now empty and windswept," has in fact a very strong cohering effect on the narrative.

Even at the second stage of journal writing, however, another consideration makes its presence felt. Whether or not keepers of field notes plan to transform them into a narrative to be read by others, and, thereby, transform themselves from travellers into authors, it is more likely that writers of journals have in mind the reading of them by others, including armchair readers who have not visited the places mentioned. Narrative theorists will have much more to say on this matter than the present occasion can provide, but the important point remains that writers' awareness of readers vitally conditions the narrative, in terms of the way events are structured, plotted and phrased. In moving from field notes to journal, travellers do not *necessarily* write in more complex ways (explaining a situation, predicament, or event more fully and in a way that, being there, they did not themselves require in a note), render as literary what were only literal details, or include remarks that arose not out of the experience, but out of subsequent reflections on it. However, many do write in greater complexity, chiefly because, conscious that other eyes than their own will read the words, they feel bound to *flesh out*, account for, communicate their experiences to a reader or readers who did not share them.

The difference between the second stage (journal) and third (draft manuscript for a book) and fourth (the publication) stages is again one of audience. If the world ought to hear about one's travels, is the traveller the one to tell the world? Many travelled and explored brilliantly but did not write in a fashion that either they or a publisher considered sufficiently literary to lure the interest and purses of a readership. By the end of the eighteenth century in England, for example, this readership's sophistication amounted to a daunting prospect for the unpublished traveller. One recalls Alexander Mackenzie's statement of his own reservations about publishing a book of exploration (although even the elegant expression of those reservations could have been the product of someone else's pen [cf. MacLaren 1982]):

. . . when, at length, the opportunity arrived, the apprehension of presenting myself to the Public in the character of an Author, for which the course and occupations of my life have by no means qualified me, made me hesitate in committing my papers to the Press; being much better calculated to perform the voyages, arduous as they might be, than to write an account of them. (Lamb 1970:57)

It is little wonder that either such demurrals or a publisher's cold feet over testing a highly competitive book market with an unedited account, often sent explorers like Mackenzie and travellers to ghost writers and editors for aid. Often, it is at this point that travel literature alters most, and presents its central problem, but because the nature of the problem shifts from one book to the next, the enquiry must proceed inductively, book by book. By pointing out the different bibliographical identities of texts nominally known as Captain Cook's third *Voyage* (1784), Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort* (1795), and Paul Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist* (1859), the remainder of

this enquiry aims to delineate essential bibliographical components that any interpretations of these texts as travel literature must take into account.

I

Historian Glyndwr Williams, in his biographical sketch of the great Pacific explorer James Cook, advises that “for Cook’s views” of the events of his third voyage the modern edition of his journals (Beaglehole 1955-1974) “should always be consulted in preference to the official contemporary account, . . . for although the first two volumes were Cook’s in name, they were Dr. John Douglas’ in style . . . and until Professor Beaglehole’s labours scholars could only guess at how much of the published account was Cook’s and how much his meddling editor’s” (Williams 1979:IV,167). The “edition” by Douglas, a sedentary man of the Cloth in the editorial tradition of Hakluyt and Purchas, appeared in June 1784 as *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken, By Command of His Majesty... Written by Captain James Cook . . .* (Douglas 1784). It can be read as the official account of the British nation’s latest explorations; it can be read as a sensational and eagerly acquired adventure story about a gentleman killed in Hawaii by blood-thirsty cannibals, the account selling out its print run in “three days, at four and a half guineas . . . eager purchasers offer[ing] ten guineas for a copy” (Beaglehole:IV,692). Alternatively, it can be read as the work of a canon whose Christianity is spelled out through its pages and can be traced back to such earlier writings as *The Criterion; Or, Miracles Examined With a View to Expose the Pretensions of Pagans and Papists* (1751), and forward to *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (1793). Finally, it can be read as an exercise in hero-making by Douglas on behalf of his nation. But it cannot be read, admonishes Williams, as the explorer’s account of his explorations. What did Mr. Cook see? Apparently, not what his own book states.

Read as the official account—indeed, for nearly two hundred years it remained the sole account “Written by Captain James Cook”—it proclaims what publication intended to signify. As far as European nations were concerned, the laying of imperial claim to knowledge of the lands, coastlines and peoples discovered consisted preeminently in the publication of the narrative written by the explorer whom George III appointed. The form of the official account thereby effected a weighty symbolic significance well beyond the sum of its contents. For this reason, the purpose of Douglas’ edition differed from that of the unofficial and unsanctioned accounts that had already been published by various of Cook’s officers and sailors: John Rickman (1781), Heinrich Zimmermann (1781, 1926, 1930), William Ellis (1782) and John Ledyard (1783). Douglas’ official if unacknowledged role makes it possible to say of him what has been written of John Hawkesworth (1773), the “editor” of the official narratives of Cook’s first voyage to the Pacific, as well as those of John Byron, Samuel Wallis and Philip Carteret:

In his visions of the captains' missions Hawkesworth helped fuel a myth that was to motivate the nation for more than a century—the myth that an island kingdom through sea power and administrative genius could impose a Pax Britannica on a major portion of the world . . . [Hawkesworth] is a recorder of a part of that remarkable demonstration of energy of a people who would stop at nothing less than the export of their language and their culture to the ends of the earth. (Abbott 1982:185)

There are differences between the two editors' work, however. Hawkesworth had been verbally flayed and sent to an early grave for having transgressed on British public views by stating that Providence had played no role in the success and safe transport of the voyages, by introducing the principle of moral relativism into his description of "savages," and, although emending the captains' various accounts significantly, by leaving still too little to the imagination regarding the sexual practices of Tahitians (Abbott 1982:chpt. vii; Pearson 1972:45-72). With so disastrous an example preceding him, Douglas took pains in his narratives of Cook's second and third voyages to align all the explorer's remarks with his culture's views.

When preparing Cook's *Voyage towards the South Pole* (Douglas 1777), the canon found that "Cook agreed to most of [his] suggestions even when they entailed changes of substance, urging that the text be made," as Cook put it in a letter to Douglas, "unexceptionable to the nicest readers" (Withey 1987:311; Cook 1776). The nicest readers, such custodians of Enlightenment English thought as the Reverend John Wesley and Elizabeth Montagu, both of whom had responded with alarm to Hawkesworth's edition (Abbott 1982:chpt. vii), subscribed to, among others, the four-stages theory. It advanced a developmental and hierarchical structuring of civilization (Meek 1976), by which nomadic hunters occupied the lowest stage and mercantile societies the highest, pastoral and agricultural societies assuming the middle two stages. Far more deep-seated in English thought than the competing and comparatively notional concept of the Noble Savage, this theory, whether formally or informally advanced, frequently precluded and idea but the one that "primitive cultures should have inhuman attributes" (Archer 1980:478).

When Cook was still alive, after his second voyage, the Canon of Windsor and St. Paul's tactfully protected nice readers by making the captain's plain text "unexceptionable" by means of euphemisms and circumlocutions: "Tho little appears to be done by me, the Journal, if printed as the Captain put it into my Hands would have been thought too incorrect & have disgusted the Reader" (Douglas 1776-1796:f.42v; Beaglehole:II,cxlv). Subsequently, the "great detector of impostures," as Boswell dubbed Douglas, imposed himself much more in introducing and editing the deceased Cook's third journal. In his "Autobiography" (1776-1796), Douglas described how he used Cook's

journal as only his “Ground work,” but he later deleted that description and substituted the following:

The Public never knew, how much they owe to me in this work. The Cap^t,s M.S.S. [*sic*] was indeed attended to accurately, but I took more Liberties than I had done with his Acc^t of the second Voyage; and while I faithfully represented the facts, I was less scrupulous in cloathing them with better Stile than fell to the usual Share of the Cap^t. . . (Douglas 1776-1796:ff.48-49v; Beaglehole:III.1,cxcix)

Although it is clear from this retrospective statement that Douglas strove to represent Cook’s discoveries in ways that the English public would approve, the editor’s wording will yield different degrees of significance to researchers in different fields of study, even given Williams’ admonishment. Must style concern an ethnographic, for example, if facts remain ‘faithfully represented’? One answer is supplied tacitly by Beaglehole’s edition itself, which the President of the Hakluyt Society thought necessary because Douglas’ editions had been “official” ones that “improved” on Cook’s second-stage narrative (Beaglehole:I,v). On the one hand, what Cook himself reported as having seen and how he shaped his journal, and, on the other hand, what the Admiralty and a clandestine editor who was also an officer of the Church of England—the national church, it goes without saying—thought that the British publics should see, and how it ought to be shown, are not the same. How they are not is discernible in a study of the two versions of Cook’s four weeks’ stay (30 March-26 April 1778) in Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island².

Book IV, Chapter I of Douglas’ *Voyage*, as well as a few pages leading up to it (1784:II,265-87), demonstrate abundantly that the canon often took Cook’s journal word for word, merely altering syntax and punctuation for clarity, as in the following description from 31 March of the mooring of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in Resolution Cove, off Bligh Island (the journal’s passage precedes the book’s):

We found on heaving up the anchor that notwithstanding the great depth of water it was let go in, there were rocks at the bottom which had done some considerable damage to the Cable, and the hawsers that were carried out to warp the Ship into the cove got also foul or rocks, so that it appeared that the whole bottom was strewed with them. (Beaglehole:III.1,297)

On heaving up the anchor of the *Resolution*, we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable; and the hawsers that were carried out, to warp the ship into the cove, also got foul or rocks; from which it appeared

that the whole bottom was strewed with them. (Douglas 1784:II.271-272)

Whichever contemporary standards of stylistic propriety Douglas was following, his record shows fidelity to Cook's journal, which exhibits the explorer's competent registering of straightforward subject matter. An incidental observation is that Douglas takes up a few more words than the concise Cook; this is a steady pattern in the narrative relation between this editor and explorer.

The sort of fidelity exhibited in this passage is what Douglas transgresses when describing the Indians of Nootka Sound. The transgression occurs in Douglas' use of the first-person singular, which voices all the published descriptions as ultimately and solely the explorer's own. As well, by elevating both the style of that first-person narrator's narrative and the narrator's persona, Douglas transforms the explorer from an adventuring enquirer into, first and foremost, a polite travelling gentleman possessed of and exhibiting decorum. "Elevation," Beaglehole's term (III.1,cci), is the apt name for this transformation, which involves the rhetorical device of amplification but also the presentation of the persona of Cook on all occasions as one possessed of manners befitting the Hanoverian court of George III. This refinement elevates the first-person persona in so far as it yields an altered perspective, or vantage point, from which the published Cook surveys and observes from above, looking rhetorically *down* on the objects of his enquiry. It would be risking exaggeration to argue that the effect of this transformation is consistently a new tone, one that everywhere accrues to itself power by patronizing aboriginal peoples, but this is often the consequence of the vertical linguistic separation that Douglas effects between explorer and explored. However unconsciously, Douglas' reader is made forcefully to remember what had been known by Englishmen since the early Renaissance, that what distinguishes the civilized from the savage human is written language (Greenblatt 1976:563; 1991:9; Cheyfitz 1991; chpt. 5).

Douglas' use of **litotes**, the rhetorical device by which something is affirmed by the negation of its opposite, while not unfamiliar to Cook, exemplifies how the editor elevates the explorer's style. Cook writes, ungrammatically in this case but that is not the immediate point, about the technique the Nootka have of packing dried sardines into bales: "thus they are kept till wanting and eat very well" (Beaglehole:III.1,304). To recall his own description of editing, Douglas, it may be said, clothes the fish in "better Stile," correcting Cook's awkwardness: "Thus they are kept till wanted; and they are not a disagreeable article of food" (II,280). The discrepancy might seem incidental but it serves to indicate that the person who finds that sardines thus preserved eat very well differs socially from the one who allows that they are not a disagreeable article of food. That Shakespeare's use of **enallage** (effective grammatical mistakes) predominates among his bucolic characters reminds us that the social distinction that Douglas silently draws by his correction is class-based; the

Cook who appears under regal imprimatur cannot, even when deceased, show his humble origins in the instrument of imperial power, written language. Furthermore, there is a narrative fastidiousness in the litotes (“not a disagreeable article of food”) because the effect of this rhetorical figure is always more complex than its straightforward alternative: the fish are an agreeable article of food. The litotes intimate that the published Cook suffers himself to make the observation, and makes it uninterestedly. The superfluity, the circumlocution of the litotes erects a decorous discursive barrier between the observer and the observed, the figure of speech effectively shielding the explorer’s civility from the taint of the savage custom, however, ingenious.

Affected, the litotes pay a backhanded compliment to Nootkan ingenuity. This lack of narrative straightforwardness renders the published Cook in a different, more ornamented narrative register—possibly that of the contemporary novel of manners—from the plain journalism of the explorer. Thus, when Cook goes ashore on another occasion and plainly writes the detail that “M^t [John] Webber who was with me, made drawings” (Beaglehole:III.1,306), the “official” cook visits the village differently: “Mr. Webber, who had attended me thither, made drawings” (Douglas 1784:II,285). The elevated tone of the circumlocution (the affected “thither”) suggests the status of a formal landing party, if not quite a procession; by contrast, the journalist merely has a companion. Given the attention that has lately been paid to descriptions of scenes of arrival in travel literature (Pratt 1986:36-37; Kröller 1990:90-91, 95-96), this heightening of Cook’s social status by Douglas seems indicative of a consistent effort to distinguish, on the level of class, the visitors and the hosts at the point of contact.

The same trip ashore occasioned a negotiation over the cutting of grass for the domesticated animals aboard Cook’s ships. The journal’s description of that negotiation is less formal, more candid, and briefer than the book’s; coincidentally, the journal’s Cook is plain-spoken and unexaggerated as Douglas’ Cook is not:

The Inhabitants of this village received us in the same friendly manner they had d[o]ne before, and the Moment we landed I sent some to cut grass not thinking that the Natives could or would have the least objection, but it proved otherways... (Beaglehole:III.1,306)

The inhabitants received us with the same demonstrations of friendship which I had experienced before; and the moment we landed, I ordered some of my people to begin their operation of cutting. I had not the least imagination, that the natives could make any objection to our furnishing ourselves with what seemed to be of no use to the, but was necessary for us. However, I was mistaken...(Douglas 1784:II,283-284)

Readers of the official narrative see Cook prominently; they see a masterly captain, if not quite a monarch, giving orders to *his* people. Most significantly, the repetition of the first-person pronoun informs the published account with a sense of the explorer's power. The focus thus sharply on Cook, Douglas keeps it there, watching him mount a self-justification that observes the strictest decorum and is governed by the rhetorical confines of isocolon (repetition of a grammatical structure): "no use to them...necessary for us." Butter *might* melt in this Cook's mouth, but only just, for the editor manages to make the explorer appear both mistaken and, yet, innocent. In terms of the style, part of that innocence derives from the isocolon's capacity for reversal in the guise of repetition; part stems from the choice of a passive construction, "I was mistaken." Underlying the style, another claim of innocence is the unspoken assumption of the four-stages theory, that is, that the representative of a culture where agriculture and animal husbandry are practised has a more legitimate claim to grass than does the representative of only a hunting/fishing culture, who makes no systematic use of vegetation or the soil which grows it. As in most confrontations, the innocent party appears to be the injured one. In light, however, of every officer's complaint, including Cook's, that the Nootka were prone to thievery, the implicit reversal of blame in this instance, where the English are made to pay for what they came to steal, is ironical, if not to Douglas. One can hear a Nootkan reasoning that he or she could put to better use a piece of metal that a sailor was using only as a button: "no use to them, ...necessary for us."

Just as the visitors found themselves being tolerant with Indians who helped themselves to everything on board ships that could be traded or pocketed, the Indians found themselves tolerant of their visitors, permitting them water and wood free of charge while charging for the grass. In fact, the Nootka represented to the pre-published Cook not just the preeminent Pacific traders and property owners, but also people who regarded themselves in every way the Europeans' equals. As one ethno-historian has written, "neither group asserted a dominance, neither perceived the other as superior and, therefore, nether responded with submission" (Fisher 1979:84). Such an assessment could not be inferred from Douglas' book alone, and, remembering that the world had only it for the one hundred and eighty-nine years following Cook's stay at Nootka Sound, one must allow that many generations of British and other readers perceived matters in an unbalanced perspective.

Guarding Cook as "unexceptionable" usually involved euphemism and various figures of amplification, but Douglas also had to avoid an occasional *faux pas* which betrayed Cook's humble, north-country origins. Departing Nootka Sound, Cook was involved in an elaborate ceremony of gift exchange with a prominent Nootkan whose name no officer recorded, but who might have been the father of Maquinna (Fisher and Bumsted 1982:17, 62-63). This ceremony, "carried out according to the practice of the Nootkan chief rather than the British captain" (Fisher 1979:90), involved several exchanges, each more valuable than the last. When he ended by giving the Indian "a New Broad

Sword with a brass hilt,” Cook wrote that the gift made the Nootkan “as happy as a prince” (Beaglehole:III.1,308). This vernacular English captures the spirit of the moment genuinely: Cook had received what he knew to be the much valued “Beaver skin Cloak” straight off the man’s back, and he responded with the sword, the symbolic significance of which rendered it much more valuable than any other of the metal goods (“toys” Douglas dismissively calls them [1784:II,279]) exchanged during the four weeks. “Happy as a prince,” however, hardly rises to the stately level required for the public persona of the captain (one recalls Douglas’ opinion that Cook’s unvarnished narrative from the second voyage to the Pacific would have “disgusted” its reader). It amounts to an inappropriate **tapinosis** (undignified language) in the book, “Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,” about a voyage undertaken “by the Command of His Majesty.”

Douglas’ refinement of the captain’s faux pas does more than correct, however; it unbalances the fundamental reciprocity of the spontaneous ceremony, preserving the substance but effectively altering the essence. The alteration, which occurs by means of **hyperbole** (exaggeration), introduces a muted yet unmistakable patronizing tone: “I presented to him a new broadsword, with a brass hilt; the possession of which made him completely happy” (1784:II,286). What the published Cook bestows makes the chief consummately happy. Up to this point, the reader of *A Voyage* has already received an unbalanced impression of the exchanges because, where Cook’s journal uses verbs connoting plain giving and receiving—“present[ed],” “gave me,” “made him a present”—Douglas has changed the first verb to the more consciously ceremonial “bestowed,” and entirely altered the sense of the journal’s “gave me”: “he insisted upon my acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore” (1784:II,286). The formality and refinement of “bestowed” implicitly go unmatched by the Indian’s improprieties of insisting and of his undressing before the captain in order to give him his cloak. As well, it keeps the published Cook from exhibiting anything like alacrity for an equal exchange, keeps him from situating himself on the same level as the Nootkan; for, if one can give and receive all manner of items from equals, one bestows gifts (and did in the English of Douglas’ epoque) on inferiors and juniors. Through these two altered verbs, the idea of domination has seeped into the published account. It would seem that Douglas is keen to keep his reader aware of the inequality of the people involved in this scene, which effectively displays the power of his and his empire’s magnanimity.

With the end of the exchange, the book’s chapter has drawn nearly to a close, but Douglas chooses this moment to lend the exchange more significance than it possesses in the journal. In an effective use of **climax** the editor proceeds to estimate the rewards to be reaped from Cook’s consummate performance, which will smooth the waters for future trade (an idea unvoiced in Cook’s journal): “I make no doubt, that whoever comes after me to this place, will find the natives prepared accordingly, with no inconsiderable supply of an article of trade, which, they could observe, we were eager to possess; and which we

found could be purchased to great advantage” (Douglas 1784:II,297). Thus, Douglas’ insistence in the ceremony of exchange on imbalance and, thereby, on a hierarchical distinction among peoples, sets up the published chapter’s close: Cook’s gaining of material “advantage” (trade imbalance) over the savage.

This consummate explorer, “the prototypical hero of European imperialism” (Smith 1979:160) and of Enlightenment, exports good will and exhibits good manners to the unenlightened peoples, or, as Douglas tends to nominate them, the “uncivilized nations” (1784: II,284) on the other side of the world. Such a portrayal of Cook, on which the subsequent prodigious lionizing of him was largely based, is itself predicated on a hierarchical structuring of mankind that Douglas does not permit his reader to forget. Perhaps disturbed by the equality of relations between the visitors and inhabitants at Nootka Sound, he early on makes his most obvious departure from Cook’s journal in order to emphasize that the heroic adventurer risks life and limb among the heathen who practise ceremonial and perhaps gustatory cannibalism.

Words that Cook did not write, put into his mouth by Douglas, to be spoken in the first-person singular, level the charge. For his own part, Cook enumerates a long list of goods bought in trade with the Nootka. A book manuscript apparently in mind (see note 2), Cook knew enough about the row caused by Hawkesworth’s indiscretion to leave out any mention of the purchase of sexual favours by his sailors; on the other hand, his list ends enigmatically with “pieces of carved work and even human skulls and hands, and a variety of little articles too tedious to mention” (Beaglehole:III.1,297). He proceeds immediately to a list of what the Nootka took in exchange. What did Mr. Cook see? Douglas chooses to invoke climax to emphasize the skulls and hands; thus, his version refrains from mentioning them at the end of the list, while it moves from the carved works to a detailed catalogue of them, as well as an enumeration—probably taken from Anderson’s journal (see note 2)—of those other items that Cook considered too tedious to mention. Only after completing his extended list does Douglas, clearly aware of the rhetorical weight amassed by this growing list, mention the remarkable items:

But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale, were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people *plainly* understand they had eaten; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here, as we found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea islands. (Douglas 1784:II,271; emphasis added)³

Thus, early in the first chapter about the Nootka, Douglas uses Cook’s journal as a “springboard” (Beaglehole:III.1,cc) for his most sensational performance, the consequence of which colours the subsequent account, and compels the

reader to accept a hierarchical ordering in all the relations between visitors and inhabitants.

It is possible that the incentive for this departure from Cook's views, as for other embellishments on matters of "manners and customs" (Douglas 1784:I.lxxviii) not found in the journal, was Anderson's now-lost journal. Certainly, Cook's authorial failing here lay in his not providing "reflection" on his observation; travel literature of the late eighteenth century, following the edicts of Samuel Johnson and others, insisted upon it. However, Douglas offers reflection only after inciting wonder with description, first of the presence of flesh, then of its roasted appearance. When *he* reflects, he totalizes the entire Pacific Ocean's peoples in a sweeping, consummate and certain generalization. In point of fact, the understanding among the captain and his men had been anything but "plain". They could not agree on the evidence witnessed that anthropophagy was a custom at Nootka Sound, but Douglas' reader could not make known as much.

Douglas, on the other hand, could have. For such an important matter, on which his source had remained all but silent, he might have weighed Anderson's view—if indeed it was even his—against others'. In his by then three-year-old book, *Reise um die Welt, mit Capitain Cook*, Heinrich Zimmermann (1781:61), coxswain on the *Discovery*, claimed that the Nootka were "in a constant state of warfare amongst themselves, the slain being devoured" (1930:72), but he, unlike most, regarded the Nootka as "the most undisciplined ['rudest' (1926:30)] and uncivilized people we had met with on our whole voyage amongst the savages" (1930:73). In 1781 as well, John Rickman, second lieutenant on the same ship, published his less certain view anonymously. According to him, the Nootka were "more civilized than from their aspect there was reasons to expect" (236), but "that they eat the flesh of their enemies we had some reason to suppose, by observing a human head in one of their canoes, and arms and limbs in another" (242). A year later, however, William Ellis, surgeon's second mate aboard the *Discovery*, who found the Nootka "a miserable set of beings" (1782:I,190), nevertheless was circumspect about the evidence: "Some of our seamen made signs of eating flesh, which signs they readily made too, probably because they saw us do it; and from this circumstance they were pronounced to be cannibals, though it is not unlikely but that we were too hasty in forming our conjectures" (I,192).

This view apparently did not give Douglas pause⁴, but if he had had any question—and he should have—he could have consulted James King. Surely Cook's incomplete list of trade goods would have numbered among that "variety of instances, where Captain Cook's Journal required explanation" and which sent Douglas to "Captain King for his advice and direction" (Douglas 1784:I,lxxxiv). Had King needed to refresh his memory on the matter, recourse to his own journal, the latter portions of which provided him and Douglas with the text for the third volume of *A Voyage*, would have offered the following description and reflection:

... a man brought on board a boy about 6 years old & want'd to sell him for some Iron . . . The man who brought the boy made motions of knocking the Child on the head, which being observ'd by some of our Gentlemen, they conceiv'd the fellow brought the boy to sell for food, & made motions to the Man if they should eat the boy which he nodded his assent to; but I was present & rather conceiv'd that the mans motions signified only that he wanted Iron to cut, & it is certain he only want'd a hatchet, therefore it would be cruel to bring this as any proof of so horrid a Charge as that of devouring their own Species. (Beaglehole: III.1,1413-1414)

Perhaps King was struck by the cruelty of Douglas. The editor's narrative insertion of the charge follows a pattern of fidelity not only to the four-stages theory, by which non-agricultural societies necessarily take on the qualities of the beasts they hunt, but also to the abiding European belief, dating from Columbus' arrival in the Americas, that to exist beyond civilization is to exist in a barbarous state, which includes the eating of human flesh, presumably because the human mind can envision no greater horror⁵.

Cannibalism appears to have had a base in Douglas' system of belief, or theory, which amounted for him to fact. He enunciates his theory in the ethnographic portion of his introduction to *A Voyage*, an introduction that, one risks tedium to repeat, Cook was not alive to approve, disapprove or disprove. All of the four-stages theory, the Myth of Program of Civilization, and Christianity's view on pagans inform the following remarks, which simultaneously imply the exaltation of Cook:

But when the recesses of the globe are investigated, not to enlarge private dominion, but to promote general knowledge: when we visit new tribes of our fellow-creatures as friends; and wish only to learn that they exist, in order to bring them within the pale of the offices of humanity, and to relieve the wants of their imperfect state of society, by communicating to them our superior attainments; voyages of discovery planned with such benevolent views by George the Third, and executed by Cook, have not, we trust, totally failed in this respect. Our repeated visits, and long continued intercourse with the natives of the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands, cannot but have darted some rays of light on the infant minds of those poor people. The uncommon objects they have thus had opportunities of observing and admiring, will naturally tend to enlarge their stock of ideas, and to furnish new materials for the exercise of their reason. Comparing themselves with their visitors, they cannot but be struck with the deepest conviction of their own inferiority, and be impelled, by the strongest motives, to strive to emerge from it, and to rise nearer to a level with those children of the Sun who deigned to look upon

them, and left behind so many specimens of their generous and humane attention. The very introduction of our useful animals and vegetables, by adding fresh means of subsistence, will have added to their comforts of life, and immediate enjoyments; and if this be the only benefit they are ever to receive, who will pronounce that much has not been gained? But may we not carry our wishes and our hopes still farther? Great Britain itself, when first visited by the Phoenicians, was inhabited by painted Savages, not, perhaps, blessed with higher attainments than are possessed by the present natives of New Zealand; certainly less civilized than those of Tongataboo or Otaheite. Our having opened an intercourse with them, is the first step toward their improvement. Who knows, but that our late voyages may be the means appointed by Providence, of spreading, in due time, the blessings of civilization, amongst the numerous tribes of the South Pacific Ocean; of abolishing their horrid repasts and their horrid rites; and of laying the foundation for future and more effectual plans, to prepare them for holding an honourable station amongst the nations of the earth? This, at least, is certain, that our having, as it were, brought them into existence by our extensive researches, will suggest to us fresh motives of devout gratitude to the Supreme Being, for having blessed us with advantages hitherto withheld from so great a proportion of the human race; and will operate powerfully to incite us to persevere in every feasible attempt, to be his instruments in rescuing millions of fellow-creatures from their present state of humiliation. (Douglas 1784: I,1xxvi-1xxvii)

Fellow creatures they may be, but their “imperfect state of society” exhibits the quality of their “infant minds.” They are, consequently, all “poor people,” on whom the Enlightenment Children of the Sun will shine their benevolence just as, in early times, the Mediterranean world came to northern Europe’s “painted Savages” with the blessings of their civilization. Now, in Christian times, the “Providence” for which Douglas’ predecessor, Hawkesworth, could find no agency will spread blessings across the Pacific, blessings capable of “abolishing” and certain to abolish the natives’ “horrid repasts and their horrid rites.”⁶

The success of this apotheosis of imperialism and of Cook, which, if not quite articulated as such, concludes with the occasioning of a spiritual role to be played by missionaries, depends on and from “the Supreme Being” according to the Canon, soon to be Bishop, Douglas. Cook is refined into the divinely appointed agent and, subsequently, martyr for this development of a recognizable pattern of history. Douglas’ Christian charity, which permits the Phoenicians to have encountered in Britain (pre-Britain, if viewed from a Christian standpoint) inhabitants “not, perhaps, blessed with higher attainments than are possessed by the present natives” encountered by Cook, is especially poignant, for it indicates the deep sincerity of an address that is

difficult for readers today to credit. As revealing is the unity of behaviour, over the world and over the centuries, that Douglas assumes among unenlightened, uncivilized and un-Christian (probably non-Protestant) peoples. This is the crux of the imperial fiat. As Cook has “designed” to look on them all, “bestowing” favours itinerantly, he has “as it were, brought them into existence by [his]” extensive researches. An the official narrative of those researches legitimates them by inscribing them. In Douglas’ narrative, this fiat overrides all efforts at discriminations and distinctions made about different Pacific Rim peoples by Cook,⁷ whom the editor has refined, brought into being inscription. At the same time, the “official” Nootka, among others, devolve from Cook’s alert, interested, sometimes even engaged impressions of them, to another example of a homogeneous pagan society, the stuff of marketable travel writing.

It is instructive to glimpse at the legacy of Douglas’ “Liberties” with Cook’s journal. What Mr. Cook saw as Douglas created him was what future travellers looked for. In his detailed examination of unpublished Spanish accounts of the Pacific Northwest Coast in the eighteenth century, Christon I. Archer has helpfully shown that the subject of cannibalism was not mentioned by Juan Pérez or Esteban José Martínez in reports of their voyage to Nootka Sound four years before Cook’s arrival; it comes with the arrival of Douglas’ readers. Although Zimmermann and Ledyard’s influence, if not Rickman and Ellis’, must also be allowed for, Douglas’ book remained the preeminent authority, speaking in the voice of Cook: “That the illustrious Captain Cook labeled the Northwest Coast Indians was more than sufficient to convince most subsequent explorers and fur traders” (Archer 1980:462). Moreover, the Spanish reports, which did not mention the practice and were written by men, according to Archer, generally “much more favourable toward Indian society” (457), languished unpublished by a Spanish government bent on secrecy, so that “Cook’s journal [*sic*] became the authoritative handbook for al who would navigate in the North Pacific and contact the Northwest Coast inhabitants” (462).⁸ Sailors of the late eighteenth century and later looked for signs of anthropophagy, even prompting displays of it (it is not surprising that the Indians came to suspect Europeans of the practice [Archer 1980:466]). “Most travellers,” it has been argued, “who recast their daily journals for publication, and particularly those who handed their work over to a ghost writer, tended, on reflection, to add cannibalism to their accounts and to embellish the details of what they thought that they had seen” (Fisher and Bumsted 1982:17). Exceptions were the accounts written by the two “white men who lived for a considerable time with the Nootka Indians—John McKay in 1786-1787, and John Jewitt in 1803-1805” (Lamb 1984:II,553).

Thus does the transmission of a text—Cook’s journal—inform and confirm the ideologies of the home culture when it is prepared/improved/elevated for the press of that culture.⁹ Bu writing into Cook’s first person narrative at the fourth stage what he perceived to be the understandings and hopes of his age and his nation, Douglas rendered his adventurer as much a transmitter as a

discoverer. For nearly two centuries, Douglas' Nootka, not Cook's, awaited visitors to Vancouver Island.¹⁰

II

Extensive discussions of the two other works named earlier are not possible or necessary at present, but passing consideration of them will serve to indicate that Douglas' editing of Cook represents no exception in travel writing about early Canada. However, it needs to be noted parenthetically that bibliographical studies of travel writing rarely enjoy what they possess with Cook's—all four stages of a text—so that on occasion, this line of enquiry cannot be pursued.¹¹

Samuel Hearne's *Journey...to the Northern Ocean* (1795) appeared eleven years after *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, but it narrates travels made from 1769 to 1772, when Cook was completing his first and making his second voyage. Once again, the spectre of Douglas, made Bishop in 1791, looms behind the book. Forty years ago, historian Richard Glover (1951) mounted a persuasive argument for laying that spectre to rest. He refuted Second Secretary of the Admiralty John Barrow and arctic explorer John Richardson's claims that Douglas helped to prepare Hearne's journal for publication. Conclusive as Glover is, one cannot easily rule out the presence of his influence in *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*. When it is known that the infamous massacre at Bloody Fall, the climactic scene in the published narrative, went through at least three stages of composition (MacLaren 1991b) only the last of which, the book, has all the gothic horror of torture and pathos in it, it becomes difficult not to think of Douglas' introduction to his edition of Cook's *Voyage*, for all that has been quoted above from it, and particularly for its description of the Inuit as "this unhappy race" (1784:i,1xxiv). In that introduction to Cook, Douglas quotes what is apparently Hearne's journal (not his field notes¹²) concerning the fur trader's arrival at the mouth of the Coppermine River in July 1771 (1784:xlviii-1), and calls for the publication of the "written Journal." His wording recalls the four-stages theory as forcefully as ever:

The publication of this would not be an unacceptable present to the world, as it draws a plain artless picture of the savage modes of life, the scanty means of subsistence, and indeed of the singular wretchedness, in every respect, of the various tribes, who, without fixed habitations, pass their miserable lives, roving throughout the dreary deserts, and over the frozen lakes of the immense track of continent through which Mr. Hearne passed. . . .(1784:I,xlvii)

Although they travelled together for thousands of miles on three sojourns, natives roved; *Mr. Hearne* passed through.

For the present, more important than identifying of finally disproving editorial involvement by the bishop in this book (yet another posthumously-published one; Hearne died in 1793), is recognizing that the point of view exhibited in the passage quoted above appears to inform the published version, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, to a much greater extent than it does the unpublished stages of composition. In the book, no opportunity is lost to empurple scenes of violence, to insinuate barbarity, or to heap pity on “another of the families of the earth whose lot has fallen in less hospitable climates [than those enjoyed in temperate England by the temperate English]...remote from frequent intercourse with more polished nations” (Douglas 1784:I, lxxiii, lxxvii). Moreover, one recalls that this attitude, by being not Douglas' alone not also, thanks to him, the heroic Cook's, was pervasive at the end of the eighteenth century in Britain.

One example of the book's alteration of the field notes (Hearne 1791) and journal (which Douglas quotes) describes the solitary Dogrib whom the Chipewyan and Yellowknife who were guiding Hearne encountered in a small hut south of Great Slave Lake in January 1772. Whereas the field note (1791:46) and journal (Douglas 1784:I,1) regard her simply as “as fine a woman of a real Indian, as I have seen in any part of North America,” the book cannot leave this relatively unqualified praise alone, but must pester it wit pity, as well as a trite, patronizing, domestic moral: “The methods practised by this poor creature to procure a livelihood were truly admirable, and are great proofs that necessity is the real mother of invention” (Glover 1958:169). When publicly inscribed, she is bereft of the unqualified dignity accorded her in the first- and second-stage texts. Nomadic, she cannot be permitted dignity by a theory of existence that identifies her in terms of bestiality. She is, therefore, un-refined as Cook is refined, as even Hearne, who led no more polished an existence than his guides for more than two years in the Arctic, and who was never more than an “ordinary seaman” (Glover 1958:xxiii) in the British navy, is refined by Douglas into a former “officer in the Navy” (1784:I, xlvi).

That English-Canadian literary studies are transfixed by the massacre is evident from the frequency with which the fourth-stage text appears among excerpts of travel literature in anthologies, and from the treatment that it has received in subsequent works of Canadian literature, history (MacLaren 1991a) and criticism (e.g., Goldie 1989:43-46). Having made such a prominent place for this purple patch—indeed, it seems for some imaginations almost a synecdoche of the frozen North—literary and cultural traditions made by English-Canadian readers and critics (myself included [MacLaren 1984]) may not allow the massacre scene to revert to what can now be considered with relative certainty to be what Mr. Hearne saw. If this proves to be the case, the onus remains to interpret the published passage as a construct more of imperial publishing history and less of Hearne's eyewitness experience.

III

Is it equally possible that Paul Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* will not lose its popular place in English-Canadian cultural expression. The book is quite frequently quoted in prominent displays both in the documentation in interpretive centres of Western Canadian historic sites and parks, and in captions for his oil paintings (frequently reproduced in public venues and publications) of mid-nineteenth-century scenes and Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory. The relation, however, is a distant one between what Kane saw and wrote in his field notes (MacLaren 1989:23-62) during his transcontinental trip between 1846 and 1848, and what appears in *Wanderings* (1925), which was published in London in 1859, eleven years after his travels ended back in Toronto.

What is certain is that Kane could not have mastered enough style to produce even the second-stage (journal) or the third-stage (draft manuscript for a book) text, let alone author the book himself. That being the case, the Irish-born British North American traveller lacked the power to inscribe the wilderness, the power that any reader at the imperial centre would naturally have expected him, as a published author, to possess and wield. Although it exemplifies by no means the widest discrepancy between the field notes and the book, the account of a Cowichan medical cure from the first- and fourth-stage narratives at least registers the stylistic discrepancies between Kane's writing and that of the unknown person or persons who prepared the book. It needs to be known that, at other points, the book displays the Victorian era's paradox of, on the one hand, unmitigated disdain for Indian manners and customs, and, on the other, a genuine fascination for knowledge of them (MacLaren 1989:14-16).¹³ In the Cowichan account it may be seen that the event recorded by Kane in his field notes is faithfully given by the book; Kane witnessed the cure performed at a village near Sooke, which his field note spells as "Suck," on Vancouver Island in May or June 1847. But the two stages of the narrative go very differently about "cloathing" the facts, to remember Douglas' term for stylistic alterations. In the interest of comprehension (for the field notes are an acquired sight), the passage from the book is given first:

About 10 o'clock at night I strolled through the village, and on hearing a great noise in one of the lodges I entered it, and found an old woman supporting one of the handsomest Indian girls I had even [*sic*] seen. She was in a state of nudity. Cross-legged and naked, in the middle of the room sat the medicine-man, with a wooden dish of water before him; twelve or fifteen other men were sitting round the lodge. The object in view was to cure the girl of a disease affecting her side. As soon as my presence was noticed a space was cleared for me to sit down. The officiating medicine-man appeared in a state of profuse perspiration from the exertions he had used, and soon took his seat among the rest as if quite exhausted; a younger medicine man

then took his place in front of the bowl, and close beside the patient. Throwing off his blanket he commenced singing and gesticulating in the most violent manner, whilst the other kept time by beating with little sticks on hollow wooden bowls and drums, singing continually. After exercising himself in this manner for about half an hour, until the perspiration ran down his body, he darted suddenly upon the young woman, catching hold of her side with his teeth and shaking her for a few minutes, while the patient seemed to suffer great agony. He then relinquished his hold, and cried out he had got it, at the same time holding his hands to his mouth; after which he plunged them in the water and pretended to hold down with great difficulty the disease which he had extracted, lest it might spring out and return to its victim.

At length, having obtained the mastery over it, he turned round to me in an exulting manner, and held something between the finger and thumb of each hand, which had the appearance of a piece of cartilage, whereupon one of the Indians sharpened his knife, and divided it in two, leaving one end in each hand. One of the pieces he threw into the water, and the other into the fire, accompanying the action with a diabolical noise, which none but a medicine-man can make. After which he got up perfectly satisfied with himself, although the poor patient seemed to be anything but relieved by the violent treatment she had undergone. (Kane 1925:156-157)

...camped at an Indan Cawa Chin vilage I here witnessed a strange site it was 2 medison men extracting the disese from a young womoan that was sick the woman was seported by a her mother the oaldest medison man was gowing thru minspulations when I entered. He had a dish of water before him which after axtracting the disese he plased in the water after about an ours singing he gave up from fetege the young man thru off his blancit and plased himself before the dish and made rume for me that I mite see the hole of the performance he then comenced jestulating in a most strange manner singing all the time while the rest cipt time by beating sticks on a hollow substance such as a wooden dish after exerciseing himseflf untill the pesperiation ran down his boddy he made a spring at the young woman and cetching her side with his teath and shakeing her as I have seen one dog shake an other he then let go and sade he had got it. he blew into his hand and plased them in the water howlding it down for feere it mite jump out he then cot the disese with boath hands howlding it betwene the thumb and finger of eatch hand and held it up for me to see it looked a pese of grissal then one of the Indans sharpenad a knife and cut it in too a pese in eatch hand he thru 1 pece and then the other in the fire. (MacLaren 1989:38)

Kane certainly loved adventure and spelling was a bold one for him.

The field note provides the unclothed, unrefined ethnographic observation, made from Kane's perspective and within his linguistic limitations, but not filtered through convention for public consumption by the English reading public. What Mr. Kane saw was not what the reader only of his book sees. Throughout *Wanderings*, Kane is presented as an English gentleman on a painting tour of, not the wilderness so much as "the Hundson's Bay Company's Territory" (subtitle). It is as if this territory were the company's private syndicate. Just as Lord Sandwich had commissioned Douglas to officiate over the publications of Cook's journals, Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, advised Kane on how to proceed with publication of a narrative of his travels in the company usually of HBC brigades. Moreover, *Wanderings*, being the first book about the entire Northwest of British North America not written by a fur trader, could be seen to provide an objective account of matters in the very month (March 1859) when the HBC was struggling with the British Parliament to have its exclusive charter renewed yet again. Thus, it was in many people's interest that the book present matters properly. In terms of narration, this meant, following the Cook/Douglas example, refining the persona of Kane from his own, rough-and-ready bohemian character, one that was content actually to camp in an Indian village, into that of an English gentleman who is met by the reader of the book while taking an evening stroll through the Cowachin village. Thereby, the authority of his observations, which included, as Kane's field note did not, a glowing portrait of the HBC's treatment of Indians and Métis (Kane 1925:65-66), appears unimpeachable, correct, proper.

As "strolling through space" connotes, in the way that mere "walking" does not, a sense of control, and, if not domination, then at least ease amidst it,¹⁴ the persona of the book also is sufficiently at ease in what might be expected to be foreign territory to think nothing of entering the lodge of the Cowichan uninvited: why, the text implicitly asks, would they mind a gentleman's presence? Leaving off his sketching for the day, his curiosity leads him to take his ease at the quaint village. Once he has entered, he conventionally remarks the invalid girl's beauty and nudity, not that either requires notice or explains the noise that drew him inside. Her beauty appears to have nothing at all to do with the medicine-men's practice, and seems all the more gratuitously mentioned because it has no basis in the field note. Still, this inclusion is not surprising: the gaze, perhaps all the more in the narrative ostensibly written by a painter, is a paramount source of the titillation that generated and attended many early ethnographies. Ethnography is as much an entertainment as an empirical enquiry for this and many other travellers. For that reason "the object in view," words that only the book uses, signify more than they mean.

"As soon as [his] presence was noticed" the naked medicine man and the other people halt their operation (as no surgeon would) and a space "is cleared"—the passive construction of the published version would make a worthwhile study

in its own right for its effect of keeping the reader's attention on the gentleman and, because their agency need not be acknowledged by the passive, off the Cowichan. By contrast only the accommodation, not the halt in proceedings, is mentioned in the field note. Even at that, the accommodation does not occur right away but in due course, and not automatically because of who Kane is but because the younger medicine man wants Kane to see the medicine being worked. The younger medicine man of the book then shows off, all but gloats over his success, as if the gentleman's presence makes the cure even harder to effect and even more triumphant an achievement. The field note, by having no corresponding passage, does not take notice of Kane; Kane is not its point. The authority of the visitor is not emphasized nor does the custom take on significance in the field note only because the visitor is present to observe and inscribe it.

In the book, as not in the note, the medicine man "pretended," uttered a "diabolical noise," and "got up perfectly satisfied with himself". The Kane of the first-stage text makes no claim to authority, as the gentleman of the fourth-stage text does in qualifying the "diabolical noise, which none but a medicine-man can make." Only the urbane traveller, diverted on many similar occasions, can make the assertion. Coincidentally, his qualification strips the uniqueness from the Cowichan custom, aligning it with customs practised wherever *the* universal medicine man (like *the* wild man) appears. Finally, the field note contains no mention again of the ailing girl, whom the published account describes initially and conventionally in terms of beauty and nakedness, and latterly and conventionally in terms of pity ("poor"), if only of the Victorian clinical sort ("patient"). It seems that the ceremony cannot conclude until it has been judged a failure—to the gentleman, the girl appears "anything but relieved"—yet, the reader gains this impression easily because the scene (as are many others in the book) is narrated as though it had occurred for his diversion. Generally, the published Cowichan diminish in stature, seen publicly through the eyes of an amused, entertained, patronizing gentleman rather than an engaged, fitfully articulate, unpretentious individual.

More might be observed about the considerable discrepancy between these two stages of the narrative (there is, as well, a third-stage version: a draft manuscript in an unknown hand), but it will perhaps suffice for the present occasion to repeat that the book's elevation of character, style and tone serves to augment the hierarchical difference between the levels of civilization being represented. The field-note Kane stands apart from such schemes. While the subliminal allusion to cannibalism that the published account emphasizes would not have been lost on the reader familiar with the first published account about native peoples on Vancouver Island (Douglas 1784) and may have been known to Kane's editor, whoever it was, it seems less likely that Kane himself was aware of it. For that reason, many of his ethnographic notes offer considerably less conventional perspectives on the people whom he met and sketched in the course of his travels. They have, like his field sketches, qualities not found in his public works—either the book or his large oil

paintings made in his Toronto studio. Thus, to continue to rely on those paintings and the text of the book in representations of modern Canada's cultural understanding of the past begs the question of our understanding of contemporary cultural identity.

IV

Paul Fussell had other aspects of travel in mind when he introduced *The Norton Book of Travel* by observing that "travel at its truest...is an ironic experience: (1987:14). Studying the complexities of travel writings as they evolve from field notes into books, as the travellers evolve, in however roundabout ways and if only once, into authors seems no less ironic. What do travellers see? Mary Campbell discusses the fact that there are extant 120 manuscripts of Marco Polo's *Travels*, all of them different, all of them authentic. It is probably too late to determine what Marco Polo saw, but it is not too late, especially in this year of Columbus and Vancouver anniversaries, to see that the different stages of the literature of exploration and travel about early Canada, by serving different purposes and audiences, deserve careful study and interpretation. As long as the beguiling question of authorship remains a paramount one, the most suitable practice, however idealistic, is the editing of parallel or variorum editions of narratives. These would permit convenient and encourage careful comparisons among stages of an account where they have survived. Such studies would bring into sharper focus how and what early travellers saw and how we variously read their words.

Notes

* I wish to thank Eva-Marie Kröller for the invitation to read an earlier version of this paper as the keynote address at "Travel Discourse and the Pacific Rim," sponsored by the Program in Comparative Literature, University of British Columbia, and the David Lam Centre, Simon Fraser University, March 1991. As well, I wish to thank Robin Fisher, Simon Fraser University, for responding to a revised version. Research for this paper was facilitated measurably by the indispensable sources available through the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, and the invariably reliable *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

1. Clearly, this tendency has been changing rapidly in the last two decades, because, as Clifford Geertz states, "The end of colonialism altered radically the nature of the social relationship between those who ask and look and those who are asked and looked at" (1986:131). See also, for example, Cheyfitz (1991), Clifford (1988), Greenblatt (1976, 1991), Pratt (1985, 1986), Porter (1991), Said (1978), Sanjek (1990), Todorov (1985) and White (1972, 1976).
2. J.C. Beaglehole's edition (1955-1974:III.1) is of Cook's last journal, which is to say, a second-stage narrative written by him retrospectively and, therefore, in the past tense, from an initial set of notes which are called "Log and Proceedings." This first-stage narrative exists only in a clerk's hand (Beaglehole:III,1,clxxiv) and, although not printed by Beaglehole and the Hakluyt Society, is quoted in their edition's annotations whenever Beaglehole judges its details as substantively different from the journal's. Beaglehole concludes from his studies that differences do not often occur (III.1,clxxv). Cook's journal ends at an entry for 17 January 1779, four weeks before his death; otherwise, there are no indications of the frequency with which he re-wrote log entries into a second-stage narrative

(the journal). Beaglehole suggests that Cook “set out deliberately” in his journal “to write a book—or at least an account of the voyage that would need the minimum of editing by another hand, or of rewriting by his own, before it appeared as a book” (III.1,clxii). This view is instructive in two ways: in light of the fact that Cook, having seen what Douglas had done with at least a portion of his second voyage’s journal (he was at sea on his third voyage by the time *A Voyage towards the South Pole* was published in May 1777), perhaps knew better how to prepare his journal so as to minimize the need for alterations later; and in light of the fact that Douglas, by his own admission, nevertheless took “more Liberties” with this journal than with the former.

Douglas did so not only by “enriching” (Douglas 1784:I,lxxviii) Cook’s journal with a “great use” (Beaglehole:III.1,cci) of details from the deceased surgeon William Anderson’s journal (the portion of which covering the weeks spent in Nootka Sound is now unfortunately lost [Beaglehole:III.1,cxc]), but also by clarifying Cook’s journal, sometimes after consulting Captain James King (Douglas 1784:I,lxxxiv), sometimes by introducing passages of his own, “in which the original text seems merely a springboard” (Beaglehole:III.1,cc).

The third-stage narrative, being Douglas “MS of his transformed Cook [,] is in the British Museum (apparently the copy that went to the printer), Egerton MSS 2178-9, and a comparison of this with the printed text [i.e., the fourth-stage narrative] shows a large number of steps of elevation” (Beaglehole:III.1,cci). The MS also indicates that some of the “great use” which Douglas made of Anderson’s journal relates to the latter two of the three chapters in *A Voyage* that pertain to Nootka Sound (Beaglehole III.1,cci). Because of the loss, since Douglas’ use of it, of that journal’s Nootka Sound portion, it is impossible to know which of the segments of Book IV Chapters II and III, the Nootka Sound sections of *A Voyage* (Douglas 1784:II,288-340), that are *not* from Cook’s journal, are pure Douglas and which originate in Anderson’s journal; thus, the subsequent discussion confines itself to the portion of Douglas’ edition (II,265-87; i.e., in the published version’s second volume, the end of Book III and first chapter of Book IV) for which there is a corresponding version in Cook’s journal.

3. In 1785, the second edition of *A Voyage*, “Being,” its title page assures the reader, “a copious, comprehensive, and satisfactory Abridgement of the Voyage written by Captain James Cook...,” further emphasizes this passage by beginning a new paragraph at “But the most...” (Douglas 1785:title page; II,211).
The discrepancy between Cook’s journal and Douglas’ edition on this matter is noted by Fisher and Bumsted (1982:223n).
4. John Ledyard’s account published in 1783, must also have given Douglas pause, if for a different reason. Ledyard, colonel of marines on the *Resolution*, who “believed in the Noble Savage” (Munford 1963:xl), did not call the Nootka cannibals and perhaps would not have regarded anthropophagy with horror. He likely withered Douglas with his views and report, first by calling “all uncivilized men...hospitable,” then by tasting some flesh when it was offered to him (1783:83).
5. Mary Helms (1988:39-40,180) argues convincingly that European societies were not alone; most cultures throughout the world reasoned that people who arrived from remote distances or encountered in remote places were likely cannibals. Thus may Europeans have been viewed by the traditional societies they encountered in the Americas and the Pacific Rim.
6. The introduction to the abridged edition alters the adjective from “horrid” to “abominable” (Douglas 1785:I,viii).
7. This totalization is repeated in one of the chapters about Nootka Sound for which Douglas must have used Anderson’s journal extensively: “Though there be but too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilized man, in every age; and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity” (1784:II,309). The parallel portion of Cook’s journal provides no basis for this passage, but it is worth recalling that one of the purposes of travel writing, as enunciated by Samuel Johnson and Hawkesworth in the second half of the eighteenth century, was to discover the unity that pervaded existence beyond one’s familiar world, and to appreciate through comparisons how different peoples related to one another and differed from oneself. (*See*, for example,

- Abbott 1982:187). One further point in qualification of Douglas' views is that, unenlightened as he appears from the remarks quoted here and above, he "was before his time in directing attention to the ethnographic collections of the British Museum and the Leverian on the grounds that 'the novelties of the Society or Sandwich Islands seem better calculated to engage the attention of the studious in our times, than the antiquities, which exhibit proofs of Roman magnificence'" (Marshall and Williams 1982:59). Needless to say, however, Douglas remained far from appreciating the cultures of traditional societies, or even recognizing that the arrival of Europeans amidst them disturbed anything other than lives of barbarity and humiliation. On the investigation of Cook's interaction with natives, and, particularly, the possibility that his death formed part of his role, unwittingly entered into, in a Hawaiian cultural myth, see Sahlins 1981; 1985:104-135.
8. It may be that Spanish voyagers to Nootka know Douglas' *Voyage* in its French translation, made by Jean-Nicolas Démeunier (Beddie 1970:302-303) and published in Paris in 1785. (Démeunier would be Vancouver's translator, and had been for Phipps, Brydone, Woods, Cox, and others [Michaud 1966:X,525-526].) Royal censor during the *Ancien Régime* (D'Amat and Limouzin-Lamothe 1965:X,987), Démeunier provided faithful translations of the introduction's and Nootkan chapters' references to cannibalism (Démeunier 1785:I,xlcc;V,38). As to censorship, it is interesting to note that his translation of Douglas' introduction ascribes none of the progress of civilization to "Providence" or a "Supreme Being"; neither is included in any way. As to the allegation of anthropophagy, however, Démeunier is, of anything, more certain than Douglas, who provides "this circumstance" (i.e., of the roasted appearance of the flesh) as his evidence, whereas Démeunier claims "*plusieurs raisons*," although he does not elaborate.
 9. Generally on this topic of the transmission of texts, although without reference to travel literature, see McKenzie 1986.
 10. It would be a problem to overestimate how difficult it is to emerge out from under the burden imposed by the authority of such longevity. The august Beaglehole himself only confuses matters, rather than setting them straight. After "human skulls and hands" in his edition of Cook's journal, he opens a note and quotes Cook's "Log and Proceedings" for 1 April, that is, two days later: "One man offered to barter a child about five or six years of age for a spike-nail; I am satisfied we did not mistake his intention" (Beaglehole:II.1,297). His intention, thought King, as has been seen, was to sell a slave. By unchronologically juxtaposing this log entry against "human skulls and hands," Beaglehole tacitly implies—or, at least I infer as much—that the intention was cannibalism, not slavery. It appears as if, like Douglas, Beaglehole will not be satisfied with Cook's brevity and enigmatic inconclusiveness, even if his note proceeds to cite other officers' collectively inconclusive views. He tips his editorial hand later, in his biography, where he uses a more extreme adjective than Cook ever employed to describe the Nootka: "savage and nasty, then, in some respects their life" (IV,587).
 11. A notable example is George Vancouver's posthumously-published *Voyage of Discovery* (1798), for only the book itself, the fourth-stage narrative, appears to have survived. This his modern editor has termed "a revised version of George Vancouver's own journals" (Lamb 1984:I,257). It is tenaciously informative and unentertaining, apparently just as he planned it (Vancouver 1798:I,xxix; Lamb 1984:I,244). Perhaps he was determined to have his readers see as he saw what he saw. It is known that he did not approve of the literary fate suffered by Cook, his late captain (Vancouver 1798:III,193-194; Beaglehole:III.1,357n), and wanted to ensure that he controlled the fate of his own words. John Vancouver saw the book through the press, and never returned his brother's journal to the Admiralty (Lamb 1984:I,257).
 12. Few portions of Hearne's journal (second-stage narrative) survive. The massacre scene from what *appears* to be Hearne's journal was excerpted by another fur trader, Andrew Graham, in his *Observations*, which were published for the first time only two decades ago (Williams 1969:196-200). The qualification, *appears*, is required because the excerpt survives only in Graham's hand. As well, it *appears* to be Hearne's journal that Douglas quotes in his introduction to Cook's *Voyage*. The two excerpts in his introduction relate closely, without being identical, to Hearne's field notes (1791:29-30, 44-46), but do not contain some of the amplifications found in the book, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort* (Glover 1958:104-106, 168-170). A detailed comparison of the massacre scenes in the first, second, and fourth

- stages, and of gothic fiction that came of age at the time of the book's publication (1795) in England, if offered in MacLaren 1991b, where the field note is also quoted in full (30-32).
13. On the Victorian fascination, see the excellent discussion by Brian W. Dippie (1990:97-155) of the response to exhibitions of Indian life that were mounted in England during the 1840s by American artist George Catlin.
 14. The same might be said of the effect that *wanderings* through wilderness has in the book's title. Kane does not use this word when writing of his travels in his field notes.

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James P. Hull

The Canadianization of Technical Knowledge: The Case of the Pulp and Paper Industry, 1913-1939

Abstract

Prior to World War One, the Canadian pulp and paper industry relied heavily on European technology, and its mills were staffed by European-trained personnel. Over the next two decades, while technical contacts with Europe did not cease, the industry became both more Canadian and North American. As early as the mid-1920s, Canada began exerting an influence on European technical developments, even as integration with the United States' pulp and paper industry continued.

Résumé

Avant la guerre de 1914-1918, l'industrie canadienne des pâtes et papiers était largement tributaire de la technologie européenne, et ses usines employaient un personnel technique formé en Europe. Dans les deux décennies suivantes, tout en continuant de s'intéresser à la technique européenne, l'industrie s'est progressivement canadienisée et américanisée. Dès le milieu des années 1920, le Canada s'est mis à influencer l'évolution technique européenne, même si l'intégration de son industrie des pâtes et papiers à celle des États-Unis se poursuivait.

Introduction

The “colony to nation to colony” view of Canadian history attributes this country’s great tragedy and great failure to its relationship with dominant imperial powers. Canada freed itself of the British Empire not to become an independent nation, but to be drawn into the American “Empire.” Proof, if required, is not difficult to find. Historical statistics have measured such things as commodity flows (such as the shift from square timber for the U.K. to sawn lumber for the U.S.), and flows of investment (from British portfolio to U.S. direct). The once prominent English-Canadian ideology of imperialist nationalism has been submerged not so much by a more authentic nationalism, but by “Cocacolonization” and the general homogenization of North American mass culture. If successive waves of European immigration have ensured that many Canadians have recent ties to that continent, social and cultural links with the United States are, as Goldwin Smith would remind us, no recent nor superficial phenomenon. Canadian troops fight with U.S. weapons in British formations. Indeed, Canadians sometimes accept that if

they exist as a people it is as a hybrid cowering in the interstices of the North Atlantic triangle — as the celebrated orthographic compromise “tire centre” symbolizes. This outline is so familiar that it has proved less interesting to fill in the details than to contemplate the implications for a Canadian identity and autonomy.

What does the history of science and technology have to tell us about these issues? Regrettably, in Canada, this discipline has not generally been recognized for the truly synthesizing and integrative endeavour it is, but is rather ghettoized and neglected as an obscure sub-speciality. This is unfortunate because a study of Canada’s scientific and technological history can often enrich our understanding of larger matters (Traves, 1979, 19).

A few scholars in this field have directly taken up the question of Canada’s place between Europe and the United States. They have explored such varied topics as geomagnetism (Good, 1986), locomotive design (Sinclair, 1979), radio (Canuel, 1985-6), surveying (Passfield, 1983) and natural history (Zeller, 1987; Waiser, 1989). This paper will make a similar contribution, looking at the pulp and paper industry during its explosive early twentieth-century growth. During that period, Canada stopped receiving much of its industrial technology from Europe and came largely to share a common North American, and of course U.S.-dominated, technology. But a teeter-totter model of de-Europeanization and Americanization, the one declining in proportion to and because of the other’s rise, is a misleading simplification. One influence did not simply replace another. Rather, the process should be seen as the confluence of a number of streams of development, each flowing in its own channel from its own source.

Transfer and Adaption

A New Industry — An Industry Renewed

Papermaking by machine traces its origin back to the 1799 invention by the Frenchman N.L. Robert. He took his creation to England, where it was exploited and improved by the Fourdrinier family’s stationery firm. When the firm took out its first patent in 1806, it not only launched the Fourdrinier machine but also lent the family name to successive generations of the basic mechanical device used in papermaking.

The first paper mill in Canada was built in St. Andrews, Lower Canada, in 1804.¹ Other early mills, directly applying now familiar European technology, appeared in Portneuf Co., L.C. (1810); Bedford Basin, N.S. (1819); and, in Upper Canada, West Flamboro Twp., and on the Don River near Toronto (both 1826). That technology had been brought to Canada and applied by English, Scottish, German and American entrepreneurs and workmen. Like all early paper mills, these Canadian enterprises obtained their

raw material by recycling textile scraps. Apparently, the two Upper Canadian paper mills, in competition with one at Rochester, N.Y., had to scour the colony for a sufficient supply of rags.

By 1850, the rag supply problem had reached crisis proportions. The exploitation of straw and esparto grass represented a stop-gap measure only. The basis of a solution came in 1843 when Saxony-born F.G. Keller invented the technique of mechanically grinding wood pulp with a revolving stone. Commercial use followed in the next decade, beginning first in Germany and spreading to Canada by the 1860s. Unfortunately mechanical pulp alone produced inferior paper. Rags, supplemented by other vegetable fibres, remained a major raw material requirement.

Neither new materials nor fundamental mechanical improvements, both products of the first industrial revolution, sufficed. Rather, the second industrial revolution provided an answer based on chemistry. Soda (alkali) pulp first appeared in the 1850s, but gained slow acceptance, being used initially as a filler with other types of pulp. Within thirty years, however, sulphite pulping became the most important chemical process in the industry. Assigning priority for its invention and commercial application is difficult, since a number of people worked on the same problems, but the efforts of B.C. Tilghman in Philadelphia during 1866-1867 usually receive special note. Credit for the first commercial application traditionally goes to the Swedish pulp mill in the first half of the 1870s. Finally, the substitution of sodium sulphate for soda ash by Danzig engineer C.F. Dahl, in 1879, which he patented in 1884, completed the basic trio of chemical pulping methods. The concurrent development of bleaching techniques to produce paper of a satisfactory whiteness completed all of the fundamental work in the chemistry of pulp production by the middle of the 1880s, though rags still constituted 40% of the basic raw material supply for newsprint. The conversion of an old rag mill in Canada to woodpulp production in 1897 signalled both the ultimate triumph of the new technology and exponentially rising demand for Canadian paper products.

The principal source of that demand was the United States, with its growing urban population, rising literacy and new mass-marketing techniques based on printed advertising. Dwindling American stands of spruce and hemlock made the alternative of Canadian spruce and balsam irresistible. In the thirty year window of opportunity before the development of appropriate techniques for pulping Southern pine species, Canada's pulp and paper industry grew to become the country's largest manufacturing industry and largest export earner, and dominated the world's newsprint trade. Disputes over the relative importance of market forces versus government policy have most attracted historians of the industry, but science and technology, too, played a central role.

While the technology of pulping and papermaking saw no dramatic breakthroughs in the early twentieth century, a host of small, incremental improvements combined to produce a dramatic transformation.² A no less dramatic change occurred in the institutional structure of industry science and technology. Scientists and engineers recognized the inadequacy of both the industry's knowledge base and the procedures for creating, disseminating and bringing that knowledge to the point of production. In the 1950s, the first two university-trained chemists to have worked in Canadian pulp and paper mills reflected back on the changes in which they had participated (Crossley, May 1953; De Cew, May 1953). Crossley came from a pulp and paper family, his father had been the manager at Grand-Mère (Quebec) for the Laurentide Pulp Co. Linsey Crossley became a chemist with the Riordon Paper Co. in Hawkesbury, Eastern Ontario, in 1901. In his first laboratory, an 8 x 10 foot space, he performed acid testing, designed equipment and carried out similar duties. Other technical experts included a Québécois acid maker, a Swedish lead burner and European-trained cooks. De Cew, first employed as a chemist in 1901 at the Canada Paper Co. in Windsor Mills, Quebec, had studied cellulose chemistry at the School of Practical Science in Toronto. His early duties included aiding in the purchase of such raw materials as dyes and clays and testing paper for such qualities as sizing, tear strength, colour and uniformity. He had a young Norwegian chemist as his first assistant.

De Cew, Crossley and other early chemists recount the hostility, non-cooperation and obstruction which they met in the mills. The skilled craftsmen there closely guarded their practical knowledge, gained over many years on the job, and often literally spoke a different language. Crossley described the transformation of this situation in a fine piece of imagery when he wrote: "Into the quiet valley of personal craftsmanship came a slow moving landslide of wood-pulp, speed-up and demand," which required both newly-trained technical personnel and the diffusion of new knowledge about the processes of pulping and papermaking.

Crossley had identified the crucial elements in motivating change — the need to understand new raw materials, demand and higher rates of throughput. The different mix of species in the forests of Europe and North America had already constrained the transfer of European technology, most notably the kraft (sulphate) process of pulping (Cohen, 1987). The Canadian forests themselves differed from those in the United States, being particularly suited for a particular mix of techniques and outputs and allowing for at least the claim of product differentiation. The pulp and paper industry took perennial interest in the suitability of different species of trees for pulping or, conversely, the development of pulping techniques for different species. B.E. Fernow, Dean of Forestry at the University of Toronto, pioneered the investigation into the use of balsam (or balsam fir) as a supplement to spruce in pulping. Balsam, more prevalent in Canadian forests than those of the United States, made this a more pressing research problem north of the border. Thanks to the work of

Fernow and many others, the percentage of balsam used in pulping roughly doubled between the turn of the century and World War I.³

Rising demand and increased throughput are closely linked. The demand for vastly increased output, for higher quality and for more specialized products provided the principal motivation for technical change. Increased throughput required a much more uniform pulp and thus much deeper understanding of the pulping process, leading to greater control over it, as with many other industrial processes. Similarly, production of the range and quality of products now demanded needed new means for generating and using knowledge. The change from batch to continuous flow processes required a much more sophisticated understanding of what went on inside pressure vessels, grinders and other equipment (Sturchio, 1981, 85). Maintaining high rates of throughput and at least semi-continuous flow production was a key to maintaining the kind of operating ratios needed to pay off the enormous fixed charges on the capital invested in new physical plant of tremendous technological sophistication which characterized the Canadian newsprint industry (Chandler, 1977, 240-257).

A National Challenge

At least some observers saw the issue specifically in terms of Canada's need to liberate itself from European technological dominance, or at least to catch up with European technological superiority. The giant shadow of Germany loomed over all industrial science.⁴ Starting around 1850, a new role for science emerged there, with the application of organic chemistry to industry, agriculture and medicine, and the rise of a solidly-based applied science. The industrial research laboratory originated in the German organic chemical industry. German models introduced research orientation, the Ph.D., etc. to the universities of other countries. The German "Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt" provided the model for subsequent national laboratories including the British National Physical Laboratory, the U.S. Bureau of Standards and the Canadian National Research Council laboratories. Historians of science have long recognized the importance of the German dye industry in placing the control of industrial processes in the hands of chemists. That industry, starting in the mid-1860s, began replacing traditional *Meisters* with more formally educated foremen. First came the graduates of vocational schools and then academically trained chemists. The crises of World War I reinforced these lessons, with Canada and other allied powers both confronted by the might of German industrial science and cut off from its products.

Even before the war, in 1913, Crossley made a call for a Canadian bureau of chemistry as a coordinating body for chemical research in Canada (Crossley, 1913). Canada, he warned, could not continue skimming off the results of other countries' national research laboratories. Neither private consulting and analytical laboratories nor the universities provided an adequate institutional

setting for the development of new processes for industry. He argued that standardization, the development of Canadian technical personnel and the importance of international markets all demanded a national effort and government involvement. He had made a similar argument to the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Outlining his views in a letter to the editor of the *Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada* (PPMC), Crossley noted that millions of dollars of pulp and paper were exported from Canada annually, manufactured by highly complex, not well-understood chemical processes. He pointed out that both Germany and England had technical schools for papermaking and called for support for such institutions in Canada. Crossley had experienced frustration in attempting to sell pulp and paper capitalists on his ideas, he sarcastically remarked that:

it may come as a mild surprise to some paper and pulp manufacturers that a study of mathematics, chemistry and physics is a necessary groundwork for practical paper making, and because this is so we find that buyers of the best classes of goods in the paper trade have to buy them in Europe, where it is considered necessary to pay attention to technical detail in the making of paper. (Crossley, 1910)

Harold Hibbert, later head of McGill's cellulose chemistry and pulp and paper research program, identified the need for a comprehensive, English-language scientific textbook on cellulose, along with endowed university chairs of cellulose chemistry and scholarships for cellulose study. Cellulose research took place principally in Europe, while industry contributed almost nothing. He urged firms to publish results, a crucial point (Hibbert, 1920). Stevens notes the importance attached to cellulose by the pulp and paper industry in Canada, especially by European technical men interested in high-quality dissolving pulp (alpha cellulose). They "believed that this was where the industry's future profitability lay" and thus cloaked this area of investigation in an unusual degree of secrecy (Stevens, 1984). In fact, the growing willingness of Canadian industry generally, and the pulp and paper industry particularly, to place research results and other proprietary technical information within the public domain became a major strength (Hull, 1990-91).

North American industrial practices were generally and correctly perceived as more wasteful of wood than European practices. European-trained foresters contributed to better management of the standing resources, while European-trained technical personnel helped make processing more efficient. As one of his first problems after he joined the Riordon Co. in 1903, C.B. Thorne investigated the handling and preparation of wood for the pulp mill (Wang, 1948). Among the results of his studies was the development of an improved log barking machine. Around the turn of the century, Europe still developed the good analytical testing procedures for improved raw materials purchasing and process control. This is of special importance since those types of activities often first brought a chemist into a pulp mill.

In a November 1905 article on chemical inspection in industry, Judson De Cew, then with the Standard Inspection Bureau of Toronto, made a wide-ranging plea for increased attention to chemistry by industry. The chemical profession he insisted was “an important one in those countries where science and industry are now found working hand in hand in the production of progress and profits.” De Cew told Canadian manufacturers that they should not fear competition from other Canadian firms in their industry, but competition from abroad. To meet the challenge of more technically advanced European competition, Canadian firms would themselves have to make a greater commitment to scientific methods (De Cew, 1905).

The theme of a more highly advanced Europe was an oft-sounded one. The Head of the McGill chemistry laboratories, Professor Ruttan, in testimony before a parliamentary committee investigating scientific and industrial research stated that Canada “cannot compete in the export trade with the highest grade of pulp made in English and Sweden” nor with Norway and the United States for either pulp or paper. He attributed this to the inability of Canadian mills to recruit university-trained pulp and paper scientists.⁵

Finally, the industry, because it was not in Europe, had different technical needs than Europe. That is, technological transfer is not a simple matter of taking hardware or even knowledge from one place and bringing it to another. The process of adaption to new circumstances, including both the physical environment and market situations, is a more complex and far more creative process. The question of different species of trees represented only one dimension, albeit an important one, of the problem. For instance, in North America, with cheap Gulf Coast sulphur, the sulphur dioxide is prepared by roasting metallic sulphides in air. Canada used imported china clay as a filler in papermaking. Research investigated whether talc from the area of Madoc, Ontario, could be used as a substitute. Paper makers held North American talc to be inferior as a filler, with some cause, due to poor preparation of the material. A similar story can be told with respect to Canadian magnesite. Many of a pulp or paper mill’s technical problems are extremely site-specific. Each pulp mill was unique in the wood it used, its Fourdrinier machine was custom-designed, impurities in the water supply were different, even demand for its output was likely unique. The day to day solution of such problems demanded more than transferred technology; it demanded made-in-Canada solutions (Hull, 1985, 333-388).

Growth and Integration

Building a National Infrastructure

During the first third of the twentieth century, the Canadian pulp and paper industry created a host of institutions to manage technical knowledge. While

this process can be seen as a process of liberation from reliance on transferred European technology, the reality is more ambiguous.

The first important event was the founding of the *Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada* in 1903 (Stephenson, 1953). Like other periodicals of the Biggar Press, it provided a mix of technical and commercial information. Not only did it record many of the events in the evolution of the technical side of the Canadian pulp and paper industry, it was an important factor in those changes. Most obviously, this is reflected in *PPMC*'s role as a vehicle for the dissemination of information. As well, the magazine and its editors pressed incessantly for more science and better science in the industry. Successive editors — E.B. Biggar, A.G. McIntyre, Roy L. Campbell and J.N. Stephenson — were major figures in the movement for scientific and industrial research. Hardly an issue of the magazine did not contain an editorial or article boosting science.

Perhaps the single most important new institution was the Forest Products Laboratories of Canada (FPL) founded in 1913 as part of the Forestry Branch of the Department of the Interior (Hull, 1983). Located in Montreal at McGill University, the FPL found direct inspiration in name, structure and programme in the United States Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wisconsin. The first superintendent of the FPL, A.G. McIntyre, stopped off in New York in January 1914 on his way back from the annual convention of the American Wood Preservers' Association, to talk with the president of the American Paper and Pulp Association about experimental laboratories and what the USFPL was not doing which the industry would like to see done. As early as 1916, the advisory committee to the FPL suggested the possibility of a pulp and paper school at McGill, undoubtedly inspired by the new pulp and paper school at the University of Maine, which FPL pulp and paper division scientist O.F. Bryant had visited in May. A 1919 memorandum on the topic from Frank D. Adams looked towards cooperation between the FPL and McGill to establish such a school, and made specific reference to university-level courses in pulp and paper at four U.S. universities.⁶

The early technical staff of the FPL forms an interesting study (Bryant, 1917). A group of young men just starting out on their careers, most were engineers who knew something about wood and something about chemistry. Likely, most met at least one of his future coworkers in university. All were North American-educated at a time when skilled European workmen still held sway in Canadian mills. Significantly, few of the FPL staff themselves had much practical experience of actual papermaking in a mill.

While the FPL had a particular mandate to serve the Canadian pulp and paper industry, it quite early established a sufficiently good reputation to attract the attention of pulp and paper interests worldwide. One of the earliest visitors to the FPL was the Swedish Consul in Montreal, someone with a more than passing interest in the international competitiveness of the Canadian newsprint

industry. The record of technical inquiries from outside sources handled by the pulp and paper division of the FPL tells an interesting story (Table One). Not only did the FPL handle a considerable number of foreign inquiries, mostly European and U.S., the percentage of such requests rose. While open to other interpretations, these data seem to suggest that Canadian-produced technical knowledge and the capacity of the Canadian pulp and paper research infrastructure rose relative to that elsewhere. The absolute number of inquiries also quadrupled from the 1915-1927 period to 1927-1939.

One of the most important institutional evolutions of this period was the establishment of the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada (PAPRICAN) linking industry, government and university in one body (Sankey, 1976, 1-17). The increasing separation of the pulp and paper industry's knowledge base from that of other wood-using industries and the desire to have a formal programme in pulp and paper science at McGill drove this evolution. A European model was available. A committee of the Swedish Society of Paper and Cellulose Engineers recommended in 1921 that a number of technical schools with four-year courses of study in areas of interest to the paper and cellulose industries be established. One such institution was set up that year as part of the "Technische Hochschule" in Darmstadt. As an intermediate step, two agreements were reached in 1925. The CPPA agreed to fund jointly its own cooperative research work and the work of the Pulp and Paper Division of the FPL. McGill and the CPPA agreed to fund jointly a chair of Industrial and Cellulose Chemistry, McGill using a bequest from the late Mrs. E.B. Eddy, widow of the Hull, Quebec, paper tycoon. British-born chemist Harold Hibbert accepted the new professorship. The combination of all these parties into PAPRICAN may have had its proximate model in the University of Cincinnati's relationship with the U.S. leather industry (Park, 1943, 219-237). In 1921, the Tanner's Council of America had established a research laboratory at the University, where a system of cooperative engineering education was already in practice. A new Leather Research Building opened three years later. Whatever the case, on 13 October 1927, the cornerstone of the PAPRICAN building was laid. The new institution would unite the CPPA Research Section's cooperative work, the Pulp and Paper Division of the FPL (the other divisions moving to Ottawa) and the Eddy Chair. In 1940, Otto Maass, head of inorganic chemistry at McGill, became the overall director of PAPRICAN. The American-born Maass had lived in Montreal most of his life and had been educated at McGill, Berlin and Harvard.

Table 1

FPL Technical Inquiries Re Pulp And Paper
Geographic Origin

June 1927 - Dec 1939

March 1915 - May 1927

Canada	81.0%	73.7%
United States	13.6%	20.3%
Foreign	2.7%	5.1%
Unknown	2.2%	0.9%

Note: All figures rounded. Counted are all inquiries handled by the Pulp and Paper

Division of the Forest Products Laboratory, or pulp and paper related inquiries handled by other divisions.

Source: National Archives of Canada, RG 39, file 40567, monthly reports of the Superintendent, FPL.

In June 1914, Henry F. Obermanns and Ernst Mahler conceived the idea of forming a U.S. branch of the German Society of Paper and Sulphite Chemists. Arthur Hastings, president of the American Paper and Pulp Association (APPA), supported the idea and Henry E. Fletcher organized a meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The result as the more broadly-based Technical Section of the APPA, shortly thereafter established as a separate organization, the Technical Association of the Pulp and Paper Industry (TAPPI), with Fletcher as first president. About 7.5% of the earliest TAPPI members resided in Canada. Canadian institutional developments matched these proportions. In late 1914, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association (CPPA) President Carl Riordon asked John Bates of the FPL to start a technical section. In this endeavour, Bates worked with C.B. Thorne, Riordon's Norwegian-born manager; T.L. Crosley, a former Riordon chemist; Roy Campbell, editor of *PPMC* and tapped by Riordon to be his secretary; and J.J. Harpell, president of the publishing company which then owned *PPMC*. Founded at a meeting in February 1915 in Ottawa, the Technical Section came into existence a week before its U.S. counterpart. Bates became the first chairman and Thorne the vice chairman, with *PPMC* recognized as official journal. The purpose of the section was "to stimulate interest in the science of pulp and paper making in Canada, to provide means for the interchange of ideas among its members, and to encourage original investigation." Dues were a dollar a year and membership qualifications low. Soon however, like many other similar professional bodies, membership became restricted to those with a B.Sc. or the equivalent (Hull, 1984).

Prior to that change, however, the 1918 list of CPPA Technical Section members gives a valuable window on the technical side of pulp and paper manufacture in Canada. Table 2 shows the place of birth, place(s) of

employment and place(s) of education for each member for whom such data are available. Canadians are outnumbered by both Americans and continental Europeans, with the U.K. in fourth position. The completely disproportionate importance of Germany in the educational field is vividly illustrated. Numbers such as these must, of course, be interpreted carefully, especially since they do not illustrate the dynamics of the situation. The popularity of Europe as a training ground or the U.S. as a workplace of importance could be seen as indicative both of the inferiority of Canadian educational institutions and the brain drain to the U.S., where either salaries were higher or good talent more appreciated. It may also simply indicate that Canada has been a net receiver of scientists from Europe and a net loser to the United States.⁷ Further, we should not expect perfect harmony between the output from educational institutions and the employment of graduates in all sectors at every time. Discontinuities will invariably exist and will be corrected, partially, by migration. Indeed such movement is probably to be applauded, not just on social grounds, but as an effective means of technology transfer as well as economically efficient. Also revealing are the institutional affiliations of these people (Table 3). More than half listed no other membership. U.S. bodies (15% were TAPPI members) had overwhelmingly more importance than European, particularly if the thoroughly naturalized Canadian sections of the Society of Chemical Industry are discounted.

Table 2

CPPA Technical Section Members in 1918

Worked	Born	Educated	
Canada	19	22	109
United States	35	42	56
United Kingdom	12	14	9
Germany	2	11	4
Norway	9	9	9
Sweden	9	9	9
Finland	1	0	0
Austria	1	1	1
Switzerland	0	1	0
Belgium	2	2	0
Hungary	0	0	1
Russia	0	1	0
Newfoundland	0	0	2
West Indies	1	1	0
Turkey	1	0	0
India	1	0	0

Note: Germany includes Prussia. Information not given or multiple responses means columns do not total to n=109.

Source: Membership list, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association Technical Section, 1918.

Table 3

Membership in Other Professional Bodies
by Technical Section Members

Canadian	15
United States	45
Swedish	3
Norwegian	2
United Kingdom	1
Society of Chemical Industry	8

Note: United States total includes three members of the American Society of Swedish Engineers. While not stated, most if not all members of the (British) Society of Chemical Industry likely were members of its Canadian Section.

Source: Membership list, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association Technical Section, 1918.

The pulp and paper industry, like other industries, showed considerable interest in technical education (Hull, 1991). How might Canadian firms get the trained, Canadian workforce needed to implement new technical knowledge? Some firms addressed the question on their own, with night classes for workers. But of far greater importance, they attempted to transfer some of the costs of educating a new workforce for the mills to the state, at either the provincial or federal level. By the time of the Great Depression, schools in such important pulp and paper regions as the Niagara Peninsula, the Ottawa Valley, La Mauricie and northern New Brunswick taught courses in papermaking. As well, the Institute of Industrial Arts in Gardenvale, Quebec, closely associated with *PPMC*, offered a popular correspondence course in pulp and papermaking.

At a more advanced level, the universities began to involve themselves more specifically in the training of pulp and paper scientists.⁸ McGill and Queen's became active in this regard prior to World War I, McGill closely associated with the FPL from its founding. The Dean of Applied Science at Queen's arranged with the CPPA for students of the university to obtain summer work in Canadian pulp and paper mills, and to offer three prizes for essays about the students' experiences. Both the private sector and the NRC supported graduate students pursuing pulp and paper related work. Table 4 shows the career paths of early graduates of McGill programmes.

Table 4

Employment of Graduates, 1930s

	Academic	Government	Industry	Unknown
Hibbert	4	3	14	2
Maass	3	4	7	0
NRC	0	3	6	0

Note: Hibbert M.Sc. and Ph.D. graduates from the Industrial and Cellulose Chemistry Department, McGill, 1927-1933.
 Maass Ph.D. graduates in pulp and paper related courses from the Department of Physical Chemistry, McGill, 1929-1933.
 NRC National Research Council scholarship graduates, 1917-1931, who continued in pulp and paper careers.

Source: NRC Annual Report for 1930-1931; W.G. Mitchell, *Review History of PAPRICAN 1925-1937*, held at McGill University Archives.

While much has been made of rivalries among government scientific services, relations on a day-to-day basis among working scientists seem to have been remarkably harmonious. The NRC helped fund magnesite research jointly with the FPL. Pulp and paper chemists sat on the Chemistry Committee of the NRC over the years. John Bates was a member almost continuously from 1917-1928; T.L. Crossley was a member from 1922-1927; and Harold Hibbert from 1926-1930, to name just three.⁹ Pulp and paper firms figured prominently among those pledging money to the Ontario Research Foundation (ORF), established in 1928 (Oliver, 1975, 156-178). Fully a quarter of the promised funds which the Ontario Premier had extracted in pledges from private industry by the end of 1928 had come from pulp and paper firms, a total comparable to that committed by the CPPA to PAPRICAN. J.H. Black, vice president of the Spruce Falls pulp and paper company, represented pulp and paper interests on the ORF advisory board from 1928-1936. In 1937, the ORF developed a laboratory for the study of problems in paper, printing and adhesives.

Industry proved highly receptive to the graduates of the new educational institutions, just as it had once proved so receptive to skilled European workmen. Although it is extremely difficult to measure, some indications suggest that, by the late 1920s, the demand for trained university graduates in the pulp and paper industry exceeded the supply. Hibbert reported no difficulty in placing qualified students in industry. Col. R.E. Smythe, director of the Technical Services Council, stated that his organization could not fill all the requests for personnel received from pulp and paper firms. That was in part thanks to the work of the TSC, not just a placement service for engineers, but an organization devoted to encouraging Canadian industry to emulate

European practice and hire more university-trained people (Enros, 1989-1990).

Table 5 shows the numbers of pulp and paper laboratories in Canada at the start of World War II. While PAPRICAN was, of course, the most advanced, very sophisticated work was being carried out in the private sector at places like the Howard Smith Co. in Montreal and Cornwall; Canadian International Paper's Hawkesbury operation, the successor to Riordon; and the giant Northern Ontario firm, Abitibi Power and Paper.

Table 5

Pulp and Paper Industrial Laboratories - 1939

Nova Scotia	2
New Brunswick	3
Quebec	24
Ontario	23
Manitoba	1
British Columbia	3
Total	56

Source: *Survey of Scientific and Industrial Laboratories in Canada* (Ottawa:NRC, 1941).

National Technology

Some clear indications are available that Canada needed no longer feel any sense of technological inferiority in the pulp and paper industry. The record of FPL technical inquiries discussed above is one such indication. Also, Thorne and his co-workers were producing in the Kipawa mill in Temiskeming, Quebec and dissolving pulp which ranked in quality as high as any pulp used in the world (Wang, 1948). This pulp was an input to the rayon industry. FPL scientists, like microbiologist Clara Fritz, found themselves consulted directly by European technical experts in the planning of pulp mills, as well as those in the United States and Canada.¹⁰ In the 1930s, the Price interests sent John Bates to Britain and Scandinavia as a technical expert linking, in particular, Finnish pulp mills and the British paper industry. As the industry was more integrated in Canada, Bates was a logical choice (Bates, 1983, 48-59).

But was this liberation illusory? Had Canada escaped from European technical dominance only by virtue of surrendering to U.S. technological hegemony? This would be a convenient analysis since it mirrored the general development of the economy, as U.S. investment poured into the forest products sector, and also fit in quite well with the received historiography of Canadian technology (Brown, 1967). Certainly, the sheer proximity of the United States meant a large degree of technical integration in all fields, as Langford has noted for the

chemical industry (Langford, 1987, 398). As pulp and paper firms sought technical advance through the search for best practice, it was much more convenient to visit other North American mills than to travel to Europe. Still, this view is simplistic. The flow of technical information between Canada and the United States in the pulp and paper industry was not nearly so one-sided nor so stifling. In many ways, continental economic integration informed rather than suppressed Canadian technology.

Not only was the Canadian FPL modeled on the USFPL, the two institutions enjoyed close and productive relationships. They worked together to develop technical knowledge in a number of areas such as waste wood, pulp testing and the control of groundwood pulping.¹¹ FPL officials also worked with a host of other bodies including the Georgia State Pulp and Paper laboratories and TAPPI, and served on committees of several U.S. technical and trade bodies. They helped to link U.S. and Canadian firms wishing to do business with each other but requiring specialized technical information. As discussed above, an increasing percentage of technical inquiries to the FPL came from U.S. sources.

One of the most striking illustrations of Canadian technological capacity was the development by FPL pulp and paper engineers of the Canadian Standard Freeness Tester (Cameron, 1931). This device, used to study and control the pulping process, was the focus of an international research and design effort in both Europe and North America starting in 1907. The FPL's design, perfected around 1925, quickly became adopted as the industry standard not just in Canada, but by TAPPI, in the U.K. and Scandinavia and in several other countries.

As the North American pulp and paper industry expanded from the Eastern and Great Lakes areas and confronted new species of trees, scientists on both sides of the 49th parallel involved themselves in the development of techniques to pulp these species. The USFPL and the Canadian FPL worked cooperatively on West Coast forests. More surprisingly, both countries also studied Southern U.S. pine species.¹²

Early Canadian pulp and paper technical personnel, such as Crossley, recalled making use of European texts, including James Beveridge's *Paper Maker's Handbook*. As the technology evolved, this became inadequate. Beginning in 1918 a joint committee of the CPPA Technical Section and TAPPI sponsored the compilation and publication of a series of textbooks on the manufacture of pulp and paper. Written by a number of Canadian and U.S. authors, jointly edited and sold in both countries, the series enjoyed considerable success (Hull, 1991).

The two industries also had strong links through technical and trade associations. The overlapping membership of TAPPI and the CPPA Technical Section has already been noted. Formal arrangements for the exchange of

technical information relating to production among North American mills existed under the auspices of the News Print Service Bureau (Bearce, 1926).

The flow of information was not only institutional but also personal. One outstanding example was George H. Tomlinson Sr., founder of a pulp and paper “dynasty.” After supervising the construction of plants for the manufacture of ethyl alcohol from wood waste in the southern U.S., Tomlinson came to Canada. There he summarized his knowledge on this problem for an NRC publication. Later, he did cooperative work with the FPL to develop a new pulping process. A later magnesium base sulphite cooking process saw semi-commercial development in Canada and first full scale production in the Longview, WA, plant of Weyerhaeuser Ltd. This technology, like so much else in the industry, was not Canadian or American, it was North American (Warrington and Nicholls, 1949, 228-229).

Conclusion

Why did the importance to Canada of European pulp and paper technology decline? Originally this technology came to Canada either directly or via the U.S., joined with some U.S. developments, and was implemented in Canadian mills. European-trained technical personnel largely staffed those mills. But the growth of the Canadian industry and the changing need for knowledge under the impetus of demand, higher throughput and unique Canadian problems did not allow this situation to persist. New institutions had to be created along with new procedures to manage technical knowledge. While a considerable Canadianization of pulp and paper technology resulted, so, too, did the integration of the two industries in North America. We see in this case, like so many others, that while Canada and the United States are distinct, they are more like each other than either is like Europe. This integration, on the technical side, should not be equated with U.S. dominance. While certainly the broader shift of technical superiority from Europe to the U.S. is part of this story, Canada was not driven into the hands of the U.S. by European weakness. Ironically, the break from European dependence shows the processes of Canadianization and continental integration not as opposed, but as two sides of one coin.

Notes

1. There is no general, scholarly history of the Canadian pulp and paper industry. The following works are among the most useful: V.W. Bladen, *Introduction to Political Economy*, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1948; George Carruthers, *Paper in the Making*, Toronto: Garden City Press Cooperative, 1947; J.A. Guthrie, *The Newsprint Paper Industry*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1941; Nina Edwards, “The Establishment of Papermaking in Upper Canada,” *Ontario History* 39 (1947), 63-75; C.P. Fell, “The Newsprint Industry” in H.A. Innis and A.F.W. Plumptre (eds), *The Canadian Economy and Its Problems*, Toronto: CHA, 1934, 40-53; H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.

2. A general view of technical developments may be found in the various articles collected under the title "Forty Years of Progress," *Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada* (July, 1942), 574-622.
3. For Fernow see his "Correspondence" in the Faculty of Forestry Papers, University of Toronto Archives. For the estimate on balsam usage see *Papers Canadian Section, Society of Chemical Industry* 5 (1912), 15.
4. The literature is voluminous. See for instance, John J. Beer, "Coal Tar Dye Manufacture and the Origins of the Modern Industrial Research Laboratory," *Isis* 49 (1958), 123-131 and David Cahan, *An Institute for an Empire* New York: CUP, 1989.
5. Ruttan's testimony is found in the Proceedings of the Special Committee Appointed to Consider the Matter of the Development in Canada of Scientific Research, Ottawa (1919).
6. The memo is in McGill University Archives, RG 2 c67 file "Industrial Chemistry, Pulp and Paper to 1922," the four universities were Maine, Michigan, Syracuse and Wisconsin.
7. See the data in Philip C. Enros, *Bibliography of Publishing Scientists in Ontario Between 1914 and 1939*, Thornhill: HSTC Publishing, 1985. cf. Robert Fox, "Industry, Science and Education in France, 1860-1914," conference pre-print, BSHS/HSS Joint Conference, Manchester, England, July 1988.
8. See the annual Principal's Report of Queen's and McGill.
9. See the annual Report of the NRC President, various years.
10. Fritz was an authority on the very serious, if distinctly unglamorous, problem of slime accumulation in pulp mill equipment, a problem which caused discolouration and weak spots in paper. See National Archives of Canada, RG 39, Vol. 421, Project 0-54.
11. Information is gleaned from the monthly Report of the Superintendent of the FPL.
12. Jean-Pierre Charland, *Les pâtes et papiers au Québec, 1880-1980*, Québec: IQR, 1990; James P. Hull, "Research at Abitibi Power and Paper," *Ontario History*, (June 1987), 167-179; Jack P. Oden, "Charles Holmes Herty and the Birth of the Southern Newsprint Paper Industry, 1927-1940," *Journal of Forest History*, (April 1977), 76-89.

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Greg Donaghy

Solidarity Forever: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and its Search for an International Role, 1939-1949¹

Abstract

This article focuses on the role of socialist internationalism — the belief in international working class solidarity — in shaping the CCF's perception of the World War II and in leading the party to pursue socialism abroad. Though Canadian socialists played an important part in establishing the postwar Socialist International, this paper documents their lack of success in achieving their real objective: the establishment of an organization capable of exerting a real influence on postwar reconstruction. This demoralizing setback, at the very moment when the Cold War began to divide the party, caused the CCF to abandon its internationalist dreams and attach less importance to its activities in Europe and the British Commonwealth after 1949.

Résumé

Le présent article est axé sur l'influence du « socialisme international » — la foi dans la solidarité des travailleurs du monde entier — sur la perception que le CCF s'est fait de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale et sur la volonté du parti d'étendre son action à l'étranger. Sans nier que les socialistes canadiens aient beaucoup contribué à la création de l'Internationale ouvrière de l'après-guerre, l'auteur démontre qu'ils n'ont pas réussi à atteindre leur véritable objectif: la mise sur pied d'une organisation susceptible d'exercer un rôle efficace dans la reconstruction entreprise dans l'après-guerre. Ce pénible échec, au moment même où la guerre froide suscitait des dissensions au sein du Parti, a poussé le CCF à rejeter ses rêves d'internationalisme et à réduire l'ampleur de ses activités en Europe et dans le Commonwealth britannique après 1949.

The postwar international relationships of 20th-century socialist parties, particularly those of European provenance, have been the subject of several studies. Naturally, the British Labour Party (BLP), as the largest and most successful socialist party in the period immediately following the World War II, has figured prominently in this literature. Its much smaller and geographically distant Canadian cousin, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), has received much less attention. Julius Braunthal's substantial history of the Socialist International, for instance, manages to discuss the history of international socialism in the postwar period without mentioning either the CCF or any of its leading figures, even though the 1947 British Commonwealth Labour Parties' Conference was held in Toronto and

the Canadian party was elected the first vice-president of the Socialist International in 1951.²

Canadian scholars have also largely ignored the CCF's relationship with the international socialist movement. Instead, they have tended to focus their discussions of the CCF's foreign policy on the party's parliamentary activities. The CCF's pre-war idealism and pacifist convictions are easily contrasted with the party's support for World War II and the government's postwar liberal-internationalism. In the traditional diplomatic histories covering the period 1939-1949, this shift in parliamentary attitudes is frequently cited as proof positive of an emerging national consensus on foreign policy.³ The treatment accorded the CCF's external platform in the large body of literature devoted to the history of the party is similarly problematic. Discussion of the party's evolving foreign policy is subordinated to a larger historical task and reduced to pithy examples that highlight the CCF's evolution from an idealistic, radical movement to a pragmatic political party.⁴

There is little doubt that the parliamentary positions adopted by the CCF after 1942 tended to reflect the government's own narrow brand of internationalism as the war convinced leading CCF figures of the limits of Canadian influence. The idealism that sustained the party during the 1930s, however, did not simply disappear. Instead, as the World War II assumed the characteristics of a class struggle of global proportions, that idealism re-surfaced as an almost unlimited faith in the possibility of concerted socialist action against capitalism along an international front. By 1942, what one might call "socialist internationalism" had regained enough of its late 19th- and early 20th-century vitality to become one of the principal characteristics of the CCF's international outlook. Throughout the 1940s, David Lewis, the party's National Secretary, led the CCF in a constant struggle to involve the British Labour Party in a number of schemes designed to promote the development of an international socialist organization capable of providing sufficient moral and material support to influence the shape of postwar Europe. The prospect of assuming office in Britain, however, reduced the BLP's enthusiasm for such projects. Though the CCF eventually succeeded in forcing the British party to begin organizing the postwar Socialist International, an effort for which they have never received due credit, Canadian socialists found the BLP's parochial attitude disappointing and disheartening. In addition, escalating cold war tensions during 1947-1948 quickly undermined the intra-party consensus upon which the CCF's association with the international socialist movement depended. Reluctantly, the Canadian party turned its back on the relationship it had tried to nurture, and sought instead a more nationalist vision that diminished the importance the CCF accorded socialist internationalism.

The ravages of World War I and the Great Depression led Canadian socialists to disregard socialism's international dimension at the CCF's founding convention in 1933. There, the party's opposition to war as the product of a capitalist economy merged with a morally-based pacifism and a traditional

sense of North American isolationism to unite the three distinct traditions within a reassuring cocoon of socialist rhetoric. At the same time, however, in both the Regina Manifesto and the 1934 Immediate Program, the CCF implicitly recognized the pragmatism that had shaped Canada's labour movement and that similarly enjoined the new party to reform an unjust and conflict-ridden international system. In the relative calm that characterized international politics during 1934 and early 1935, the CCF's foreign policy platform, which uneasily mixed a pacifistic isolationism with a vague mandate for international reform, required almost no adjusting.⁵

By 1935, however, Mussolini's aggressive posturing in North Africa had begun to threaten the CCF's meticulously balanced program. Faced with the possibility of war, many within the CCF intuitively reached for pragmatic solutions only to find that such solutions frequently clashed with the pacifist and isolationist sentiments that found ready sanction in the party's official literature. The party's leader, J.S. Woodsworth, for example, explicitly rejected North American isolation as a legitimate response to international disorder, and urged R.B. Bennett's Canadian government to pursue a policy firmly based on the League of Nations' promise of collective security with its requisite obligations.⁶ However, when a motion endorsing economic sanctions against Italy was presented at the CCF's November 1935 National Council meeting, it was quickly ruled out of order as conflicting with the policy adopted in the 1934 Immediate Program. The party's obvious inability to respond effectively to the growth of European fascism slowly began to erode the faith of many CCF supporters in the possibility and perhaps even the desirability of peace.⁷

During the first few months of 1936, pressure steadily mounted within the CCF for a united front with the growing Communist Party of Canada (CPC) on both domestic and international issues.⁸ Through such existing front organizations as the League for Peace and Democracy, the CPC was gradually attracting growing numbers of CCF faithful for its policy of ardently supporting the League of Nations and the developing anti-fascist front in Europe by appealing to international working class solidarity.⁹ With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the neglected notion of international socialist solidarity blossomed with sufficient strength among CCF supporters to challenge the isolationists and pacifists within the party. The appearance of a competing ideological perspective on Canadian socialism's international obligations, particularly one that originated beyond the party's central hierarchy, was greeted coolly by the national leadership.¹⁰ Though drawing moral and philosophic sustenance from the BLP, the CCF's national leadership, and J.S. Woodsworth in particular, were reluctant to risk submerging their uniquely Canadian brand of socialism into the much harder British and European varieties. Nevertheless, by 1937, they were forced to translate these intangible ties into more concrete expressions of international socialist unity. Over the course of the following two years, the CCF initiated a haphazard official correspondence with the BLP and several other European

socialist parties, thus signalling the party's growing sense of identification with the European socialist movement.

With the eruption of war in September 1939, a hastily convened meeting of the CCF's National Council provided a forum for the final and decisive clash between the idea of international socialist solidarity and the isolationism and pacifism cherished by the party's leaders and intellectuals since 1933. Initiating the lengthy and dramatic debate, Woodsworth forcefully declared his opposition to a war that he characterized as both imperialist and the antithesis of his own pacifist beliefs. Following three years of growing identification with European socialism in its anti-fascist struggle, a bond that they were reminded of by a timely cable from the BLP, most delegates were reluctant to endorse completely Woodsworth's definition of the war as imperialist. Nevertheless, the inescapable fact that the democratic credentials of British and French leaders were far from impeccable made it equally difficult to conceive of the war in positive terms. While most readily realised that a declaration of neutrality would represent political suicide, their awareness of the CCF's affiliation to an enduring tradition of international working class solidarity provided the ideological imperative behind the party's decision to support Canada's declaration of war. The war, agreed a majority of the National Council, was one of "mixed motives" in which "in part at least the people of Britain and France [were] waging a war against aggression." In agreeing to support Canadian participation, limited to the provision of economic assistance, the CCF was at last declaring its solidarity with the common people of Europe in their struggle against fascism.¹¹

During the first two or three years of the war, that support remained conditional and tentative. Canada's emergence as a full military participant in January 1940 and the disappointment that followed the party's poor election results put pressure on the CCF leadership for a new approach to the war. Convinced that it was still largely imperialist in nature, most leading members of the CCF resisted any immediate change in either policy or strategy. The collapse of the Chamberlain government and the invitation extended to prominent BLP members to join the new British Cabinet in June 1940, however, seemed to some to signal the crystallization of the war's democratic character. M.J. Coldwell, Woodsworth's successor, abandoned his rather restrained depiction of the war as "a struggle against aggression and for the preservation of freedom" and increasingly characterized it in more positive terms as a struggle "to revitalize democracy."¹² The impact of the BLP's new stature echoed throughout the CCF and progressive circles during the summer of 1940. In British Columbia, for example, at least one constituency club urged National Executive members to emulate their British colleagues and press for a National Government capable of enhancing the war's democratic character in Canada. The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress and several provincial executives also urged the CCF's National Office to strengthen its relationship with the BLP and so "stimulate socialist thought and effort in Canada as well as to make common cause with Socialist movements in other British countries."¹³

David Lewis, Oxford-educated and keenly interested in the CCF's relationship with the BLP, had little objection to strengthening the British connection. Nevertheless, like a number of leading Canadian socialists, he was not yet persuaded that the war had developed a significantly democratic flavour. The results of the CCF's 1940 convention thus reflected the ambiguity that continued to characterize the party's definition of the war. Apart from deleting its outdated opposition to the expeditionary force that Mackenzie King had dispatched overseas in late 1939, the party made no substantial changes to its policy of limited participation. Most members, it seems, agreed with Lewis that such a policy "remained basically valid and had been fully justified by the past year of war."¹⁴

Throughout 1941, as Churchill shuffled his cabinet and the power of the BLP increased, the full significance of Labour's participation in the British war effort became increasingly apparent. Citing the views of Harold Laski and John Strachey as his own, Lewis in early 1941 claimed to recognize both "the imperative need of defeating Hitler and the revolutionary implications of such a defeat."¹⁵ These implications seemed evermore obvious and exerted a profound influence on the CCF's perception of the war. The emergence of popular — and hence inherently democratic and radical — resistance movements throughout occupied Europe transformed the war into a civil war between the forces of progress and reaction. "This war is no longer a struggle between certain national interests and rival imperialisms," declared Coldwell in April 1941, but "a civil war between two different sets of ideas."¹⁶ When the Soviet Union entered the conflict in June 1941, the war suddenly seemed destined to produce a global shift to the left and possibly heralded the emergence of a democratic socialist-like synthesis of communism and capitalism as the 20th-century's dominant ideology. The present struggle, it seemed, was an unfortunate, but necessary, part of a larger dialectical process. "This war," argued Coldwell, "is...a phase, perhaps a final phase, in a world-wide revolution as profound in its consequences as the great upheavals in Europe which marked the breakdown of Feudalism and the rise of modern capitalism."¹⁷

The belief that the war was fundamentally revolutionary liberated the CCF from any remaining vestiges of its former isolationism and completed its sense of identification with the international socialist movement. As the war increasingly assumed the character of a "horizontal" struggle — the international phase of the enduring conflict between classes — the CCF quickly began to strengthen its relations with socialist and popular movements throughout the world. In part, the desire to identify the CCF with the larger international socialist movement, particularly with the successful BLP and the socialist underground in Europe, was practical: their success in fighting Hitler was bound to reflect positively on the CCF. Indeed, the party attributed its success during the 1940 provincial elections in B.C. and its own steady rise in the polls to the vigour with which European socialists were pursuing the war against Hitler.¹⁸

More fundamentally, the CCF's support for international socialism was ideological. The global nature of the war seemed to socialists, as it did to many other Canadians, to render the concept of national sovereignty obsolete. "For better or worse, Canada has been drawn into the vortex of international affairs," argued Coldwell, cautioning that "isolationism is not a policy at all, either good or bad, but a myth."¹⁹ Socialist internationalism offered the CCF a philosophy that could make sense of this development and assisted the party in defining its role in an interdependent world. The CCF began to perceive itself as an interested participant in the struggle for democracy and social justice waged by other peoples in other states. Writing to encourage the CCF to support progressive forces in the United States, King Gordon, a former member of the League for Social Reconstruction, explained that "in the pre-war and the postwar world the liberal-reactionary fight cannot be thought of on a national basis."²⁰

This point was not lost on the CCF's leadership, which had briefly explored the idea of an international organization of socialist and labour parties as early as October 1940. At that time, as Hitler's bombs rained down on London, the BLP understandably dismissed the CCF's proposal as "a little academic."²¹ By 1942, however, the increasing importance the CCF attached to the war's revolutionary potential and the global implications of that struggle prompted the party to give greater consideration to the role a formal organization of socialist and labour parties might assume. The CCF declared its support for an international socialist conference that would draw up a practical plan for a postwar settlement and give concrete expression to the Atlantic Charter, a 1941 Anglo-American declaration promising a more just postwar political and economic world order. Under growing pressure from both the CCF and the European socialist movement in exile to host such a conference, the BLP vaguely indicated its assent.

The CCF envisioned the conference, the first step towards the re-creation of the International, as a forum where socialists could develop practical plans to eliminate European imperialism in Asia and Africa and "discuss concrete ways in which the masses in eastern and central Europe [might] be helped to achieve democratic socialism in their countries." More importantly, the CCF saw the gathering as an opportunity to rally the forces of socialism in preparation for the coming struggle with capitalism over the nature of the post-war order:

The end of the war...is bound to see a Europe which is disorganized and groping for a way out... It may be taken for granted that after this war, as after the last, the capitalist classes will act to thwart on an international scale any march toward socialism. The Conference should look for a way in which the working class may be effective on an international scale. Only if a solution to this [problem] can be found will there be any guarantee that the pre-war mistakes and defeats of the European socialist movement may be avoided.²²

The new urgency which the CCF attached to the establishment of an international socialist organization seemed justified. By late 1942, there were already disturbing indications that capitalist and reactionary forces were distorting the democratic impulse that lay behind the Allied war effort for their own purposes. The revolution's potential seemed threatened by such events as the establishment of a government in North Africa containing leading members of the fascist Vichy regime, the recognition accorded King Emmanuel of Italy, and the Allies' reluctance to grant General de Gaulle a status commensurate with his role as commander of the Free French forces and the French people's representative. In early 1944, Coldwell warned that "there is [a] danger that the idealism which awakened when France fell and the war became more clearly a people's struggle...is being drowned amid the clamour of politicians." The CCF's journal, *News Comment*, was more direct. The events in North Africa, it declared, were "part of a reactionary campaign to thwart the democratic impulses of the liberated peoples of Europe and to prevent the emergence of socialism there."²³

If the tendency of the Allied powers to erect reactionary governments in the liberated areas of Europe threatened socialism's triumph, the obvious lack of unity amongst the major Allies was equally disturbing. The CCF conceived the war not only as a struggle for social democracy within individual states; the party also saw within it the potential for a revolutionary re-ordering of the international system based on a "world association of nations," to which national sovereignty would be subordinated. Such an association, the CCF had concluded at its 1942 National Convention, would create the conditions necessary for international peace and justice. Such unbounded optimism may have been justified by the unprecedented degree of co-operation that initially characterized the Soviet-American alliance. By late 1943, however, the CCF could not fail to recognize the deterioration in relations between these two powers. The Roosevelt-Churchill meeting at Quebec to co-ordinate Allied policy "looked ominous in spots...[without] Joseph Stalin even invited," noted F.R. Scott, the party's national chairman. "We have now," he sombrely concluded, "entered the pre-war era again."²⁴

As the CCF's vision of a democratic world order faded throughout 1943 in the face of East-West tensions and Allied reaction, the party accorded a new and greater importance to the international mobilization of progressive movements. "[T]o point out the dangers of international reaction and isolationism and to make counterplans today," argued the CCF in 1943, "transcends in importance that of national post-war planning."²⁵ Early that year, then, the CCF redoubled its efforts to have the BLP convene the conference of socialist and labour parties it had promised in late 1942. As the need for progressive leadership became increasingly desperate, the CCF insisted that the BLP assume its responsibilities as the largest social democratic party in the Commonwealth: "If the BLP does not take action soon in calling a post-war conference of labour and socialist groups, in order to stem

the tide of reaction, the world can make up its mind to another war lost to humanity.”²⁶

Ignoring the lack of response from BLP headquarters at Transport House, the CCF pressed on. “I am at a loss to understand...the reasons for the failure to pursue the calling of the Conference,” complained Lewis in November 1943, emphasizing that:

it is a matter of the utmost importance that the Labour Party’s [sic] of the Commonwealth meet in good time and that they arrive at some common policy regarding peace negotiations and international order...It is a matter of urgency that the International Socialist Movement be re-organized in some kind of international body in time to exert an influence over developments in Europe and on this continent.²⁷

The BLP, reluctant to organize a conference that might well criticize the coalition government of which they were members, continued to avoid committing itself. Convinced of the growing necessity for such a conference, the CCF pressed ahead alone. By April 1944, Lewis had successfully mobilized the support of the labour parties in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, forcing the BLP to agree to convene a conference the following September.

Its disappointment at the BLP’s continued refusal to invite socialist representatives from the British colonies and dependencies did not dampen the CCF’s hope “that from these joint deliberations may come a clarion call to democratic labour and socialist parties around the world.”²⁸ This optimism proved unwarranted. The assumption that socialism was inherently international quickly ran aground on the delegates’ various national interests. A proposal from the BLP, supported by the Australian delegation, for the creation of an Empire Secretariat, for example, forced Scott, Lewis and Coldwell to caution that Canada could not support such an arrangement. The strength of the Commonwealth association, they explained, lay in its informal nature, based on a common heritage and shared sentiments. Similarly, Canada’s close economic association with the United States precluded the South African proposal for a Commonwealth economic bloc. “The starting point for our [economic] discussion,” explained Lewis, “must be that we cannot have prosperity in our own countries until we have established certain international relationships beyond the Commonwealth.”²⁹

Conversely, the CCF’s own concerns were rejected by the conference. Hopes that the gathering would act as the catalyst for a renewed socialist international and provide a mechanism through which colonial socialist parties could legitimize and further their democratic struggle were frustrated by the BLP’s executive. The moral and material assistance that a re-organized socialist international could supply to the devastated socialist and labour movements of

Europe and the leadership it could offer the socialist parties in the colonial world rendered it central to the CCF's hopes for the post-war democratic revolution. Understandably, the BLP did not see it from quite the same perspective. The British party, a partner in Churchill's coalition government, was loath to associate itself with an organization that might recognize and encourage such colonial movements as the All India Congress Party (AICP), which had been effectively disowned by the government. Poised on the brink of power, neither would the BLP welcome an international body capable of establishing a standard in socialist foreign policy against which its own policy might soon be measured. The BLP's leader, Clement Attlee, and his lieutenant, Ernest Bevin, ably defused any serious criticism of Britain's colonial policy, and substantially amended a Canadian resolution that recognized the AICP as the official voice of Indian independence and condemned Britain's policy in India. The larger issue of a socialist international was also derailed, as the CCF's forceful call for the creation of an international socialist organization was muted in the conference's final session. For the youthful CCF, it was a disappointing debut in the international sphere and an inauspicious beginning for its social democratic revolution.

In the months that followed, the CCF had little opportunity to build upon the one expression of international working-class solidarity that had been wrung from the conference: the decision to hold such meetings annually. The rapid pace of domestic and international developments during the final phase of the war quickly absorbed the attention of the CCF's National Office. The party's 1944 National Convention, the 1944 conscription crisis, and the disappointing June 1945 federal election, which returned only 28 members after very promising poll results, threatened to overwhelm the CCF's limited resources and dampened its enthusiasm for international ventures.

The election of the British Labour Party with an overwhelming mandate in July 1945, however, inspired the Canadian party's sagging spirits. The BLP's victory both affirmed the continued relevance of the CCF's social democratic ideology and proclaimed the dawn of a new epoch in Western history. F.R. Scott suggested that while "the defeat of Germany was a great thing...it did not carry with it the same hope for the future as did Labour's winning of the election."³⁰ Coldwell speculated that "the overwhelming victory of the British Labour Party may prove to be the most important single political event since the Russian Revolution."³¹ As a major socialist power, it was thought in CCF circles, the British Labour Government would certainly lead the search for world government and act unselfishly in the interests of international harmony. Its size would allow it to function as an effective mediator between East and West, while its social democratic philosophy would make it the natural leader in the struggle to end imperialism in Africa and Asia. In Europe, where reactionary and communist organizations were perceived to dominate the postwar struggle for popular support, the BLP represented a truly democratic alternative. The CCF was now more than ever determined that the BLP would live up to its responsibilities.

The first step toward compelling the BLP to assume its international responsibilities was taken in late 1945 when Lewis began developing plans for a second, even larger, British Commonwealth Labour Parties' Conference. Such a conference, Lewis explained in a letter to the BLP executive, would gather delegates from the colonies and the United States, and would guarantee the British Commonwealth a position as the world's foremost proponent of social democracy. Further, it could be the first step toward self-governing colonies and, possibly, the creation of a viable socialist party in the United States. The British response was decidedly cool; at first, they only acknowledged the CCF's proposal, and later, they postponed any decision on the grounds that the other Dominions must be consulted. The BLP's attempts to proceed cautiously were rewarded in April 1946 when both the Australian and New Zealand Labour Parties, preoccupied with forthcoming elections, asked that any conference be put off until 1947.³²

The CCF's National Council, meeting in August 1946, decided that despite the apparent lack of interest, it would pursue the scheme further. Lewis again approached the BLP, stressing the importance the CCF attached to the proposed conference and its potential influence on the development of social democracy in Europe and Asia. Underlining the CCF's strong commitment to such a conference, he promised that his financially-burdened party would act as the conference host and would hire a full-time co-ordinator at a salary of \$200 per month.³³ The BLP, worried over the implications of colonial participation, emphatically responded that as a governing party it had a responsibility to ensure that "no embarrassing precedents are set." A short lecture on the realities of international socialist unity followed:

It is utopian to hope that sufficiently intensive interest will be shown prior to the conference to justify the employment of a special Secretary...In particular, neither the Australian nor the New Zealand Party have shown the slightest interest in the Conference.³⁴

The BLP, it seems, was in no hurry to serve as a rallying point for the progressive cause, the role in which it was cast by the CCF's national leadership.

The CCF was equally unsuccessful in its continued efforts to have the BLP revive the pre-war International that had collapsed in 1939. In an attempt to forestall criticism from the CCF and like-minded socialists elsewhere, the BLP did propose the creation of a more moderate and less controversial organization in January 1946. Lewis' indignation at learning of the British initiative only from newspaper reports was offset by the optimism he felt when contemplating the future of the new organization and the impact it would have on social democratic fortunes the world over. He was soon disappointed. The BLP considered it "premature to set up an international organization until the major problems of the peace treaties have been settled" and explained

subsequently that all the BLP contemplated at the moment was an informal conference of socialist parties in May of that year.³⁵

In view of the deteriorating international situation, the CCF felt that a forceful international socialist body should be established immediately. Lewis instructed the CCF's two delegates to the May conference, Graham Spry and Robert McKenzie, to urge the creation of an international socialist organization:

We...have a strong feeling that the BLP Executive is perhaps a little too cautious...[W]e would like to see it take an aggressive and constructive lead in the building of a socialist international quickly. One of the main purposes...is to give moral and other assistance to the strengthening of the socialist movements on the continent.³⁶

Lewis continued, specifically suggesting that a renewed socialist international might well play a vital role in helping East European social democrats stem the rising power of the Soviet-backed Communist Party. Lewis followed this letter with a direct appeal to the BLP. Requesting immediate action, he argued that the need for a socialist international appeared to "grow more urgent daily as...the conflict between democratic socialism and the undemocratic sections of the labour movements, as well as the conflict between socialism and reaction, grow more serious."³⁷

The May 1946 conference at Clacton proved disappointing. Throughout, the BLP remained firmly in control, enlisting a host of socialist dignitaries to woo recalcitrant delegates. Spry appeared overwhelmed by the BLP and proved to be a poor choice of delegate. McKenzie, as the CCF's junior representative, felt constrained by his senior's moderate position and later complained that he was unable to be as forceful as he might have wished. The conference's sole result, an agreement to establish a clearing house to facilitate the exchange of information between the various socialist parties, embraced no real political function. In his report to Lewis, McKenzie complained that two British cabinet ministers, Hugh Dalton and Ernest Bevin, had dominated the debate and rallied the opposition to a socialist international; they seemed loath "to permit the organization of a body which may pass socialist resolutions (about Spain, Greece, etc.) which they would find highly embarrassing." It was now time, suggested McKenzie, for the CCF to develop its own proposals and assume the lead in attempting to establish a new socialist international.³⁸

Based on a series of recommendations supplied by McKenzie, the CCF prepared a memorandum on the new socialist organization to be presented at a second informal meeting of European socialists in November 1946. The memorandum modestly acknowledged the CCF's own relative youthfulness and inexperience in world affairs before insisting on the need for immediate action in the strongest of terms. The growing popularity of socialism, it argued, made it imperative that common policies and strategies be developed to

strengthen the democratic socialist alternative in Europe before the opportunity was lost and rising East-West tensions completely polarized the struggle. The CCF's brief concluded by recommending the establishment, within four to six months, of a socialist international which would have the power to develop policy and actively engage in the struggle with European socialist parties against both communism and reaction.³⁹ In a separate telegram to the BLP, the CCF's National Executive argued that the first step in this struggle must be the immediate recognition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) as the true social democratic alternative in Germany and its re-integration into the larger socialist community.⁴⁰

The results of this second conference suggest just how far the idea of a social democratic third force, one capable of effectively intervening in the burgeoning struggle between the capitalist West and communist East, was from its realization. Milton Shulman, the CCF delegate, reported to Lewis that "the whole trend of the proceedings was towards limiting and circumscribing the function of the organization so that it would act more as a symbol of, rather than a medium for, socialist unity."⁴¹ Once again, the BLP, fearful lest such an organization condemn British policy as un-socialist or give the impression that policy was no longer set by the British government, led the opposition to the CCF's proposals. Joined by the Polish delegation, the British forcefully argued that in the present world situation, a revived socialist international might compromise East European parties in their relations with the USSR and thus defeat the very purpose for which the CCF wished it established.

McKenzie, supported only by the lacklustre Swedish delegation, was forced to accept the British proposal to establish an "International Consultative Committee (ICC)." Without any executive function, the ICC was in effect the same committee that had emerged from the earlier conference. The issue of German membership, raised during the conference's final session, brought the dangerous divisions in the ranks of international socialism into the open. All four East European parties, afraid of alienating their Russian occupiers, flatly refused even to permit the SPD to apply for admittance. As Shulman noted after surveying the disarray that now typified international socialism, "little of anything was achieved."⁴²

The obvious inability of the BLP and the international socialist movement to represent a viable alternative in an increasingly polarized international system soon became the subject of acrimonious debate within the CCF. In late August 1946, Colin Cameron, a member of the party's radical wing, privately warned Lewis that the CCF seemed "in danger of becoming a 'yes' chorus to the British Labour Government," itself now firmly in "Washington's pocket."⁴³ Other party militants were even less constrained in their criticism. Alister Stewart, a Manitoban Member of Parliament, who had agreed a year earlier to postpone a public expression of Manitoba's discontent with the BLP's inability to reconcile Jewish and Arab aspirations in Palestine, gleefully wrote Lewis in early November:

Despite the fact that we should not embarrass the Labour Government, we persuaded the...[Manitoba] convention to examine the Palestine situation impartially. The result was a resolution which actually condemns the aforesaid Labour Government for refusing to live up to its pledges...in our opinion it is time something was said apart from the usual wrist-slapping hokum we have been indulging in.⁴⁴

At the same time, D. Gretchen Steeves warned of the growing conviction among members of the British Columbia Provincial Executive that the National Office must develop a more distinctive foreign policy for the CCF. The BLP's failure to develop a real social democratic alternative to American and Soviet policy, she argued, made that imperative. In blindly supporting the BLP, the CCF was avoiding its responsibility to offer alternative policies and was in danger of becoming a faint echo of the mainstream parties:

At present there is hardly any discernable difference between ourselves and [Prime Minister] King...it is rather nauseating to see press pictures of Mr. Coldwell hobnobbing with the others in the Canadian delegation to [the] UN and I think [Conservative leader] Bracken's statement...that foreign policy is becoming a non-partisan affair, should be a warning to us.⁴⁵

Though these concerns were thoroughly discussed at a special meeting of the National Council in January 1947, few within the CCF were prepared to force a protracted debate over foreign policy given the uncertain international situation. Pressure for a new and more dynamic statement of the party's foreign policy evaporated in the spring of 1947 and control over the CCF's foreign policy remained with its traditional guardians, who were closely associated with the party's National Office. Led by Lewis, Coldwell, and Scott, a group whose commitment to the extension of social democracy along an international front remained unshaken, the CCF continued to place its faith in the efforts of the British Labour Party and European socialism. "Throughout the world," Coldwell proclaimed that spring, "labour looks to Britain to point the way through the great transition from war, capitalism and dictatorship to peace, socialism and freedom."⁴⁶ In the increasingly tense atmosphere that followed the declaration of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, the federal caucus instinctively turned to the BLP with a request that it dispatch a speaker to tour the country in "the interests of world peace."⁴⁷ "All of us in the CCF feel," Lewis wrote his former professor, G.D.H. Cole, "...that the future of Democratic Socialism in Canada, and even more, throughout Europe, is bound up with the fate of the British Labour Government."⁴⁸

Despite pressure from the "Keep Left Movement," a radical grouping of BLP stalwarts, the party remained far less committed to the development of

international social democracy than was the CCF. At the long-awaited September 1947 British Commonwealth Labour Parties' Conference, this divergence was all too apparent. Hosted by the CCF, which saw the conference as marking its coming of age as a member of the international socialist fraternity, the gathering had generated considerable enthusiasm among Canadian socialists. Many hoped that it would result in decisive action to forge a strong international social democratic movement. The painstaking preparations for the conference had occupied both provincial and federal wings of the party for several months, and were crowned by a sustained public relations campaign in late August and early September 1947.

The conference, however, was a terrible disappointment. Despite the emphasis that Coldwell and the CCF placed on the need for a formal socialist organization, the British refused to act, preferring, as Morgan Phillips noted, "to develop the organization we have at the present time for purposes of contact and information." By the end of its second day, the conference had almost completely collapsed as the British delegation was forced to defend its policies in Burma, Indonesia and Palestine from persistent attacks by frustrated delegates. Coldwell boldly proclaimed the conference a success, but most participants left Toronto feeling disheartened and frustrated. The British subsequently dismissed the entire discussions as a "waste of time."⁴⁹

The BLP had as much reason as anyone to regard the conference as a wasted effort. Despite his best efforts, Morgan Phillips' lobbying of CCF members succeeded in persuading only a small number to abandon the party's bothersome demands for a strong and active international organization of socialists.⁵⁰ The majority of those present, Lewis among them, continued to press for some international socialist body strong enough to exert a positive influence on developments in Europe. "We would like," he instructed Milton Shulman, once again the CCF's European representative:

to see a more integrated and well-defined policy which definitely occupies a position of leadership...and presents in a positive and dynamic way the dynamic alternative of democratic development toward socialism in international as well as national affairs.⁵¹

Although pressure along these lines was maintained throughout 1947, the CCF enjoyed only limited success. Through its position on the ICC, the Canadian party was limited to sponsoring successful proposals to establish formal admission procedures and to broaden the organization's representation.⁵² Yet the Canadian party's central objectives continued to elude its grasp.

At the conference of socialist parties in the summer of 1947, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) was once again refused admission, and the question of establishing a formal organization was shunted to a sub-committee. There, despite the CCF's attempts to determine the debate's outcome, a compromise was adopted that merely envisaged the creation of a stronger executive

committee to replace the ICC. The socialists who gathered in Antwerp in November 1947 readily agreed to both the sub-committee's compromise and admission of the SPD. However, these steps were simply too little, too late. The gulf between the socialist parties of East Europe, now reduced to simple puppets of their Soviet occupiers, and those of the western democracies was now so vast that it was impossible to discuss seriously either international economic recovery or world peace, the two topics for which the conference had ostensibly been convened. The future of the organization for which the CCF had struggled seemed to hang by only the slimmest of threads. A number of European parties, apparently anticipating its imminent collapse, had already begun to reduce "the status and prestige" of the delegations sent to international gatherings of socialists.⁵³

Despite their futility, the CCF clung tenaciously to its hopes for the BLP and European socialism. By now, support for the European socialist movement had become not only ideologically but also tactically significant, for it allowed the party to express its growing opposition to the Soviet Union without aligning itself to the capitalist United States. During the summer and fall of 1947, attitudes within the CCF towards Soviet Russia had hardened dramatically, primarily in response to Moscow's refusal to accept the offer of economic assistance made by the U.S. Secretary of State, George Marshall. Within days of Moscow's abrupt departure from the July 1947 economic discussions in Paris, CCF attitudes began changing:

Soviet behaviour in the recent European economic discussions had made me wonder...whether the cause of peace may not now be better served if the Soviet leaders saw clearly that their actions were winning universal disapproval and were threatening to lose them all their friends.⁵⁴

Others within the party pursued similar thoughts. Lorne Ingle, more doctrinaire and sympathetic to the Soviet Union than most in the National Office, concluded a thumbnail sketch of Soviet policy since 1945 by soberly warning the U.S.S.R. that her "store of goodwill was running out."⁵⁵

Curiously, the American offer produced no compensating shift in the CCF's attitude toward the United States. Washington's commitment to an early return to international free trade and its decision in August 1947 to deregulate the American economy only increased the hostility and distrust among most members of the CCF. As both Ottawa and London struggled through the late summer and fall of 1947 to deal with dollar shortages, the hand of American reaction was seen hard at work, busy "restoring the 19th-century structures of world trade."⁵⁶ Though this hostility toward Washington initially rendered the CCF suspicious of Marshall's intentions, the recognition that European reconstruction depended on large infusions of aid from capitalist North America produced something of a dilemma. By the fall of 1947 a solution had been found. The "Marshall Plan," it turned out, was not really a plan at all but

merely a suggestion; only when developed by Bevin and European socialists did the suggestion become a program and ultimately a “milestone in world progress.”⁵⁷ Only a small but important group of CCF figures were reluctant to summarily divorce Washington from Marshall’s initiative. King Gordon, George Grube and David Lewis, for example, began to think about confronting the equivocal nature of American policy.

A series of promising developments in January 1948 absolved the CCF of the immediate need to confront the ambiguity that seemed to distinguish American policy. Early that month the BLP’s hitherto reluctant support of European socialism suddenly assumed a new vigour. Overcoming the ICC’s paralysing divisions, the British party decided to act unilaterally, announcing plans for a conference of interested socialist parties to explore socialism’s role in Western European reconstruction. Equally important was Bevin’s subsequent announcement that Britain would proceed to develop “a system of Western European economic integration.” This step, which seemed the realization of the CCF’s long-standing hopes for a European third force, was seen as an alternative to the emerging Soviet and American blocs. In short order, the CCF moved to endorse and associate itself with Britain’s new initiative. In April 1948, both the CCF’s National Council and the Provincial Council in British Columbia resolutely denied the international system’s objectively bi-polar character. Re-affirming their faith in a BLP-led third force, both bodies literally attempted to transcend the Soviet-American confrontation. They vigorously condemned both Soviet and American foreign policy, and renewed the CCF’s commitment to “resist any attempt either by the forces of communism or those of capitalism to dominate the world...[and]...to fight against totalitarian dictatorship of every kind, whether it comes from the so-called Left or from the capitalist Right.” The press release that accompanied the National Council’s statement emphasized that the weekend’s deliberations had “placed Canada’s socialist party squarely behind the third force now building up in western Europe.”⁵⁸

The National Council’s carefully balanced statement and renewed support for the third force was well-received throughout the movement. Yet the continued uncertainty surrounding the relationship between the socialist third force and the reactionary United States remained the source of some disquiet and anxiety. Though members of the CCF studiously avoided confronting one another over the possibility that they might soon be asked to support an alliance led by Washington, the strain became increasingly apparent and burdensome. In early November 1948, the party was finally forced to address this issue when the existence of a proposal to extend the Brussels Treaty, which created the West European Union, to include Canada and the United States was officially acknowledged. British Columbia’s Provincial Council quickly issued a statement opposing Canadian participation in the proposed “North Atlantic Security Pact.” Instead, it urged Ottawa “to use...[Canada’s] economic power to further the development of a third economic and political

force...to act as a restraining influence in the present drift towards conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R.”⁵⁹

The British Columbia statement caught many within the party by surprise:

I have been terribly disturbed [wrote David Lewis] by the line which has been taken by...[B.C.] and what is even more difficult, I have not been able to understand it. They are, of course, not pro-soviet but on the contrary; neither are they pacifists, although there is a tinge of that; nor are they appeasers; nor are they, in the normal sense of the word, doctrinaire. Their strong anti-US bias, it seems to me, cannot be sufficient explanation for the policies they espouse.⁶⁰

It was indeed a deep-rooted fear of American objectives and their reactionary character that seems to have led Lewis' western colleagues to their stated position. By throwing the CCF's support behind the chimera of a European "third force" which was confronted by two equally villainous foes, the National Council only encouraged this image of the United States and the backlash that it stimulated. Not unnaturally, many in British Columbia and elsewhere throughout the CCF, who saw in the third force the opportunity to achieve at least some of the revolutionary objectives that had seemed so possible during the war, rebelled at the thought of surrendering themselves to the care of a reactionary United States.

In contrast, the struggle for greater social justice, if not the actual triumph of social democracy, remained for Lewis, Coldwell and other members of the National Executive a real possibility both nationally and internationally, provided social democrats in Europe could continue to exploit the opportunities for advancement conferred by liberal democracy. For the CCF's National Secretary, the progressive ideal of the European third force had become almost synonymous with the North Atlantic Pact:

One of the important things to get across to our own CCF members is the development of west European union...This is the European Third Force. It is definitely related to both the European Recovery Program and the Atlantic Security Pact, because in order to develop and become strong it must have the economic assistance of this continent and the guarantee against aggression, which can only be satisfactory if the United States and Canada are behind it.⁶¹

In discovering within the North Atlantic Pact an apparent successor to the revolutionary ideals of World War II, neither Lewis nor the other members of the CCF who shared his vision were consciously dissembling. Truman's re-election in November 1948 dramatically changed the image of the United States in the eyes of many CCF members:

Truman [commented Lewis] is obviously not a world-beating progressive but...the circumstances have forced Truman to campaign on a very progressive platform, in some respects more progressive than Roosevelt...This seems a clear indication that the American people are still facing in the right direction and that all the talk about 'swing to the right' was wrong.⁶²

Coldwell, perhaps a little immoderately, even described Truman's platform as "a leftist program — social security, rent control and price control — all policies for which the CCF has stood in Canada."⁶³ American progressives, European socialists and the CCF, firmly united in their opposition to Soviet totalitarianism and "Big Business" reaction, would now become partners in a struggle to push forward the frontiers of democracy.

However, as Lewis well knew and as the B.C. statement had made abundantly clear, to develop a consensus around this vision would be terribly difficult and ultimately impossible. Peppered with questions about the party's support for the alliance and, indeed, its loyalty to Canada, the CCF could ill-afford to allow its members to probe critically the gap between the rhetoric of Western unity and democracy and the reality. Instead, in a struggle that absorbed almost all the time Lewis and the party could afford to devote to international issues during the next eighteen months, the CCF sought to mute its dissidents and declare its unwavering support for the North Atlantic Alliance. The defensive and rigidly anti-communist Socialist International that the BLP, stunned by its poor electoral showing in 1950, eventually agreed to establish, provided the CCF with little cause for celebration. From London, Robert McKenzie gloomily summarized the progress of international socialism since the war:

In the past year or so, everything we advocated at the first post-war meeting at Clacton in 1946 has come to pass...The Br[itish] Labour Party opposed all this in 1946 and in the end accepted all of it. But fundamentally, they won their point. Largely because of the delay and the way all of these activities are played down, the whole organization has had (and has today) practically no influence on the course of events.⁶⁴

The difficulties confronting international socialism in a bi-polar world were compounded by developments within the CCF. Both F.R. Scott and David Lewis, the staunchest advocates of an internationalist vision, resigned their positions with the party following the 1950 National Convention. Their replacements, particularly Lorne Ingle, the new National Secretary, were less interested in the international socialist movement and unfamiliar with its organization and its aspirations. Moreover, at the 1950 National Convention, the CCF initiated a probing examination of its convictions in response to domestic and international developments since 1933. That process would ultimately take six years and absorb most of the party's time and attention. The

inward-looking party that emerged in 1956 would display a new concern for the alienation of Canada's natural resources by foreign capital, an important step towards legitimizing the nationalism that would eventual triumph in the CCF's successor organization, the New Democratic Party. In the coming decade, nationalism, not internationalism, would become the watchword of Canadian socialism.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Angie Sauer, Norman Hillmer, John English and Mary Donaghy for their helpful comments on this article. The views expressed are the author's.
2. Julius Braunthal, *History of the International*, 3 Volumes, (trans. Peter Ford; London: Victor Gollancz, 1980).
3. See, for example, John Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*, 2 Vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979, 1982), Volume 1, pp. 59, 247; Volume 2, pp. 40, 114, 118. See also, C.C. Lingard and R.G. Trotter, *Canada in World Affairs, 1941-44* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 93, 95, 100, esp. pp. 253-54; F.H. Soward, *Canada in World Affairs: From Normandy to Paris, 1944-46* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 127, 132-33; R.A. Spencer, *Canada in World Affairs: From UN to NATO, 1946-49* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 13, 271-76.
4. See, for example, Leo Zukata, *A Protest Movement Becalmed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 53-55; Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-61* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 90-97, 233; Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 80-85, 135-37.
5. R.B. Sims, "Conceptions of War: The CCF of Canada, 1932-1940" (unpublished MA thesis, Carleton University, 1977), pp. 33-36; Greg Donaghy, "The Rise and Fall of International Socialism in the CCF, 1933-1949" (unpublished MA research paper, Carleton University, 1989), pp. 18-23.
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7. J. King Gordon, "The Political Task" in R.B.Y. Scott and G. Vlastos (eds.) *Towards the Christian Revolution* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937); Leo Heaps, *The Rebel in the House: The Life and Times of A.A. Heaps* (Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), p. 147; Ian and T.H. MacLeod, *Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem* (Edmonton: Hertz, 1987), p. 169.
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33. David Lewis to M. Phillips, 19 December 1946, CCF Records, Vol 112, NAC.
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36. D. Lewis to Graham Spry, 10 April 1946, CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC.
37. D. Lewis to M. Phillips, 22 April 1946, CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC.
38. R. McKenzie to D. Lewis, 21 May 1946, CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC. As Agent- General for the CCF government in Saskatchewan, Spry was obviously less willing to risk alienating his British contacts than was McKenzie. The latter was also upset that the British had softened the CCF's position in the minutes of the conference. *See* R. McKenzie to Denis Healey, 27 July 1946, copy in CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC.

39. R. McKenzie to D. Lewis, 21 September 1946; "Memorandum on International Socialist Co-operation", Submitted to the International Conference of Socialist Parties, 8-10 November 1946, CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC.
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42. M. Shulman to D. Lewis, 15 November 1946, CCF Records, Vol 184, NAC.
43. Colin Cameron to D. Lewis, 22 August 1946, CCF Records, Vol 77, NAC.
44. A. Stewart to D. Lewis, 17 November 1946, CCF Records, Vol 104, NAC.
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46. M.J. Coldwell, "May Day Message", 23 April 1947, CCF Records, Vol 229, NAC.
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61. David Lewis to Grace MacInnis, 22 February 1949, CCF Records, Vol 102, NAC.
62. David Lewis to F.W. McCulloch, 16 November 1948, CCF Records, Vol 136, NAC.
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Patrick Gormally

“Le Salut de l’Irlande”: A Prophetic Text

Résumé

*Les Irlandais, qui formaient jusqu’aux années 1880 le deuxième plus important groupe ethnique au Canada après les Canadiens français et occupaient, le troisième rang en 1901, constituaient une présence paradoxale au Québec où ils partageaient la religion de la majorité et la langue de la minorité. Parmi les références aux Irlandais et à l’Irlande qui existent dans la littérature canadienne française, le roman de Jacques Ferron, *Le Salut de l’Irlande*, est un des exemples les plus significatifs.*

*Publié à la fin de 1970, *Le Salut de l’Irlande*, qui avait paru sous la forme d’un feuilleton en 1966-1967, compte parmi les principaux ouvrages sur les événements qui ont précédé la crise d’octobre 1970 au Québec. En associant la fantaisie et l’histoire, l’auteur esquisse certains aspects fondamentaux du mouvement séparatiste au Québec et met en relief divers éléments communs à l’expérience irlandaise et québécoise de leurs luttes respectives pour la liberté.*

Abstract

*The presence of the Irish, who until the 1880s formed the second largest ethnic group in Canada after the French and the third largest in 1901, constituted a paradox in Québec, where they shared the religion of the majority and the language of the minority. Among the references to Ireland and the Irish in French-Canadian literature, one of the most significant is the novel *Le Salut de l’Irlande* by Jacques Ferron.*

*Published in the last days of 1970, *Le Salut de l’Irlande*, which first appeared in serial form in 1966-67, may be considered one of the most important novels on the events leading up to the October 1970 crisis in Québec. Through a combination of fantasy and history, the author succeeds in communicating certain fundamental aspects of the Québec separatist movement, and goes on to suggest a number of similarities between the Irish and Québec experiences of the struggle for freedom.*

During the last days of December 1970, Jacques Ferron was acting as intermediary between the police and the kidnappers of James Cross—the Rose brothers and Francis Simard—who gave themselves up on the 28th of that month. Three weeks earlier, his novel *Le Salut de l’Irlande*, had been rushed into print to ensure that the date of publication would be 1970¹, thereby becoming a stark reminder of the three-month constitutional and political crisis that had rocked Québec since October and also meriting inclusion in *Livres et auteurs 70*. Realizing that October 1970 was a watershed in Québec

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history, Ferron wanted his novel to be a permanent, if somewhat spontaneous, tribute to a series of events which, ironically, must have caused him little surprise.

While the black, red and white cover of the first edition of *Le Salut de l'Irlande* clearly bore the colours of the "Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale" (RIN), founded in September 1960 at the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, the book's title was considerably more enigmatic. Ireland, independent since 1921 and a Dominion until 1937, shared with Canada a history of membership in the British Empire² and, with Québec, the link of a common religious identity. Most of the similarities end there, however, because Canada attained an important degree of autonomy long before Ireland resorted to armed violence to obtain political freedom. Also, while the Irish had paid dearly for their resistance to the Protestant Reformation and its political aftermath, Lower Canada had the singular honour of becoming the only part of the British Empire where the Roman Catholic religion was accorded official recognition.

On the whole, Canada had remained loyal, and the claims for greater autonomy on the part of French-Canadians were directed as much against Ottawa as London. Just as the French-Canadians had turned a deaf ear to the invitation to arms proffered by Benjamin Franklin, so too had they turned a blind eye to the abortive invasion of Canada by U.S.-based Fenians between 1866 and 1870. The struggle of French-Canadians lay elsewhere. Despite François-Xavier Garneau's remark following his European tour of the mid-1830s, that the three sister nations comprising Ireland, Poland and French-Canada shared a common history of religious, cultural and economic persecution, French-Canadians in general, were no better disposed towards the cause of Irish freedom, of which they were aware³, than they were concerned about the repeated partition of Poland (although some societies did contribute financially to the Irish struggle).

In fact, the relationship between Irish immigrants and French-Canadians was not one of harmony and a shared vision. Canada had received the bulk of its immigrants from Ireland between 1815 and 1855, and it was only following the mass exodus provoked by the disastrous Great Famine in 1845-47 that the Irish began to emigrate directly to the U.S. By 1871, the Irish comprised just over 10% of the population of Québec (Linteau et alia, 1979, 56-57), where they had of necessity arrived via Québec City and Montréal. Travelling on empty cargo ships that supplied England with Canadian timber, they embarked at the ports of Derry, Cork, Belfast and Sligo (Houston and Smyth, 1990, Chapter 2). The greater frequency of ships leaving and the shorter sea-passage to the mouth of the St. Lawrence meant a shorter waiting period on the quayside and a cheaper fare. Conditions on board were frequently far from ideal, with the consequent victims to typhoid and other fevers. New immigrants were subsequently obliged to go into quarantine on Grosse-Île, near Québec City, where a climate of despair and death hung in the air.⁴

Possessing at least the advantage offered by some knowledge of English (although many must have also spoken Irish), Irish immigrants who landed in Québec headed toward urban centres, although many would later move farther west into the more linguistically compatible regions of Ontario. Some, however, stayed in Québec, where many Irish families found shelter among French-Canadians. Appeals for adoptive parents of Irish orphans were a regular feature at Sunday Masses in rural areas. While inter-marriage brought about some integration between Irish and French-Canadians, the majority of Irish immigrants remained locked in the impossible situation of a double minority: Catholic and English-speaking. In other words, the link of a common religion was more than offset by the divisive effect of linguistic and cultural differences. In Ontario, the outcome of attempted integration was similar; the common language failed to overcome profound political and religious differences.

In addition to their cultural distinctiveness, the Irish were also a threat on the labour market where newly-arrived immigrants in search of work were not appreciated by competitors. Despite forming the first urban proletariat of 19th-century Québec, the Irish were frequently opposed, because of ethnic rivalry, to French-Canadian fellow workers. During the Schools debate around the turn of the century, the Irish clashed openly with their Francophone co-religionists about the importance of English-language schools for Catholics, thereby consolidating their own identity as a vociferous minority on both sides of the Canadian linguistic/religious divide. The Schools debate was not the only source of discord: in 1905, the disagreement between French-Canadian and Irish Catholics over episcopal nominations put them at serious loggerheads, while highlighting the dissension throughout Canada concerning the degree of uniformity needed for a Canadian national identity. In short, the Irish in Québec were faced with the dilemma of either accepting integration with the consequent loss of their specific linguistic, cultural and economic identity, or remaining a distinct group within French-Canadian society, with their own institutions, churches and schools, identifying themselves of necessity with the English language, but not the pro-British social class represented by the Anglo-Scottish community. The Irish in Québec would appear to form an intermediary social group on one side or the other of the ethnic, religious and social divide⁵ between French-Canadians and Anglo-Scots.

It is precisely the paradoxical and subtle nature of the Irish presence in Québec, in addition to the Irish reputation for centuries-old resistance to the destruction of their homeland by foreign invaders, which allowed Jacques Ferron to ascribe a significance to the emerging realities of Québec in the early 1960s inspired by the example of the Irish people and applicable to the situation in the province. Ferron identifies with the struggle to overcome social, linguistic and political oppression and, more particularly, with resistance to a superior military force bereft of moral justification for its oppressive activities. In the words of CDA Haffigan, the congenial hero of *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, it is more

important to secure public recognition of one's good reputation than to seek fame and renown. Such would appear to be one of the lessons of Irish history, during the course of which the smaller island was the loser, militarily speaking, while remaining morally resistant and isolated, in spite of seven centuries of repeated colonialization by its larger neighbour.

As we shall see in the case of *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, Ireland is equated with the honour of Québec, with the ability of an exploited people to defend itself against a much greater physical force; Ireland is presented in the novel as a symbol of the tension between Ottawa and Québec. The complexities of Irish history are distilled into a symbol value, and, while Ferron does not draw a direct parallel between the historical or present situation in Ireland and in Québec, Québec still had a long way to go, in 1966 and again in 1970, before achieving the reforms which would allow it to take its place among the "nations" of Earth.

One of the most surprising elements of *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, written initially in 1966-67, is that the first version explores the common moral and psychological heritage of resistance shared by Québec and Ireland, where Ireland points the way to a solution of Québec's problems, including the possibility then offered by the FLQ campaign of bomb attacks. By saving Ireland, Québec fulfills its duty to itself and guarantees its own self-respect and honour. By early 1966, the firm conviction existed in Ottawa that separatism automatically meant violence; the global movement towards independence was seen as a threat to the stability of Canada. This may have been one of the reasons why Jacques Ferron called an abrupt end to the serialized version of his text in April 1967; his own explanation was the inordinate time it would take to cover contemporary events fully without provoking the ire of his readers. Yet Ferron does not rule out the possibility of continuing the text discreetly, because "le Québec a le devoir de sauver l'Irlande" (Ferron, 1966-67, Fin). Three years later, the events of October 1970 gave cruel confirmation of the exactitude of these presentiments.

* * *

On February 15, 1966, the Montréal medical journal, *L'Information médicale et paramédicale* published the first instalment of a serial written by Jacques Ferron, the doctor-writer from Longueuil, entitled *Le Salut de l'Irlande*. During subsequent months, the bimonthly journal carried in each issue a new chapter ranging in length from some five hundred words to two thousand, five hundred. On April 4, 1967, the same journal published the 28th and final instalment of the serial in which the author seems to suggest that events of a non-literary nature have influenced his decision to discontinue the series. The novel published in December 1970 is the same basic text as the earlier serial. The second version however, contains a slightly different narrative sequence, and some of the original passages are omitted altogether⁶. The definitive

version also concentrates more specifically on the separatist/terrorist phenomenon present as a leitmotiv in the earlier serialized version.

The issue of assigning literary merit to this text must take account of the considerable pressure under which the serial was rewritten, in October and November 1970, following a period of intense political turmoil in Québec. The novel deals with a number of transformations, including the passage from history to myth and the integration of Irish immigrants in pre-1960s Québec society. The highly personal style recalls other Ferron novels. *Le Ciel de Québec*, considered one of the most important Québec novels in the period 1960-69⁷, attempts a new look at the history of Québec during the late 1930s, charting the social and ideological changes which transformed a certain narrow provincialism into a greater humanist tolerance. Like *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, *L'Amélanchier* is an account of childhood⁸, while one of the principal characters, Connie, appears briefly in the closing pages of *La Nuit*⁹. *Le Salut de l'Irlande* is integrated into the rest of Ferron's work as a novel in which the ordinary history of the Québec Irish is transformed into a world of fantasy. This is accomplished essentially by the juxtaposition of certain Irish symbols and values with French-Canadian reality. This process is not new to Ferron. In his controversial play *Les Grands Soleils*, he sought to elucidate in drama, and treat in a contemporary context, the somewhat forgotten episode of the Patriots' rebellion of 1837-38 and the heroism of Doctor Jean-Olivier Chénier¹⁰. In earlier essays, published collectively as *Historiettes*¹¹, Ferron explained the inspiration he found in historical events as a reaction to what he terms "la sottise des historiens". Several events and periods are therefore the subject of Ferron's texts: the Patriots' Rebellion (1837), the Riel Affair (1885), the Conscription question (1918), and the removal of Wolfe's statue in Québec (1963), which inspired the play *La Tête du Roi*¹². *Le Salut de l'Irlande* shares with *Les Confitures de coings*¹³ (reworked version of *La Nuit*) coverage of another important date in the history of resistance in Québec: the events of October 1970.

The plot is as follows. CDA Haffigan, middle-aged dealer in *bagosse* and small-time political agent under the Duplessis regime, lives in Anglophone Saint-Lambert, where Jacques Ferron practiced medicine since 1948. The action takes place on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence where events associated with the kidnappings of October 1970 unfolded. CDA Haffigan occupies a once imposing, but now run-down, 19th-century house near the railway tracks, somewhat euphemistically called *The Castle*. Of Irish ancestry, he is inordinately proud of his origins, represented in particular by the fox on the imaginary family coat of arms, although his name does not appear in any standard Irish genealogy. Furthermore, this animal, who is known to haunt the male youths of the family at the moment of their passage to manhood, frequents the open spaces adjoining the house, an area formerly occupied by the Montreal Hunt Club and now belonging to Major Bellow, a retired British army officer. The fox represents what Ferron calls the complicity which precedes (com)patriotism¹⁴. Married to a French Canadian, CDA Haffigan has

four sons, three of whom, Mike, Tim and Buck, much to their father's chagrin, join respectively the RCMP/GRC, *l'Escouade anti- subversive de Montréal* and *la Sûreté du Québec* (Ferron, 1970, 35). The youngest son, Connie¹⁵, who attends the school run by the *Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes in Longueuil* rather than the Catholic High School in Saint-Lambert, where his brothers went (Ferron, 1970, 99-100), is initiated into the FLQ in the presence of his father and the ancestral fox at a ceremony in the *Castle* (Ferron, 1970, 192-7). He is then informed by his father that he, Connie, will become an "Effelquois", only to be told later that "il t'incombe désormais de sauver l'Irlande" (Ferron, 1970, 216). When his father ascends into the heavens aboard a *chasse-galerie*, accompanied by Papineau, Rédempteur Faucher and Major Bellow, Connie is left, gun in hand, to be arrested by his helicopter-borne policemen brothers, who descend from the same sky and put him in handcuffs.

The principal characters of the novel are the members of the Haffigan family, Major Bellow and Frère Thadéus, but it is the development of the narrator, Connie Haffigan, of which the reader is most aware. Connie is the most "credible" character in a novel where the plot is essentially subject to the demands of fantasy. His mother, like his brothers, represents one of the two extremes against which CDA Haffigan reacts. The first is a world he cannot enter, that of French-Canadian culture, because of his poor command of the language. The second is a world which he is not prepared to enter, the imposed law and order of Anglophone Canada in Québec, which humiliates the rebel in him. It is this rebellious reaction against the establishment which causes CDA Haffigan to see in the symbol of Ireland a means of saving his own honour as a *pro-québécois* Anglophone Quebecker. His transformation into a québécois patriot, which cannot be explained by ordinary psychology, is a product of the world of fantasy in which the events of the novel unfold (J. Marcel, 1970, 16). Connie's mother and brothers are the stereotypes common in fairy tales: Madame Haffigan is the powerless victim of her husband's eccentricities, while the three policemen sons represent compromise with the very evil their father abhors. Major Bellow, whose presence in the *chasse-galerie* is surprising, owes this privilege to the fact that he was previously secretary to the Montreal Hunt Club, where the fox, the ancestral mascot of the Haffigans, still wanders. Jean Marcel sees this as the completion of the fantasy cycle associating the fox and the Hunt Club with the legend of the *chasse-galerie*, the latter renewed in the context of a contemporary, revolutionary movement in Québec: "Ainsi se ferme l'anneau d'or du merveilleux unissant la chasse à courre des aristocrates du Club d'autrefois et la chasse-galerie de la mythologie québécoise, devenue révolutionnaire." (J. Marcel, 1970, 16). The final important character, Frère Thadéus, is partly responsible for Connie's generous commitment to the effelquois cause, by virtue of his homespun philosophy of love and solidarity with the popular cause (J. Marcel, 1970, 17). The secondary characters in the novel appear less as individuals than minor characters subject to the single-minded purpose of CDA Haffigan who wishes to provoke a reaction capable of saving the honour of his own Irishness, and thereby add to the honour of Québec.

Connie's involvement as an "Effelquois" is principally due to his father's insistence and disappointment at the career choices of his other three sons. While CDA Haffigan's awareness of his Irish origins dates back to his existence as a small-time, Anglophone political agent, his espousal of violence as a means of solving the problems of Québec is provoked by the Westmount letter bombs of 1963 (Ferron, 1970, 196?). It is important to recall that the creation of the "Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale" in 1960, followed by its incorporation into a political party in 1963¹⁶, was influenced by a world-wide process of decolonization (Fournier, 1982, 17). National liberation movements were active in Vietnam, Cuba and the Basque country, while the IRA, having ended its 1950s Border Campaign with a truce in 1962, rapidly became involved in armed violence following the 1969 civil disturbances in Northern Ireland. The FLQ, whose origins can be traced back to the Fall of 1962 (Fournier, 1982, 29), identified with the tradition of the 1837 Patriotes, while its publication, *La Cognée*, aligned the actions of the FLQ to those of resistance fighters elsewhere, including the Irish Republicans (Fournier, 1982, 61). Such was the spontaneous fear that IRA-style paramilitary activity, similar to that used against the institutions of the United Kingdom, might be deployed against representatives of the Federal government, that Premier Diefenbaker is reported to have exclaimed in April 1963, when a bomb on the track delayed his special election train between Montréal and Quebec City: "Is this Ireland?" (Fournier, 1982, 38). The visit to Canada of Queen Elizabeth II in October 1964 and the introduction of the new Canadian flag in December of the same year, served only to intensify nationalist feeling in Québec. Two years later, the Republic of Ireland celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter rebellion of 1916¹⁷ and, in 1967, Canada celebrated the first Centenary of Confederation. Following the kidnapping of James Cross on October 5, 1970 by Jacques Lanctôt and others, the group issued a communiqué claiming solidarity with a number of independence movements world-wide, including "les catholiques révolutionnaires d'Irlande du Nord et tous ceux qui luttent pour leur liberté, leur indépendance et leur dignité," (Fournier, 1982, 298). Ireland again figured in a message issued in 1978 in which Lanctôt compared the struggle of the FLQ with that taking place in a number of countries, including Northern Ireland (Fournier, 311-312). While Ferron's novel deals with a serious political conflict, his treatment, which does not necessarily condone violence, has the additional merit of transforming the horror generally associated with armed struggle into the more palatable enigma of fantasy. The prophetic or visionary element of the novel is manifest in the contrast between Connie's harmless gesture in joining the FLQ and the impressive forces deployed to arrest him at the end of the novel. It is interesting to compare this treatment with the reality of what actually took place in late 1970. Following the declaration of the War Measures Act on October 16, when the Canadian army moved into Québec, and over five hundred citizens were subsequently arrested, the federal government intimated that a serious plot to overthrow both the Québec and federal governments had been uncovered. However, the federal government spokesperson of October 17, M. Jean Marchand, admitted

in 1981 that recourse to the War Measures Act was tantamount to “mobiliser un canon pour tuer une mouche” (Cited in Fournier, 345). The reader of Ferron’s novel cannot help noticing the similarity between such sentiments, which others must also have felt in late 1970 and afterwards, and the closing pages of *Le Salut de l’Irlande*, where a police helicopter transporting armed soldiers comes to arrest Connie Haffigan, the “Effelquois” who has committed no other crime than to believe in Québec’s right to self-determination.

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A comparison of the serialized version of *Le Salut de l’Irlande* and the definitive edition reveals a number of features common to both texts and confirms certain resemblances between Québec and Ireland: the menace of the Anglophone world, contempt for certain public institutions (the police in particular), and opposition to the social oppression of the poor. In addition, Québec and Ireland both share a common Catholicism, the legacy of failed attempts to achieve national sovereignty, and the common experience of bilingualism. In the background of attempts to acquire self-determination in both Québec and Ireland, a certain insecurity is apparent as well, due to the presence in each society, at different periods in their respective histories, of a considerable proportion of citizens who do not share the desire for sovereignty.

Ferron’s purpose in *Le Salut de l’Irlande* is to propose, in what was a prophetic view, that only a certain form of radicalism, including a somewhat fatalistic acceptance of partial failure, is capable of saving the unique identity of Québec. Québec’s uniqueness consists of factors that make Quebeckers identify first with their province and secondly with Canada.

Le Salut de l’Irlande makes use of certain characteristic traits of Québécois culture and history (“chasse-galerie,” “bagosse,” Irish presence, FLQ) to highlight the fundamental differences between Quebeckers and other Canadians. The action of the novel is the expression, notably in terms of social unrest, of Québec’s deep-felt desire to administer its own affairs and to be seen in the eyes of the world to do so. In the words of CDA Haffigan, to save Ireland is to save Québec; that is, what remains of Québec’s honour. The objective is that of self-expression and the achievement of self-respect. Despite the political dimension, shrouded in fantasy, the purpose of the struggle in Ferron’s novel is a moral one—even though the unavoidable and uncondoned use of physical violence is also suggested, if not actually portrayed. There may be two reasons for the absence of a vivid depiction of violence. The fact that the War Measures Act was still in force at the time *Le Salut de l’Irlande* was published may partially explain the author’s prudence. However, a more significant explanation may lie in Ferron’s fear of violence, which inspired him to found the *Parti Rhinocéros* as a means of deriding the first signs of violence in Québec in 1963. The essential difference between the two versions of the text is that, whereas the serialized version does not contain any direct

reference to the separatist/terrorist campaign (apart from the fact that Conney is told by his father to become an "Effelquois"), the definitive form of the novel expands this very theme in the final dream-like sequence mentioned earlier.

Le Salut de l'Irlande confirms that at the core of the Québec/Canada question, a significant ethnic difference persists despite the presence of federal institutions. CDA Haffigan becomes Québécois through his son's membership in the FLQ, thereby illustrating the fundamental ethno-centrism of Québec society and its drive towards self-determination. CDA desires recognition of his importance: his reputation counts for more than his fame (Ferron, 1970, 62). Québec, "la deuxième Irlande" (Ferron, 1970, 183; Ferron 1966-67, chap. XIII), appears to be inhabited by "des Irlandais francisés" (Ferron, 1970, 148) who believe with "une foi qui ne veut pas mourir" (Ferron, 1970, 183) in a country without frontiers (Ferron, 1970, 181). To save Ireland/Québec becomes "une vocation impérieuse, un destin" (Ferron, 1966-7, chap. VI) which leaves Conney/Connie to decide that "pour sauver l'Irlande paternelle, je suis devenu patriote québécois" (Ferron, 1966-67, chap. V). Connie's decision to espouse the FLQ cause is the result of his reaction to suggestions by his father and Frère Thadéus rather than a totally spontaneous, personal choice. It is possible that CDA Haffigan and Frère Thadéus represent, as does the fox in a more obvious way, the symbol of past memory internalized and transmitted to the next generation. In that case, Connie becomes an adult on discovering, almost simultaneously, the duties of an Effelquois and the pleasures of sexual activity. His initiation as an "Effelquois" (Ferron, 1970, 191-7), under his father's eye and that of the fox, leaves him somewhat unconvinced: "Connie, tu seras Effelquois. Je l'avais quelque peu oublié et, mon Dieu! je ne me sentais pas le courage d'y repenser" (Ferron, 1970, 196). He obviously prefers the earlier initiation into sexual activity with Doreen Bayne, the daughter of an Anglo-Quebec family, that had also taken place under the vigilant eye of the fox (Ferron, 1970, 166-7), making him feel totally transformed. His positive reaction to that experience contrasts strongly with his lack of conviction on becoming an "Effelquois". Sexual activity on the contrary caused him to discover:

quelque chose de niais et de gentil, la découverte la plus commune de la terre et néanmoins la plus secrète, une niaiserie transcendée par l'espèce, assortie d'un vocabulaire spécieux et d'un lyrisme assez semblable au chant des oiseaux, l'amour, quoi! l'amour toujours recommencé, cette baignade à deux où je me liquéfiais d'aise. (Ferron, 1970, 201).

When Frère Thadéus asks Connie whether or not he loves his country (Ferron, 1970, 181-4), it is obvious that, far from seeking information, the crafty Brother is seeking to sow in the boy's mind the idea that personal sacrifice for the national cause is a worthy ideal. Later, the serialized version ends suddenly with Conney's dream of the red sky into which his brothers have ascended¹⁸. However, the novel (Ferron, 1970, 215-22) goes on to describe Connie's

presence at an explosion for which he is not responsible and the disappearance of his father on board a chasse-galerie, leaving the boy surprised to discover his father's old gun in his hand. When his armed policemen brothers subsequently descend in a helicopter to arrest him, Connie makes a harmless prisoner who understands clearly :

que l'Irlande était en péril, que l'Irlande était aux abois et qu'il fallait la défendre au prix de son sang, la sauver au prix de son âme comme CDA Haffigan sous le coup de la fulguration, parce qu'il s'était mis à penser, ô supplice! ô déchirement de toute une vie! m'avait commandé de le faire. (Ferron, 1970, 222)

Connie's involvement is obviously non-active in the military sense, but nonetheless he becomes convinced of the importance of "saving" Ireland, and therefore Québec. Hence, by fulfilling its duty to save Ireland, Québec saves its own chances of self-development.

Ferron's thematic preoccupations and narrative techniques, as evident in *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, have much in common with several other fictional works by the same author. *Les Grands Soleils* deals with a question similar to that in *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, namely, armed revolt and its importance in Québec mythology. The narrative technique of both texts also exploits the multi-dimensional aspects of time and space, and allows historical events to be re-examined from a contemporary point of view and eventually transformed into a new mythology. The first-person narrative of Tinamer de Portanqueu in *L'Amélanquier* recalls that of Connie Haffigan. Both tales include the recounting of childhood as a time of unique experience, but which also contains the seeds of what life is essentially about. The combination of fantasy and reality confers on both works a common poetic quality, and both incorporate a transformation of the oral tale and allegory into the moral or philosophical tale, a constant element in Ferron's fiction¹⁹.

Just as *L'Amélanquier* can be read allegorically as "le récit de l'évolution du peuple québécois au XX^e siècle"²⁰ or *La Chaise du Maréchal-Ferrant* as "la représentation d'une aventure collective (celle du Canada français de 1920 à 1960) à travers un 'drame' individuel"²¹, similarly *Le Salut de l'Irlande* can be read as an account of the struggle for self-determination in Québec in the 1960s. Ferron does not hesitate to blend magic and fantasy—as in the magic chair of the "maréchal-ferrant" or the "chasse-galerie"—to create a moral tale or fable that illustrates a particular moment in the history of Québec. The text is more closely related to the *conte* or tale than the novel. Given Aurélien Boivin's three principal classifications of *contes* from Québec—elements of the fantastic, anecdotes and borrowings from history²²—*Le Salut de l'Irlande* possesses aspects of all three, thereby confirming Jean-Marcel Paquette's observation concerning the Ferron text *Contes* and the fable element in *Le Salut de l'Irlande*²³, that the latter is an example of a Ferronian learned tale at

its best. Here, magic is more powerful than reason, the language is frequently metaphorical, and the plot deals with initiation into great mysteries.

Following the events of October 1970, Ferron re-worked his novel *La Nuit*, re-titled *Les Confitures de coings*, which one critic sees as an appeal “moins à l’humour qu’à l’émotion pure pour inciter le lecteur à sa mythologie personnelle.”²⁴ Connie’s experience of the national liberation of Québec, symbolized by Ireland, is also accompanied by his experience of personal liberation in the form of his almost simultaneous initiation into the FLQ and manhood. His mythical Irish ancestry is at least partly responsible for his accession to a new personal maturity. The closing pages of the novel, describing Connie’s arrest despite his non-involvement, and which were written following the events of October 1970, can be taken to reflect the arrest of five hundred people, mostly artists and intellectuals, following the War Measures Act. Although Connie is not a terrorist, he looks like one and he represents the need for urgent change in Québec. In the January 1971 interview referred to earlier, Ferron has this to say:

On a l’impression que le terrorisme est arrivé parce qu’on n’a pas réussi à instaurer une politique acceptable. Il y a des réformes qui auraient dû être faites et ne l’ont pas été. Et nous sommes incriminés par cette politique qui engendre le terrorisme. (Handfield, 10 janvier 1971, 10-B)

Asked why the authorities chose him as an intermediary during the arrest of the Rose brothers and Francis Simard, Ferron felt that the request was addressed to the doctor rather than the writer. Pointing out that his rôle was not to arbitrate but rather to witness what had already been agreed, Ferron adds that his presence was the sign of a certain humanitarian, non-judgmental approach. Medicine and justice seek a remedy by curing the illness and condemning the crime, without judging the individual: “Cela nous permet de garder du respect pour une personne condamnée même si on n’approuve pas son geste.” (Handfield, 10 janvier 1971, 10-B). Connie Haffigan, the only member of his family to remain calm during the terrorist crisis, is certainly the symbol of moral resistance to a certain form of hysteria which exists in the face of the terrorist threat. Ferron’s novel is an attempt to defuse predictable political reactions to the separatist threat in Québec; the light-hearted fantasy elements in the novel avoid possible extremist reactions by declaring, implicitly, that the events of October 1970 were more precisely the enactment of a revolution which never took place:

Dans mon roman, les choses sont vues avec une certaine bonhomie, sans l’excitation qui a existé durant la crise. C’est d’ailleurs le ton qu’a adopté M. Cross quand il a dit en parlant de ses ravisseurs qu’il s’agit de jeunes qui se croient en révolution. Je n’ai jamais voulu

tomber dans l'hystérie qui existait à ce moment-là. (Handfield, 10 janvier 1971, 10-B).

Le Salut de l'Irlande is a prophetic text with regard to more than the violence-prone events of the 1960s. It identifies in a specific Canadian context the problems—economic, linguistic and political—associated with the integration of minorities and, in so doing, highlights the example of an important, if somewhat forgotten, Québécois minority. Ireland represents both the honourable resistance to external impositions and the statement of personal identity without which no nation can bring about recognition of its uniqueness. As the debate on independence and sovereignty continues, references to “l'honneur des Québécois”²⁵ re-occur, even if in different political circumstances. One can almost hear CDA Haffigan chuckling in the background.

Notes

1. *Le Salut de l'Irlande* was launched in Montréal on Wednesday, 8 December 1970. See Tremblay, 11 décembre 1970.
2. The Republic of Ireland, officially declared in 1937, formally left the Commonwealth in 1949. The latter announcement was made by the Irish *Taoiseach* (Premier) in Ottawa, during an official visit to Canada, thereby completing the process of independence which had begun in 1921 with the granting of Dominion status.
3. Daniel O'Connell, defender of the Catholic Irish by constitutional means during the first half of the nineteenth-century, was also known to French Canadians whose cause he defended in London courts. Later, his portrait was reproduced on the \$2 bill in Canada and also featured frequently in French-Canadian homes. See Lionel Groulx, *Journal*, 2 vols., éd. Giselle Huot and Réjean Bergeron. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1984, pp. 146-8.
4. In *L'Amélanchier*, by J. Ferron (Montréal, Éd. du Jour, 1970) one of the characters, a young priest, tends, at the cost of his life, the typhoid-stricken Irish on the quarantine island of Grosse-Île.
5. Fernand Harvey, *État de la recherche sur les Irlandais du Québec*. Québec, 19 juillet 1991, 8 pp., (p. 4). Harvey points out that an additional dimension to the problematical question of the Irish in Québec is the civic and cultural integration that made them important participants in late 19th century political life and also caused their influence to be seen on traditional French-Canadian culture.
6. The narrative sequence of the definitive version of *Le Salut de l'Irlande* (SI) differs principally from the serialized version in *L'Information médicale et paramédicale* (IMP) in that the plot of the novel is less dispersed and has fewer parentheses, which are more appropriate to the spontaneous style of the serial. The nine sections of the original twenty-eight part serial that do not appear in the novel consist mostly of references to specific aspects of Québec politics, and their absence obviously goes some considerable way to highlighting the Irish dimension of the situation. Chapter 1 of the novel is almost totally new material, chapters 2 to 4 include parts of the serial, while chapters 4 to 9 of the novel, apart from some new linking sections, are largely un-rewritten sections of the serial, retouched in only one or two places, and the seven closing pages are new. In the novel, the symbolic fox appears earlier than in the serial, CDA Haffigan's political activity is presented prior to Connie's initiation into sexual activity and subsequent terrorist stance, and Madame Haffigan's funeral—the scene of a violent polarization between CDA Haffigan and his policemen sons—is delayed until the final chapter of the novel, where it immediately precedes the closing dream-like sequence, not in the serial, and in which CDA Haffigan disappears aboard a *chasse-galerie* while Connie is arrested by his uniformed brothers. It is interesting to note that a reference to the Westmount letter-box bombs of the night of 16-17th

- May, 1963, which occurs in the final section of the serial—entitled “Bilan provisoire”—, is mentioned as early as chapter 3 of the novel, thus setting the context for CDA Haffigan’s growing awareness of what Ireland signifies in his own political culture. (The present author wishes to acknowledge here the invaluable assistance of the executors of the literary estate of Jacques Ferron for making available the serialized version of *Le Salut de l'Irlande*).
7. Alonzo Le Blanc, “*Le Ciel de Québec*”, in *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol IV, Montréal: Fides, 1984, p. 175. J. Ferron, *Le Ciel de Québec*, Montréal: éditions du Jour, 1969.
 8. François Gallays, *L’Amélanchier*, in M. Lemire, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. V. Montréal: éd. Fides, 1987, p. 23. J. Ferron, *L’Amélanchier*, Montréal: éd. du Jour, 1970.
 9. Jacques Ferron, *La Nuit*, Montréal: éditions Parti pris, 1965.
 10. Alonzo Le Blanc, *Les Grands Soleils*, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. III. Montréal: Fides, 1982, pp. 438-42. J. Ferron, *Les Grands Soleils*, Montréal: les éditions d’Orphée, 1958. Similarly, Ferron’s play, *La Tête du Roi* (Montréal: A.G.E.U.M., 1963) deals with the loyalist v. revolutionary conflict within one family in the context of several important events in the history of resistance in Québec.
 11. J. Ferron, *Historiettes*. Montréal: éditions du Jour, 1969.
 12. J. Ferron, *La Tête du Roi*. Montréal: A.G.E.U.M., 1963; dans *Théâtre 2*. Montréal: Librairie Déom, 1975.
 13. J. Ferron, *Les Confitures de coings et autres textes*, Montréal: Éd. Parti pris, 1972 and originally published as *La Nuit* in 1965. Rewritten early in 1971, the novel explores the meaning of reality in the context of conflict between truth and appearance. Despite the fact that almost one thousand variations have been noted in the re-written version, reinforcing the political thrust of the novel, highlighting the almost contemporaneous commentary of events and making it, what some readers have termed, an instrument of cultural warfare (See P. Cantin, *Les Confitures de coings et autres textes*, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. VI, pp. 173-4), there is also an evident continuity between both versions. In the important article by Jacques Pelletier, “De *La Nuit aux Confitures de coings*: le poids des événements d’octobre 1970” (Voix et Images, vol VIII, n^o 3, printemps 1983, p. 407-20), it is shown that the events of October 1970 played an important role in the evolution of the claim for independence towards the position of sovereignty-association and that Ferron’s work, as witnessed by the rewriting of *La Nuit*, played an important role in that transformation. We would suggest here that *Le Salut de l'Irlande* is also part of the same process.
 14. “Il existe sûrement une complicité profonde entre tous les Québécois. Avant d’Être compatriotes, on est complices. Et dans *Le Salut de l'Irlande*, il y a un renard qui peut servir de symbole à cette complicité.” (J. Ferron, interviewed by Micheline Handfield, “Avant d’être compatriotes, les Québécois sont complices’ - Jacques Ferron”, *Québec Presse*, vol 3, no 2, 10 janvier 1971, p. 10-B).
 15. Conney in the serial becomes Connie in the novel.
 16. Jacques Ferron was an unsuccessful candidate for the *Rassemblement pour l’indépendance nationale* in the 1966 provincial elections.
 17. Easter 1916 saw the first republican insurrection in Ireland, which was to set in motion the severing of ties with London and the partition of the island in 1921.
 18. The author states in the final section of the serial that his story is incomplete: “Hélas! je n’en ai pas fini avec l’Irlande.” The final paragraph makes it clear that non-literary reasons were responsible for the brusque, if provisional, ending: “Et j’aurai depuis longtemps commencé de recevoir des lettres d’injures des lecteurs de l’Information Médicale. C’est pourquoi je mets fin à ma chronique abusive dès aujourd’hui, quitte à la continuer plus discrètement (...): le Québec a le devoir de sauver l’Irlande.” (Ferron, 1966-67, Fin)
 19. See Jean-Marcel Paquette, *Au fond de mon arrière-cuisine*, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. V, p. 259. J. Ferron, *Au fond de mon arrière-cuisine*, Montréal: Éd. du Jour, 1973.
 20. F. Gallays, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. V. p.23.
 21. Jacques Michon, *La Chaise du Maréchal-Ferrant*, in *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. V, p. 129. J. Ferron, *La Chaise du Maréchal-Ferrant*, Montréal: Éd. du Jour, 1972.
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22. Cited by A. Le Blanc, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol IV, 174.
23. J.-M. Paquette, "Contes", in *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol IV, 202. J. Ferron, *Contes*, Montréal: HMH, 1968. See also J. Marcel, 1970.
24. Pierre Cantin, *Les Confitures de coings et autres textes*, in *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. V, p. 173.
25. L. Bouchard, cited in M. Jacot, *Le Monde*, 24 mai 1990.

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Pierre Véronneau

La réception des films québécois en France : le cas de Gilles Carle

Résumé

Depuis vingt-cinq ans, avec régularité, on présente des films québécois en France, ce qui justifie une étude sur leur réception. Le documentariste Pierre Perrault occupe une place à part à cause de la nature de son oeuvre. Le cinéma de consommation courante réussit mal à percer, sauf en ce qui a trait aux coproductions. Le cinéma d'auteur, de par ses prétentions même, suscite une attention plus soutenue de la part de la presse. Le cas de Gilles Carle, dont tous les films ont été présentés dans ce pays, constitue un exemple privilégié pour aborder le sujet.

Abstract

Quebec films have been regular fare in French theatre for the past twenty-five years, a fact that invites examination of how well they are received. Documentary film-maker Pierre Perrault falls in a distinct category because of the nature of his work. With the exception of co-productions, general distribution films are slow to penetrate the market. Films known by author/director, by their very nature, receive more sustained press coverage. Gilles Carle, whose films have all been screened in France, is a prime example and a fitting introduction to our topic.

À l'automne 1991 se tenait le premier Festival du cinéma québécois de Blois. Signe des temps, la France semblait mûre pour tenter l'aventure d'un événement annuel. Pourtant, la réussite de pareille entreprise était loin d'être assurée. À l'exception du succès exceptionnel du *Déclin de l'empire américain*¹, on ne peut pas dire que les années 1980 constituaient une décennie faste pour ce qui est de l'accueil fait en France au cinéma québécois: celui-ci n'était plus à la mode — les « Français d'Amérique » non plus — et l'on sait combien ce facteur compte pour la critique. Songeant à l'ironie qu'il suscitait quand il annonçait la parution d'un numéro spécial de sa revue consacré au cinéma québécois, Guy Hennebelle, dans un préambule intitulé « Bye-bye Québec ? », écrivait qu'il faut non seulement se soucier d'un cinéma quand il « va bien », mais aussi « quand il semble connaître une traversée du désert » (Carrière, 1986 : 4). Jusqu'à cette époque, l'image obligeante que véhiculait la presse correspondait surtout à une perception issue des années 1960 et confirmée par les années 1970, perpétuel point de référence. Nous examinerons dans ce texte comment cette image s'est créée et comment elle a évolué.

Pour analyser la réception des films québécois en France, nous disposons essentiellement de deux outils : le vaste et riche corpus des textes publiés dans la presse française et des statistiques de fréquentation compilées par le Centre national de la cinématographie. J'aurai recours à ces dernières pour baliser l'appréciation de la critique et mesurer l'accueil que le public réserve aux films québécois. D'ores et déjà, je peux préciser la situation générale de la diffusion des films en France. Dans leur grande majorité, ceux-ci circulent surtout au moment de leur lancement — le succès doit être instantané sinon le film est aussitôt retiré de l'affiche — et réalisent presque la totalité de leurs entrées durant la première année ; un film doit bien « marcher » dès sa sortie à Paris si l'on veut qu'il sorte en province. À l'exception de quelques rares grands succès, la carrière d'un film dure de trois semaines à trois mois et un très petit nombre seulement circulent plus longtemps et ont droit à de nouvelles sorties commerciales². Les chiffres que j'avancerai renvoient donc à la première année de distribution.

Rappelons d'abord que le premier tiers des films sortis en exclusivité en France est américain et que le deuxième (incluant les coproductions) est français ; le troisième couvre tous les autres pays. Le Canada n'y occupe qu'un maigre 1 p. 100 (qui peut monter à 3 p. 100 si l'on inclut nos coproductions avec la France). Avec un si petit nombre, nos probabilités de percer sont minimes³. Un grand succès fait plus de deux millions d'entrées ; au-dessus de 500 000, la carrière d'un film est passable. Tous les films de cette catégorie sont des coproductions, sauf *Le déclin de l'empire américain* (plus de 1 200 000) ; *Heavy Metal*, un film d'animation de Gerald Potterton (plus de 1 100 000) ; et *Scanners*, un film fantastique de David Cronenberg (plus de 590 000), ce qui permet, tout compte fait, de les classer parmi les gros canons. « À la lumière des données sur la fréquentation (une moyenne de 180 000 spectateurs par film), il est vraisemblable et réaliste de conclure que le marché cible d'une oeuvre québécoise en France (film entièrement produit au Québec ou coproduction majoritaire) oscille entre 150 000 et 200 000 spectateurs » (Carrière, Letendre, Pérusse, 1991 : 88). En fait, pour qu'on puisse raisonnablement parler de succès pour un film québécois, il lui faut dépasser les 100 000 entrées ; or, les deux tiers des oeuvres québécoises n'atteignent même pas ce chiffre. En bas de 20 000 entrées, un film est un échec⁴. Ces quelques données fournissent donc un barème pour évaluer les chiffres que je fournirai dans le corps de cet article.

Parmi les textes qui font l'objet de l'étude, on doit distinguer ceux qui proviennent de revues de cinéma, généralement des mensuels, et ceux qui originent des quotidiens et des hebdomadaires. Comme on le sait, en France, ceux-ci possèdent généralement une coloration politico-idéologique. De l'extrême droite à l'extrême gauche, on trouve notamment les noms suivants : *Minute*, *La Croix* (catholique), *Le Figaro*, *France-Soir*, *Le Monde*, *L'Express*, *Le Matin de Paris*, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *L'Humanité* (communiste), *Le Canard Enchaîné*, *Libération*, *Rouge* ; tous ces titres reviendront en référence. Souvent, l'appréciation des oeuvres varie en fonction des divisions

idéologiques. Du côté des revues de cinéma⁵, les clivages sont moins perceptibles et les choix qui démarquent une revue d'une autre influencent peu l'appréciation des films. Tout au plus préférera-t-on un auteur à un autre ou accordera-t-on généralement au cinéma québécois une attention plus soutenue.

Lorsqu'il écrit au sujet d'un film, le critique peut se montrer sensible au jeu des comédiens, discourir sur l'écriture filmique, dégager des constantes dans l'oeuvre d'un auteur. Pour mieux cibler notre approche et mettre en lumière, dans une perspective interculturelle, la spécificité des diverses réactions aux films québécois en France, nous retiendrons ce qui renvoie à un jugement plus général relativement au cinéma québécois. Autrement dit, je m'arrêterai aux passages qui portent sur l'origine québécoise des films ou certaines de leurs caractéristiques. Concrètement, cela peut renvoyer à des éléments comme la langue parlée, la localisation de l'action (incluant l'exotisme), le contexte socio-politique, le renvoi à l'oeuvre de l'auteur et la référence intertextuelle à d'autres données culturelles québécoises (chanson, littérature, etc.).

L'étude de la réception des productions (parfois appelée pragmatique) constitue une problématique nouvelle⁶ et mon texte en constitue une contribution limitée qui porte sur l'analyse de textes écrits. Leurs auteurs possèdent ce que Jauss appelle un horizon d'attente : un système de référence formulable qui résulte de l'expérience préalable qu'a le critique du genre, de la forme et des thématiques. Cet horizon fonde en grande partie la compréhension de l'oeuvre. Chaque spectateur possède un répertoire de connaissances et de valeurs — ses présuppositions — qui vient s'éprouver sur le répertoire de l'oeuvre elle-même — l'actualise — et conditionne son intervention interprétative. Le premier répertoire peut évoluer pour un même spectateur et même, d'un point de vue plus général, dans le temps. L'étude de la réception renvoie à l'historicité de l'expérience de déconstruction et de reconstruction du sens des films. Elle fait prendre conscience de l'importance de l'histoire de la réception, de « l'histoire des effets », de l'histoire de l'expérience esthétique ainsi que de leur rapport à l'histoire générale.

Mon étude essaiera de mettre en lumière ces mécanismes chez un spectateur spécifique : le critique de cinéma. J'adopterai une démarche chronologique qui ira des années 1960 aux années 1980. J'évoquerai brièvement la place du documentariste Pierre Perrault. Toutefois, je préfère m'en tenir aux oeuvres de fiction, plus significatives pour qui veut se faire une idée de l'accueil que la France réserve aux films québécois, parce qu'elles s'adressent à un public plus « normal » — celui qui fréquente les salles de cinéma (commerciales ou d'art et d'essai)⁷ —, qu'elles rejoignent une presse plus large et, du point de vue du spectateur, qu'elles se comparent avec d'autres films qu'il a l'habitude de consommer. Dans le champ de la fiction, on peut distinguer trois catégories d'oeuvres : 1) les films d'auteurs, c'est-à-dire de cinéastes qui véhiculent un point de vue personnel, font preuve d'une recherche d'écriture originale et articulent, d'un film à l'autre, une démarche dont on perçoit la continuité et le

développement; 2) les films destinés à la consommation de masse, essentiellement de divertissement; ils connaissent des fortunes diverses, souvent proportionnelles à l'intérêt des oeuvres. Je n'en débattrai guère, leur propos étant généralement mince et la critique peu encline à s'y arrêter; 3) les coproductions, c'est-à-dire des films produits grâce à des capitaux français et québécois. On y retrouve à la fois du cinéma d'auteur et du cinéma commercial. Je traiterai des premières et dernières catégories et le cas de Gilles Carle me servira de fil conducteur, car il est le seul cinéaste québécois dont tous les films furent diffusés en France et dont l'oeuvre se répartit dans l'une et l'autre catégorie. Au Québec et en France, le grand public et la critique⁸ l'apprécient — bien que son public québécois soit plus étendu.

La parution, en octobre 1967, d'un numéro spécial de la revue *Premier plan* intitulé « Jeune cinéma canadien » marque la première reconnaissance d'envergure du cinéma québécois en France, même si le premier chapitre de l'ouvrage s'intitule « (Mé)connaissance du cinéma canadien! » Depuis quelques années déjà, à la faveur de la renaissance du cinéma québécois qui se matérialise à partir de 1963, la critique française manifeste une attention spéciale à ces réalisations. Il faut avouer que, dans la foulée de la Nouvelle Vague, la mode est alors aux jeunes cinémas — tchécoslovaque, brésilien, anglais, etc. — qui paraissent offrir des oeuvres qui se démarquent du cinéma traditionnel dominant, qui renouvellent le regard porté sur leur société et qui ont recours à une esthétique et à des techniques encore peu explorées.

À cette époque, c'est sûrement la présentation au festival de Cannes de *Pour la suite du monde* de Pierre Perrault et Michel Brault (1963) qui constitue la principale percée québécoise sur le territoire français. Déjà, quelques mois auparavant, Marcorelles, qui avait eu le privilège d'avoir un premier contact avec ce film, entretenait ses lecteurs de la vitalité du cinéma canadien, « du *candid eye* à Pierre Perrault⁹ ». Le ton des interventions qui suivent Cannes donne une bonne indication de l'accueil réservé au film; retenons celle de Michel Delahaye :

Entre l'homme et son entour naturel ou social, aucun heurt. Le film, en ce sens, est description d'une idylle. Nostalgie du monde clos; doux équilibre autophagique du cocon; pellicule translucide qui vous isole (...) Au fait, c'est le ton habituel des Canadiens : une mémoire nous a gardés là-bas un peu du vieux parler; leur quête du temps perdu est aussi la nôtre. Recherche du temps perdu. Pour eux, c'est neuf¹⁰.

D'ailleurs, à partir de ce jour, les films de Perrault retiennent l'attention de la critique française qui, avec raison, considère, le réalisateur comme un grand innovateur dans le domaine du documentaire et l'initiateur du cinéma de la parole. Le cinéaste tisse en outre des liens d'amitié avec deux critiques, Louis Marcorelles et Guy Gauthier, qui non seulement initieront le public français à ses oeuvres mais seront également à l'origine de nombreuses manifestations qui lui seront consacrées là-bas¹¹. Le cas de Perrault est néanmoins singulier

dans la mesure où il sera pratiquement le seul documentariste québécois à percer sur le territoire français sans pour autant connaître un succès commercial. C'est pourquoi je le considère comme un cas d'espèce. L'analyse de la réception de ses films en France, indubitablement passionnante à faire, renverrait à un débat trop particulier : celui de l'entendement et de la place du cinéma direct dans la cinématographie mondiale. Aussi, tournons-nous maintenant vers les oeuvres de fiction en commençant par les coproductions.

Les coproductions

Dans son étude sur les films québécois en France, le Centre de recherche cinéma / réception avançait en conclusion : « Le système de la coproduction entraîne cependant une redéfinition des contenus. La spécificité culturelle des "cinémas nationaux" (ici celle du Québec) doit se modeler aux impératifs de la diffusion internationale (...) On peut se demander si la culture — comprise aussi comme transculture — y trouve son compte tout autant que l'industrie » (Carrière, Letendre, Pérusse, 1991 : 143). En effet, l'industrie profite de ce système qui lui permet d'attaquer les marchés en bénéficiant des aides mises à sa disposition dans chaque pays coproducteur. Cela lui garantit, en théorie, un peu plus d'entrées. Pourtant, on constate que parmi les films québécois les plus performants au guichet, on retrouve surtout des coproductions, presque toutes tournées par un réalisateur français et que le public français ne perçoit pas comme des oeuvres québécoises. Il est alors plus pertinent d'observer l'accueil réservé aux coproductions — majoritaires — réalisées par des Québécois. On ne se surprendra guère d'apprendre, malgré tous les beaux discours et les faux espoirs entretenus par la profession, que la majorité d'entre elles n'obtiennent aucun succès commercial¹². Mais, en tant que spectateur éclairé, le critique peut adopter une approche différente. Nous examinerons cela à travers un film de Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, *Le vieux pays où Rimbaud est mort*, et surtout à travers le cas exemplaire de Gilles Carle, le cinéaste québécois emblématique aux yeux des Français. Auréolé par l'accueil réservé à ses films antérieurs, il réussit à monter trois coproductions : *Les corps célestes* (1973), *Fantastica* (1980) et *Maria Chapdelaine* (1983)¹³. Qu'en retient la presse ?

Avec le premier de ces films, Carle affirme vouloir traiter de thèmes universels tout en les situant au Québec, ce qui est une façon, avouons-le, de contourner le problème de la coproduction. Certains semblent acquiescer à sa démarche : « Le nouveau film de Gilles Carle, *Les corps célestes*, dépaysé le spectateur européen en le transportant d'emblée dans un milieu qui lui est étranger. Et pourtant, il pose des problèmes qui dépassent largement les frontières du Québec¹⁴. » Cette attitude ne semble toutefois pas nuire à l'identification de la provenance profonde du film : « La raison de cette vigueur, de cette hygiène, c'est que cela se passe au Canada et que le film est canadien. Le Canada — le bon Canada français — on le sent. On y est. La rusticité, les cabanes, la neige, les distances et les gueules¹⁵. »

En fait, à gauche, le contenu social et le contexte de ses films séduisent toujours ; le cinéaste parle de la crise intérieure et de la crise mondiale et se sert du cinéma pour dire une « incontestable vérité »¹⁶. Pour ce courant critique, l'essentiel du film réside dans le compte rendu de l'atmosphère de l'époque, de la réalité sociale et économique du Québec des années 1930. À l'opposé du spectre idéologique, l'opinion de *La Croix* introduit une intéressante mise en perspective : « Je suis décidément bien aise de n'avoir pas du tout aimé, en leur temps, les films, tant vantés, du cinéaste canadien Gilles Carle. Car je soupçonnais je ne sais quelle complaisance suspecte dans cette soi-disant dénonciation de la société québécoise. Les masques sont enfin levés¹⁷. » La seule critique vraiment favorable émane de Jean de Baroncelli qui place le film dans un contexte de référence valorisateur : « *Les corps célestes*, c'est un peu Maupassant chez Maria Chapdelaine. Un Maupassant tour à tour rigolard et attendri, qui brouille les cartes et passe du tableau de mœurs au mélodrame et à la pure bouffonnerie tout en pinçant au bon moment la corde sensible (...) Le film n'évite ni la gaudriole vaudevillesque ni la provocation simplette. Mais le brio du réalisateur, la charmante verdure du langage et le talent des interprètes font passer sur cette comédie gaillarde un souffle d'émotion et parfois même de poésie¹⁸. » La référence à Maupassant revient aussi sous la plume de Robert Chazal¹⁹ dont le titre de l'article, « Ma cabane Tellier au Canada », combine le cliché d'une chanson populaire française, « Ma cabane au Canada » —, qui représente encore l'image que se font les Français du Québec — avec la référence culturelle anobilissante. En fait, une bonne partie de la critique manifeste ses réserves sur l'originalité, la signification et la nécessité du sujet. La réaction du public parisien, 24 757 spectateurs en sept semaines, montre également la tiédeur de l'accueil d'autant plus nettement que, à titre de coproduction, le film devait bénéficier d'un meilleur accès aux salles²⁰.

Ce film permet à la critique de réitérer son point de vue typé sur la réalité québécoise tout en essayant, comme c'est souvent le cas, de l'interpréter à travers le propre contexte de référence français. Mais avec *Fantastica*, une comédie musicale mettant en scène Carole Laure et Lewis Furey²¹, la critique se trouve dépaysée : « Rien de semblable ne s'est jamais fait ni au Québec ni au Canada. Un film imaginé et réalisé par un Québécois avec des acteurs français et québécois. Un film totalement nord-américain, mais de culture européenne : c'est une sorte de voyage culturel au-dessus de l'Atlantique²². » Cette citation témoigne d'un accueil qui ne veut pas cantonner le produit culturel québécois dans une grille prédéterminée et qui tente de l'apprécier de manière plus « objective ». Toutefois, cette dimension de l'oeuvre ne fait pas l'affaire de tout le monde, comme le démontre l'extrait suivant :

Un film qui n'est de nulle part : ni du Québec, dont il utilise les paysages et l'accent coloré, ni des États-Unis auxquels il emprunte en partie la forme préexistante de la comédie musicale et la langue pour les chansons, ni de la France, dont il prend la langue (pour le texte), Serge Reggiani, et la tonalité de certains dialogues qu'on croirait picorés dans une conversation d'intellectuels de gauche parisiens.

Cet aspect apatride montre à lui seul à quel point ce film ne sait pas où il va, hésitant sans cesse entre le divertissant et le didactique, l'esthétisant et le quotidien, le spectacle et le discours, autant d'éléments alignés sans cohérence²³. »

L'auteure met vraiment le doigt sur ce qui peut irriter la critique quand elle se trouve face à une coproduction : son aspect apatride²⁴. Lorsque la presse ne trouve aucune qualité à des films, elle évoque souvent une telle dimension. Chose sûre, il ne lui est pas aisé de pointer ce qui constitue l'authenticité nationale d'une oeuvre. Tel élément qui vient de nulle part pour l'un est résolument québécois pour l'autre. Sur quel critère se fonde-t-on pour attribuer tel ou tel statut ? À quels marqueurs d'identification un cinéaste a-t-il recours ? Aucun critique ne peut le préciser de manière probante et satisfaisante.

Plusieurs reprochent au film d'avoir recours aux clichés des bons défenseurs de la nature contre les suppôts des multinationales et d'hésiter entre la thèse écologique, énorme et sans originalité, et le film musical. On ne craint pas d'affirmer que le résultat n'est pas digne des intentions du cinéaste : « Carle fait preuve d'une pauvreté d'inspiration confondante : c'est un cinéaste en passe qui se raccroche à d'incroyables oripeaux pour essayer d'égayer son film (...) Je suis sûr qu'il va se trouver des gens pour affirmer que *Fantastica* est un film frais, bucolique, poétique, etc. N'en croyez pas un mot²⁵. »

En fait, plusieurs opinions traduisent une semi-déception, car il y aurait deux films dans *Fantastica*. L'un frustrant et fastidieux. L'autre fascinant : les séquences musicales. Le réalisme et les problèmes sociologiques sont battus en brèche par le spectacle et le film s'affirme optimiste par l'exaltation de la fantaisie de la liberté. Force est de constater que la seule opinion favorable revient à Jean Wagner : « Ce beau film de Gilles Carle (son meilleur à ce jour) est avant tout un grand film d'amour. Amour d'abord de l'auteur pour son pays, le Québec, dont il nous donne une vision exaltante. Cet amour s'étend, bien sûr, aux hommes qui sont enracinés dans cette terre. Mais il y a l'autre Gilles Carle, celui qui est passionné de peinture, de musique, de spectacle. Enfin, il y a Carole Laure (...) Je donnerais volontiers les neuf dixièmes des films que j'ai vus depuis six mois pour cette simple séquence où elle récite *Harmonie du soir* de Baudelaire dans un cabaret cow-boy²⁶. » Cette comédie musicale qui ne s'inspire pas des modèles hollywoodiens et dont la plastique renvoie à Magritte, au douanier Rousseau ou à Delvaux attirera à Paris, la première année, plus de 46 600 spectateurs et en province, au-delà de 70 000.

Après avoir adapté un roman québécois, *Les Plouffe*, Carle, qui a toujours été fasciné par le personnage de Maria Chapdelaine, tourne en 1983 l'oeuvre de Louis Hémon. Lorsque le film passe à Venise en 1983, il est accueilli par l'indifférence des festivaliers, et rares sont les critiques français qui se donnent la peine de le couvrir. Comme le note Michel Ciment, « on a été injuste à Venise pour le film de Gilles Carle, comme on l'est souvent dans les festivals pour les oeuvres à budget important, surtout lorsqu'elles sont signées de

réalisateurs de petits pays producteurs. Comme si on voulait les enfermer dans le ghetto du film pauvre²⁷. » Un peu plus loin, Ciment pose les balises de toute l'appréciation ultérieure : la facture du film où le réalisme de Carle rencontre le romantisme du sujet et lui donne un côté séduisant qui évite le pittoresque, et la comparaison, favorable, avec les deux adaptations antérieures du roman par Julien Duvivier (1934) et Marc Allégret (1949).

Commençons par cet inévitable dernier point, l'adaptation, que l'on trouve réussie et fidèle à l'esprit du roman. Carle a débarrassé l'illustration de ses vieux poncifs (Jacques Siclier, *Le Monde*) pour retrouver une vision d'une grande pureté (Didier Christmann, *Le Parisien*) : « Envoyez promener vos souvenirs contrefaits. Enfoncez d'une poussée de l'épaule la porte des lieux communs. Une Maria Chapdelaine que vous ne soupçonniez pas vous attend : la vraie²⁸. » « Beaucoup de spectateurs risquent d'en être choqués, voire offensés. Pour ma part, je fus d'abord étonné de ce regard, si loin de la version "patronage" de mon enfance. Mais re-lecture faite du roman et en y réfléchissant beaucoup, je crois que c'est Gilles Carle qui a raison²⁹. »

L'approche de Carle rallie également presque tous les suffrages : « *Maria Chapdelaine* était jusqu'à présent comme un "tire-larmes" inépuisable (...) Carle et son scénariste en font une sorte de chronique de la vie à la lisière des bois », écrit Michel Pérez. En jouant la carte du mélodrame sobre, en utilisant le non-dit, en filmant un univers où la nature sert de révélateur de l'énergie humaine, Carle a su éviter, aux yeux de la presse, le pathétisme pleurnichard, le folklore et les images d'Épinal, et dépoussiérer le souvenir conformiste que le livre avait laissé : « Un vague souvenir de roman bien-pensant, pesamment folklorique, tout plein de bons sentiments et que l'on conseillait, jadis, aux jeunes filles (...) Et puis voici que Carle décide de s'y intéresser, et la prude et un peu ennuyeuse Maria devient bien séduisante (...) Un hymne païen à la beauté d'un pays sauvage, voilà en quoi Gilles Carle a transformé le livre de Louis Hémon³⁰. » La première année, le film se gagna au delà de 55 600 spectateurs à Paris et plus de 69 800 en province.

Carle fait du cinéma personnel destiné au grand public et ses coproductions partent toujours du Québec. Il me semble toutefois beaucoup plus curieux de se pencher sur la réception du film de Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, *Le vieux pays où Rimbaud est mort* (1977), présenté en compétition à Cannes cette même année. Dans le tiré-à-part publié à cette occasion par *Cinéma Québec*³¹, Lefebvre affirme « que le Québec et les Québécois, désireux de clarifier de façon définitive leur identité, ne peuvent d'aucune façon ignorer ces racines et les liens historiques et culturels. ». À cette fin, le film raconte le voyage d'un Québécois en France et sa confrontation à cette réalité. C'est la seule coproduction tournée par un Québécois qui se déroule dans ce pays. Alors que les Français sont habitués de voir les leurs produire à l'étranger, comment réagissent-ils lorsqu'ils sont eux-mêmes objets de filmage ?

Tout en s'interrogeant sur le public auquel le film est destiné — qui peut s'identifier aux personnages ? — les Français réagissent à ce regard québécois sur leur pays qui diffère du leur. Il y a d'abord ceux qu'il agace et qui se montrent tout aussi agressifs que les Québécois quand ils s'en prennent à la façon dont un Français peut filmer leur pays : « La France vue du Québec. Cartes postales, clichés historiques, découvertes se succèdent sous le regard étonné d'un Québécois. Son entreprise de 'démystification' des idées reçues sur la France sombre dans l'insipidité³². » On dénonce la caricature un peu grossière de la France, l'insistance d'une chanson qui revient en leitmotiv en énumérant les défaites françaises, les images d'Épinal dont Lefebvre gratifie la France « où il est aisé de ne trouver que naïve poésie, maladresse de style et succession de tableaux amers et languissants aux dialogues poussifs et téléphonés³³ ? »

La critique cache mal son irritation. On trouve le film primaire, faux et prétentieux, le reflet d'une certaine attitude des Québécois à l'égard des Français : « J'ai retrouvé là un état d'esprit que j'ai connu au Québec chez certains de ses habitants : une déception qui se transforme en hargne contre le "vieux pays". En dépit de ce qu'on me dit, il semble que cet état d'esprit n'est pas mort³⁴. » J'aurais pu aligner une dizaine de citations analogues. Il est rare qu'on trouve autant de réactions qui se situent sur le même terrain et qui prennent le soin de développer leur argumentation. Citons une dernière opinion qui illustre bien l'ambiguïté de la lecture d'un film qui à la fois séduit et agace : « Et puis des antiponcifs qui ont une tête de poncif. Un mythe chasse l'autre (...) Il s'ensuit un film boiteux, partisan, un peu niais³⁵. »

Des antiponcifs qui ont la tête de poncifs. En effet, comment les distinguer ? Comment savoir si Lefebvre entérine une situation, la critique ou la fait servir son propos ? Dès qu'un cinéaste filme une réalité qui n'est pas la sienne, ces questions surgissent. Trancher de quel côté il penche n'est pas chose aisée pour le critique qui décode le film à partir de ses connaissances et de ses attentes. La carte postale, qui en irrite certains, sert d'appui et de point de dépassement à une vision qui en séduit d'autres³⁶; ceux-ci comprennent que Lefebvre oppose un Paris de carte postale à un vrai pays, celui où Rimbaud est mort : « En ce sens, le film est moins un portrait de la France actuelle qu'une **image** réfractée par une sensibilité ; davantage un voyage à travers des idées et des paysages, pour une mémoire et un regard d'un cousin québécois³⁷. » C'est vraiment cette perception de la France, cette remise en question des figures et des réalités mythiques³⁸ qui surprend : « Ce voyage étonnant et étonné d'un Candide québécois dans un pays tellement différent de son attente nous permet, à nous spectateurs français, de réaliser tout ce qui est désagréable, surprenant ou sympathique dans notre comportement vis-à-vis ceux qui viennent de l'extérieur³⁹. » Certains relient la démarche de Lefebvre au contexte global québécois tel qu'ils le perçoivent et estiment que l'œuvre de Lefebvre exprime la condition québécoise :

L'essor de la conscience nationale au Québec s'est largement appuyé ces dernières années sur la revendication et la défense de l'acquis linguistique et culturel, systématiquement refoulé par les oppresseurs anglophones. La recherche des traditions s'est vite doublée d'une démarche dépassant les frontières du Québec (...) Jean-Pierre Lefebvre nous montre un personnage venu voir où en est la France éternelle. La démarche du protagoniste est surtout sentimentale. Rien d'étonnant donc à ce que rapidement le film passe sur des observations narquoises de la réalité et des types parisiens pour se transformer en récit de rencontres affectives. Ce regard frais, chaleureux, parfois naïf, peut être très perçant. La France éternelle n'est plus, on ne la trouve nulle part ici. Peut-être ailleurs⁴⁰.

L'expression de la condition québécoise, c'est tout autant la quête d'une identité refoulée que le refus de son image. Aplatie, laminée, broyée par trois colonialismes successifs, une collectivité en est encore, au bout de trois siècles, à chercher ce qui la définit et ce qui la compose (...) La rencontre avec la France, mère symbolique, racine majeure de l'héritage socio-culturel québécois était inévitable. Tout film est acte politique. Ce n'est sûrement pas un effet du hasard si le projet devient réalité au moment même où le Québec entrevoit enfin son indépendance⁴¹.

Le cinéma d'auteur

À la faveur de séjours en France, plusieurs auteurs avaient tissé des liens avec de jeunes réalisateurs et des revues influentes de ce pays. Ainsi Claude Jutra est, dès 1959, associé à François Truffaut pour la production d'*Anna la bonne*⁴². Puis c'est avec le « maître » du cinéma vérité, Jean Rouch, qu'il collabore en 1960; il évoque d'ailleurs cette expérience dans trois articles parus dans *Les Cahiers du Cinéma*⁴³ qui contribuent par ricochet à le faire connaître. La création, en 1963, d'un Festival du cinéma canadien à l'intérieur du Festival international du film de Montréal ouvre au surplus une vitrine plus grande sur le cinéma québécois. À cette occasion, des critiques étrangers séjournent à Montréal et publient chez eux des comptes rendus sur les films qu'ils ont vus. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que Louis Marcorelles, commentant *À tout prendre* (1963), écrira : « À travers Jutra, c'est un peu le drame du cinéma canadien qui revit sous nos yeux, un cinéma en quête d'une identité, ne devant rien à personne, intégrant sa réalité quotidienne, voire intime, à sa recherche artistique⁴⁴. »

Pour approfondir notre sujet, il convient de retourner à l'oeuvre de Carle et de l'examiner en détail. Dans une monographie qu'il lui consacre, le critique français Jean-Pierre Jeancolas expliquait l'importance de ce cinéaste en France : « Le cinéma de Gilles Carle est un cinéma charnière; il se situe au seuil de tolérance du public français » (Faucher, Houle, 1976 : 117). Qu'est-ce que

cela veut dire? D'une part, qu'il permet de conforter l'image que les spectateurs français — petite bourgeoisie urbaine — se font du Québec : un conservatoire des vieilles valeurs françaises alors qu'on n'ose trop les resservir en France, dévalorisées qu'elles furent par le pétainisme. D'autre part, qu'il entretient l'illusion que peut se développer un cinéma québécois qui trouve preneur sur le marché français.

Pour mesurer ce phénomène, commençons par nous pencher sur les deux premiers films de Carle, *La vie heureuse de Léopold Z* (1965) et *Le viol d'une jeune fille douce* (1968), vus en France à l'occasion d'une manifestation sur le cinéma canadien qui s'est déroulée à Nice en avril 1969. Déjà on louange la personnalité fort attachante du réalisateur qui « ne craint pas de plonger humblement son regard dans la réalité québécoise pour nous en restituer toute la complexité, mais aussi nous en offrir une interprétation personnelle faite surtout d'humour et de poésie⁴⁵. » Malheureusement le film, constate *Télérama*, fait défaut d'une réalité politique que la société québécoise semblait alors imposer fortement, quelques années après le « Vive le Québec libre » du général De Gaulle. Cette carence déroute ce critique qui a manifestement une certaine connaissance de la réalité québécoise, mais aussi des attentes bien arrêtées qui conditionnent et bloquent sa lecture du film. Son seuil d'attente politique est contrarié, et il ne tente pas d'expliquer l'attitude de Carle autrement que par une formule : « Mais au fond, même dans la chanson, le Canada de Charlebois est aussi celui de Félix Leclerc. » On semble donc associer Carle à la tendance Leclerc, c'est-à-dire à la tradition, aux portraits poétiques et humains, et l'opposer à ce que représente Charlebois : la modernité, l'expérimentation, le dynamisme du Québec contemporain. *La vie heureuse de Léopold Z* ne paraît pas véhiculer les valeurs qu'on identifie à la Révolution tranquille.

Le viol d'une jeune fille douce (1968), par contre, semble intéresser autrement. Comme le dit Guy Hennebelle, « la rupture est frappante entre l'univers de *La vie heureuse* et celui du *Viol* (...) Politiques, tous (ou presque tous) les films canadiens actuels le sont dans la mesure où ils reflètent tous la quête d'un peuple vers son équilibre. » Sauf Jean-Louis Comolli qui qualifie le film de « gentille satire de l'arriération des mœurs québécoises, inoffensif badinage, le tout sans grand intérêt extra-muros⁴⁶ », la critique se montre favorable. On peut la répartir grosso modo en deux camps : ceux qui entretiennent d'un préjugé favorable à l'égard du Québec et qui ne manquent jamais de couvrir son cinéma (Hennebelle, Haustrate, Marcorelles) et ceux qui n'ont guère fait preuve d'une telle attitude. On apprécie trois choses chez Carle : sa manière, son humour fait de truculence et d'allégresse, et sa pertinence politique. L'aspect socio-politique touche les observateurs plus avisés bien que certains se demandent si Carle est un naïf spontané ou faussement naïf. Selon Gaston Haustrate, le film illustre la crise de civilisation que traverse le Québec, « d'autant plus difficile à définir qu'elle prend racine dans le malaise américain et dans le déséquilibre entre une richesse évidente et une dépendance économique et culturelle⁴⁷. » Si la dépendance de la France marque bien un

aspect de la dépendance culturelle québécoise, Marcorelles constate que Carle « décoche quelques flèches bien empoisonnées à la France et à sa mission “civilisatrice”⁴⁸. » Jean-Louis Bory observe justement que « le vrai viol est ailleurs (...) dans cette violence quotidienne qui tient aux conditions d’existence que la société fait à la jeune fille : obscurantisme religieux, pression familiale, indifférence ou mépris général. Tout cela est mieux que dit : montré, et avec force, une force qui n’exclut pas la drôlerie bousculante⁴⁹. » Carle montre aux Français que le Québec n’en est pas resté à Maria Chapdelaine. Précisons que, pour la première fois, des auteurs font allusion à la langue du film qui ne semble pas le gêner. Malgré cette presse sympathique, le film va connaître une curieuse carrière à Paris ; en cinq semaines, il sera présenté dans cinq salles différentes ! pour une fréquentation de 6 723 spectateurs.

Il faudra attendre presque trois ans avant qu’un autre film de Carle soit mis à l’affiche. Ce sera *Les mâles* (1970). Présenté dans une seule salle, sans battage publicitaire, il passe quasi inaperçu ; et la critique semble dire qu’il s’agit d’un film érotique comme il en sort chaque semaine en quantité sur les écrans. Les quelques rares d’entre eux qui se risquent à voir le film lui réservent un accueil favorable. Ils apprécient sa thématique, et plus particulièrement la manière légère avec laquelle elle est traitée : la contestation, l’isolement, la liberté sexuelle, l’émancipation des femmes, l’innocence jusqu’à l’amoralisme, la civilisation, la pollution. Ils semblent d’ailleurs connaître un certain cinéma québécois et manifestent des attentes à son égard, ainsi qu’en témoignent le critique de *Télérama* qui écrit : « Avec une innocence dans le regard, une innocence qui n’appartient qu’au cinéma québécois, l’un des plus riches aujourd’hui⁵⁰ », et le critique de *L’Express* qui observe : « Avec cette santé, cette fraîcheur de ton, cet humour savoureux qu’ont les films québécois quand ils sont réussis. Délectable⁵¹. » En fait, cette description correspond presque uniquement aux films de Carle, à moins qu’on ne voie là également le fantôme de Perrault, les seuls autres cinéastes québécois présentés en France étant alors Arcand et Lefebvre.

La présentation, en compétition à Cannes en mai 1972, de *La vraie nature de Bernadette* (1972) va replacer Carle à l’avant-scène et favoriser la rediffusion des *Mâles*. Après le démarrage manqué de mai, l’opération est cette fois-ci un succès : plus de trois mois en salles avec une fréquentation à la hausse pour atteindre à Paris 84 715 spectateurs. Le succès critique s’ensuit, mais joue néanmoins davantage la carte du typage. Puisque le film nous parle de deux mâles qui tourment le dos à la civilisation pour aller vivre en forêt, il est prévisible que la critique parle d’Indiens (Hurons ou Iroquois, c’est selon), sinon de sauvages, donc de western, et du grand air de la forêt canadienne. L’attitude de Carle aussi séduit, qui multiplie les pieds-de-nez très irrévérencieux aux valeurs religieuses, sociales, patriotiques que respecterait toujours le Québec avec son « humour faussement bon enfant ; pseudo-naïveté rustaude dissimulant sous une jovialité paysanne les pointes acérées d’une

matoiserie vite contestataire : Gilles Carle est un des tempéraments les plus originaux du cinéma québécois⁵². »

La vraie nature de Bernadette marque la première percée spectaculaire d'un film québécois en France. La notice parue dans un récent dictionnaire résume toute la perception nettement favorable que suscitent les films de Carle : « Ce qui n'aurait pu être qu'une pesante leçon de gauchisme devient, par la grâce de la réalisation de Gilles Carle, un film léger, tonique et enlevé. Le charme naît des situations incongrues qui opposent la citadine à la vie des champs, de la verdure et de la franchise, qui traite de l'amour libre, et de cet irrésistible accent québécois. Un film poétique et drôle qui secoue agréablement nos consciences assoupies. » (Tulard, 1990)

Au moment de sa présentation à Cannes en 1972, la critique fut partagée. Lorsque le film sort à Paris à l'automne 1972 alors que *Les mâles* est toujours à l'affiche, elle a l'occasion de peaufiner ses appréciations. Il faut dire que Carle est un réalisateur finaud qui sait tendre des perches à ses appréciateurs. Appelle-t-il son héroïne Bernadette que certains évoquent Bernadette Soubirous pour dire aussitôt que les miracles qui se passent là-bas ne sont pas ceux de Lourdes, et que Bernadette oscille de la sainteté à la prostitution, ce qui fait du film un « western religieux » alors que d'autres pensent à Bernadette Devlin, la passionnara irlandaise, aiguillonés dans cette direction par Carle qui avoue avoir de la difficulté à séparer Angela Davis et Bernadette Devlin de la Sainte Vierge. Appelle-t-il deux personnages Saint-Luc et Saint-Marc tout en faisant sauter leur « sainteté », qu'on songera au Buñuel de *Nazarin*, de *L'ange exterminateur* et de *La voie lactée*, et Bernadette évoquera alors Viridiana. Comme le note Albert Cervoni, « le grand mérite de Carle peut se résumer en deux termes : une volonté d'ambiguïté, une volonté de totalité⁵³. » C'est cette double attitude qui permet à Carle d'être, dans ce cas-ci, autant apprécié à gauche qu'à droite, dans la presse communiste ou socialiste que dans la presse catholique. De toute manière, en mettant en scène, une fable selon certains, une parabole, selon d'autres, Carle va harponner les principes moraux dont tous se réclament. Une chose est sûre : si les thèmes que Carle aborde interpellent la critique, sa manière, poétique, drôle, intelligente et lyrique, la séduit. Comme dit *Le Nouvel Observateur* en paraphrasant le général, « Vive le Huron libre ». Tous, à un moment ou à un autre, utilisent d'ailleurs des termes et des paradigmes qui connotent cette expression. On parle de bonheur, de joie, de nature, finalement de vie, de la vraie vie. Une vie dont l'envers se nomme ville, bureaucratie, politique, consommation. La démarche n'est pas nouvelle et les références culturelles viennent vite à la rescousse de la critique. Bernadette devient la fille de Candide (les arpens de neiges surgissent une fois dans le décor), la disciple ingénue de Rousseau, la Marie-Antoinette du Trianon. Son entreprise évoque le phalanstère imaginé par Charles Fourier. Elle est celle qui montre la voie de la lumière, de l'émancipation.

Cet exemple démontre que, lorsqu'un film est apprécié, la langue québécoise ne semble plus un obstacle alors que dans le cas contraire, elle devient

l'explication par excellence de la déconvenue de l'oeuvre auprès du public. Ici, l'accent québécois bonifie la réception du film auprès de la critique. « Ce jeune cinéma canadien n'a pas peur de son accent de terroir et raconte franchement ses rêves, ses contradictions⁵⁴. » « Grâce au savoureux accent que tous les acteurs auraient tort de perdre. L'accent québécois pourrait bien faire la relève de l'accent provençal dans le folklore. Le film en tout cas y gagne du bouquet⁵⁵. » Jean-Louis Bory estime que « on s'y habitue sans que ce langage, par la grâce (si l'on peut dire) de cet accent, cesse d'inviter à un dépaysement cocasse — lequel souligne l'incongruité sereine des propos et des gestes⁵⁶. » Lors de sa reprise à la télévision en 1974, Jacques Siclier prévient le téléspectateur que « le parler québécois — pour nous savoureux — n'y est pas un élément pittoresque mais réaliste⁵⁷. »

Un des horizons d'attente qui revient dans le discours de la critique, sans constituer un aspect dominant, c'est que le Québec est, d'une part, un cousin de la France et, d'autre part, un *alter ego* décalé dans le temps, comme si les deux sociétés avaient connu des vitesses de développement historique différentes qui permettent à l'une de comprendre, face au présent, ce qu'elle fut. Cette attitude est manifeste dans la citation suivante qui ne craint pas d'évoquer Rabelais face à l'*homo quebecensis* : « Car, au Canada français, on ne chausse pas volontiers les escarpins. La vieille race paysanne a conservé de solides habitudes faites de parler dru, de bonne humeur rabelaisienne, de rudesse joviale que tirent à hue et à dia un américanisme inévitable et des traditions mal digérées de bigoterie provinciale (...) Nos grands-pères sont partis au Canada. Depuis, nous avons évolué, mais **lentement**. Le Québec est resté peu ou prou dans **notre** passé qui lui tenait lieu de présent⁵⁸. »

En 21 semaines, le film fera à Paris 100 691 entrées, ce qui se compare honorablement à beaucoup d'autres films⁵⁹. Au sortir de cette aventure des plus encourageantes, Carle a raison d'espérer que ses oeuvres auront une carrière en France, d'autant plus que *La mort d'un bûcheron* (1972) est à son tour présentée en compétition à Cannes en 1973 alors que *Réjeanne Padovani* de Denys Arcand est présenté à la Quinzaine⁶⁰. On mise peut-être sur le fait que son héroïne s'appelle Maria Chapdelaine et le héros François Paradis, que le film renvoie par certains côtés au roman d'Hémond pour séduire le spectateur français. L'appréciation du critique de *La Croix* résume celle de la plupart de ses collègues : « Le film se voit sans passion, mi-ennui, mi-sympathie, et s'oublie tout aussitôt. Subsiste, plus longtemps, le souvenir de l'héroïne : Carole Laure⁶¹ », dont Guy Tisseire savoure « l'intégrale beauté⁶² ». Dans ce contexte négatif, tout devient raison de dépréciation, à commencer par la langue : « Je n'ai pas compris grand-chose. D'abord parce que j'avoue qu'il m'est bien difficile de comprendre le "joual". Ensuite parce que le Canada me semble un monde étrange⁶³. »

À la sortie du film, dans une version légèrement remontée et sous-titrée en français, la presse qui a vu le film à Cannes ne change pas vraiment d'avis, mais de nouveaux critiques apportent des arguments inédits et obligeants :

« Cette oeuvre dérange les idées maintenant admises à Paris sur le “cinéma québécois” de Gilles Carle. On peut la prendre par plusieurs bouts tant elle est riche d'idées et de contestation⁶⁴. » Plus explicite encore sur la modernité de Carle qui frappe bon nombre de critiques est l'opinion du communiste Lachize qui constate que le Québec n'est plus le Québec mythologique des rêves adolescents nourris de *Maria Chapdelaine* et que « Carle est un étonnant raconteur d'histoires modernes et s'il se réfère presque toujours au passé, c'est pour accuser le présent (...) Carle nous donne à **voir** et nous permet **d'écouter** un drame qui rejoint la préoccupation d'une bonne partie des êtres d'aujourd'hui : la recherche de la liberté contre l'exploitation. Film beau, passionnant et violent. Nous voilà loin du folklore⁶⁵. »

Est-ce parce que Carle rompt avec le Québec des mythologies que, généralement, à droite, les appréciations du film sont défavorables ? En tout cas, *La Croix*, après avoir constaté que Carle choisit de montrer « un Canada français différent de celui, plus bucolique, sinon plus idyllique que nous avons pris l'habitude de retrouver — avec plaisir d'ailleurs — dans les films de nos cousins » et après avoir avoué que jouait toujours l'exotisme des manières et du langage québécois, estime néanmoins que « l'histoire est trop mince et, si on la décortique bien, trop banale et déjà souvent vue⁶⁶. » Le critique du *Figaro* y va d'un humour un peu méprisant : « Carle nous offre quelques échantillons de ce vérisme canadien que pratiquent avec un juvénile enthousiasme les cinéastes de l'école de Québec. Choses vues et choses entendues, les protagonistes parlant un jargon poitevin-normand qu'ils conservent pieusement dans l'alcool depuis le XVII^e siècle⁶⁷. » Il se permet mêmes des considérations générales sur le cinéma québécois : « Le point faible des films québécois, c'est presque toujours l'argument. Le scénario manque de vertèbre. L'intrigue n'offre pas une courbe accomplie. » Le public parisien sera moins nombreux que pour le film précédent : 44 156 spectateurs en six semaines.

Carle revient à l'écran avec *La tête de Normande St-Onge* (1975) présenté à la Quinzaine des réalisateurs à Cannes en 1976. Cette fois-ci, il dérouta un peu, car il change de ton, sinon de style, de manière et d'univers. Il a mis son humour, qui séduit tant les Français, au vestiaire pour tracer le portrait d'une femme ; évidemment, Carole Laure enjôle toujours les Français par sa beauté, la pureté de son corps et le naturel de son comportement. Les premières réactions sont partagées et plutôt mauvaises : « Que retenir de toute cette folie ? Pas grand-chose si ce n'est que le Canada semble manquer lui aussi de bons scénaristes⁶⁸. » Un ami du Québec, parlant de Carle, Lefebvre, Poirier et Forcier, tous présents d'une manière ou d'une autre à Cannes en 1976, constatera même que « le cinéma québécois est toujours boudé par les spectateurs français qui refusent son esprit, l'accent des interprètes (...) un visage original de plus en plus marqué, qui aime appeler les choses par leur nom⁶⁹. »

C'est le sujet — la folie d'une femme — qui dérouté : « Carle se condamne alors à une périlleuse dialectique entre le vraisemblable et l'extravagance au cours de laquelle la marginalité se métamorphose en folie douce. C'est peut-être ici que se situe la pierre d'achoppement d'un film qui ne fait pas l'unanimité de la critique. Il était très difficile de contrôler et de dominer cet alliage insolite⁷⁰. » Il y a d'autres motifs de réserves : « Mais le Canada, que devient-il dans cette histoire occidentale et fort peu régionaliste ? Gilles Carle en parle pourtant en filigrane, à sa manière, comme dans ses autres films (...) Fallait-il à ce point s'attarder sur les scènes d'amour⁷¹ ? » Voilà la première fois qu'on avoue aussi clairement que les films québécois ne devraient traiter que de la réalité québécoise et que leur saveur vient uniquement de leur régionalisme.

Trois critiques essaient d'asseoir leur appréciation sur des considérations plus solides. On retrouve d'abord le cinéaste des préoccupations sociales. « Carle continue à faire un cinéma qui soit de large audience populaire immédiatement accessible à tous et qui, en même temps, exprime l'authenticité d'individus issus du monde réel, une réalité sociale⁷². » Puis on apprécie la manière québécoise de traiter des sujets : « Ils parlent le français avec un curieux accent, tant pis pour ceux que cela fait rire : les films québécois ne sont pas davantage des films folkloriques que ceux de Marcel Pagnol. On y découvre un art typiquement nord-américain, l'art de raconter le quotidien comme s'il s'agissait de légendes, le sens de la fable. (...) D'ailleurs, il a une façon tellement excitante, tellement tonique de décaper la réalité des vies, Gilles Carle, de faire du grand cinéma avec des gens si ordinaires⁷³. » Louis Marcocelles abonde dans le même sens : « La langue est parfois difficile à saisir, comme toujours, et ici plus que jamais. Gilles Carle martèle l'image tel le bûcheron qu'il fut. Il rend l'idée de cette prodigieuse vitalité, de cette curiosité inlassable, de cette soif de vivre qui, aujourd'hui, saisissent le Québec⁷⁴. »

Lorsque *L'ange et la femme* (1977) est présenté à Cannes en 1977, la critique le passe presque sous silence. Est-ce, comme le dit Martin Even, parce que c'est une oeuvre très différente des films antérieurs de Carle, « un film intérieur, très bergmanien, une fragilité très musicale sur la fragilité des choses de la vie en forme de conte⁷⁵ ? » Cependant, au Festival du film fantastique d'Avoriaz, le film obtient le Prix de la critique. Dès lors, sa sortie parisienne est précipitée et on organise simultanément sa diffusion en province. Déjà les habitués — ou les dégoutés — d'un Carle réaliste vont pointer l'oreille de surprise. Pagnol deviendrait-il Cocteau ou quelconque autre cinéaste de l'énigmatique merveilleux ? Plusieurs adoptent un ton sévère : « *L'ange et la femme* sanctionne impitoyablement l'échec des ambitions "oniriques" d'un auteur. Ici, l'imaginaire est de pacotille, le sexe pesant et laid, la musique entendue mille fois et l'angélisme n'est que de la sorcellerie de bas étage⁷⁶. »

Tous ne partagent pas cette impression de vacuité, mais demeurent perplexes devant le côté confus du film. « C'est un film hors des sentiers battus. C'est un

film glauque. Il faut le voir, justement parce qu'il est différent⁷⁷. » Car le film, « méditation poético-érotique assez puissante pour provoquer le malaise du voyeur-spectateur⁷⁸ » compte plusieurs amateurs. « On aurait pu dire que *L'ange et la femme* est composé comme une partition musicale. On aurait pu constater que Gilles Carle vit en adoration face à la beauté de sa muse. On aurait pu souligner que *L'ange et la femme* est l'un des plus beaux films du réalisateur québécois⁷⁹. » C'est d'ailleurs cet hymne à l'amour qui fascine : « Cette symphonie sur la magie de l'amour, sur la beauté des gestes d'amour, c'est aussi, bien sûr, un poème consacré à Carole Laure, mais à Carole Laure inscrite dans un imaginaire fantastique nourri de la sensibilité à un pays, à son parler, à ses phantasmes (...) *L'ange et la femme*, c'est un peu pour Gilles Carle l'*Hiroshima mon amour* d'un Resnais du Québec qui aurait aussi tourné *La vie d'un mineur de fond*⁸⁰. » Et tant qu'à être dans les références, citons Michel Marmin : « Filmée avec une ferveur érotique digne des poètes de la Renaissance, Carole Laure légitime pleinement l'adoration de Gilles Carle⁸¹. » Quoiqu'il en soit, le film connaît une carrière convenable en France, faisant sur Paris 13 944 entrées en cinq semaines, et tant Carole Laure que Lewis Furey sont grandement appréciés.

Carle emprunte alors une nouvelle voie cinématographique. *Les Plouffe* (1981), renommé pour la France *Il était une fois des gens heureux*, *Les Plouffe*, est lancé à Cannes lors de la Quinzaine et sort à Paris en mars 1982 dans dix salles. La presse du festival réagit cette fois plutôt favorablement au film, malgré sa durée de plus de trois heures. On est sensible au talent du cinéaste et à la chaleur humaine du film qui, pour certains, rappelle Renoir ou Pagnol (ces références ne sont pas innocentes, surtout dans le cinéma français). « Le charme de l'entreprise vient de ce que cette famille, tout en étant parfaitement inscrite dans le contexte socio-historique de son pays, n'a rien de caricaturalement "représentatif"⁸². » « On aura compris que *Les Plouffe* vaut avant tout par une grande tendresse pour ses personnages, servie par une technique résolument classique et peu soucieuse d'effets (...) Une heureuse surprise donc, et un exemple à suivre pour un jeune cinéma qui ne nous avait pas toujours habitués à des ouvrages aussi accomplis⁸³. » En fait, la critique admire les racines populaires du film, les morceaux de bravoure et les nombreuses vignettes dont Carle enrichit son oeuvre. À cet égard, Robert Chazal conclut : « Le spectateur français, après avoir vu ce film, aura l'impression de mieux connaître ses amis du Québec⁸⁴ », ce à quoi Louis Marcorelles fait écho : « Pour nous Européens, et surtout Français, *Les Plouffe* fera l'effet d'un électrochoc, révélera un pays et une nation dont l'histoire, malgré le général De Gaulle et René Lévesque, nous demeure à peu près inconnue⁸⁵. » « Le film offre une vision presque physique d'une société décidément fascinante. *Les Plouffe* est une vraie réussite⁸⁶. » « Tous les grands problèmes qui continuent d'agiter le Québec, le nationalisme, la résistance culturelle face à la pression anglophone, le cléricanisme, le matriarcat, sont au coeur du film⁸⁷. »

C'est la première fois que l'on observe la critique française se situer de cette manière par rapport à un film québécois, d'autant plus que le sujet du film (au-delà de la famille : la guerre, les Français qui vivent au Québec, la religion, etc.) les interpelle intimement, culturellement. Jamais n'a-t-on autant utilisé les vocables d'amis, de cousins. Jamais n'a-t-on éprouvé autant le besoin de parler de parenté, même en rappelant quasi *ad nauseam* l'image de la famille Duraton qui, tout comme les Plouffe, fut populaire durant les années 1950 et qui constitue — avec la famille Fenouillard, plus ancienne cependant — une référence contextuelle qui semblait incontournable et qui permettait de situer autant la proximité que la différence.

La proximité franco-québécoise est également soulignée lors de la sortie parisienne du film, d'autant plus que les personnages disent leur attachement aux traditions françaises : « La découverte d'une cellule familiale et d'une nation sentimentalement proche de la France dont, d'ailleurs, elle est issue⁸⁸. » « Ces lointains cousins québécois (...) qui nous les rend immédiatement très proches (...) Ils nous touchent, nous amusent, parfois nous bouleversent⁸⁹. » À l'occasion, c'est le « c'était eux, c'était nous » qui s'affirme, comme l'illustre ce passage de Dominique Jamet : « C'est une saga bien française pourtant que celle de ces Français d'outre-France, plus Français et autrement Français que nous-mêmes⁹⁰. »

Certains tentent de creuser, ne serait-ce que parce que le résumé de l'action les y invite, la dimension socio-politique d'un film qui, en réalité, est une grande fresque historique. Albert Cervoni observe que « *Les Plouffe* est une geste, une affirmation d'identité québécoise, de cette identité qui peut-être se cherchait encore et cherchait encore son équilibre, mais qui déjà continuait une tradition⁹¹. » Marie-Noëlle Tranchant constate qu'« à travers cette minutieuse chronique familiale, s'expriment les contradictions d'un peuple sous triple influence : de culture française, il vit à l'américaine sous domination anglaise⁹². »

La première année, le film fera à Paris plus de 52 800 spectateurs et en province plus de 132 000. Malgré les remarques du producteur Denis Héroux, qui se disait déçu du résultat après trois semaines en salle, il faut reconnaître que le film est le meilleur score de Carle en France depuis *La vraie nature de Bernadette* et, chose étonnante, qu'il attire près de trois fois plus de spectateurs en province qu'à Paris, ce qui ouvre la porte à l'examen de l'appréciation différenciée de la réception des films québécois en France. Dans ce cas-ci, on peut avancer au moins que la situation historique décrite par le film est encore plus proche du vécu provincial que du vécu parisien et que cela facilite l'identification du spectateur.

Conclusion

L'exemple de Carle fait ressortir la plupart des éléments que retient la presse française quand elle traite du cinéma québécois. L'examen détaillé de la carrière et de la réception des oeuvres de Denys Arcand, Michel Brault⁹³, Jean Beaudin⁹⁴, Marc-André Forcier ou Jean-Pierre Lefebvre n'aurait pas apporté un éclairage fondamentalement différent. Leurs films ont connu les mêmes difficultés de diffusion, les mêmes coups de coeur de la part des critiques, les mêmes commentaires sur la langue parlée, les mêmes appréciations sur le contexte socio-politique qu'ils traduisent. Quelles premières observations pouvons-nous tirer de ce portrait ? Il faut d'abord constater que, Perrault mis à part, le cinéma québécois n'a jamais bénéficié d'une couverture importante dans les revues de cinéma, sauf, dans une certaine mesure, pour *La vraie nature de Bernadette* et *Le déclin de l'empire américain*⁹⁵. Point de ces articles de quelques pages qui accompagnent toujours la sortie de films présumés importants ou significatifs réalisés par des cinéastes qui ont la cote. Au mieux bénéficie-t-il régulièrement de critiques normales dans les périodiques et les quotidiens, au pire est-il relégué dans ces comptes rendus succincts qui sont légion dans les revues. Si l'on exclut toute la partie « résumé » de ces textes, la partie appréciative ne tient qu'à quelques paragraphes et il y a régulièrement redondance entre l'ouverture et la fermeture. Ce n'est qu'à cet aspect que je m'en suis tenu dans mon exposé.

On peut avancer comme hypothèse que les destinataires français d'un film québécois appartiennent à la même catégorie que les destinataires des critiques qu'il suscite⁹⁶ bien que cette métaréception, c'est-à-dire la réception d'une réception, soit difficile à mesurer : il faudrait savoir combien de lecteurs lisent la critique de film et quel est leur comportement selon qu'elle est favorable ou mauvaise. La taille moyenne du public d'un film québécois, aux alentours de 180 000 spectateurs (bien inférieure à celle d'un succès populaire en France), permet de formuler une telle observation. Bien que la France soit un marché ouvert aux cinématographies étrangères (beaucoup plus que les autres pays européens et infiniment plus que les États-Unis) et que cela accroisse les chances de succès d'un film québécois, il faut souligner que l'accès de notre cinéma à un réseau de salles important est plutôt rare⁹⁷ et que l'on mise souvent sur un effet de longue haleine en présentant les films dans des salles indépendantes ou d'art et d'essai. Le public qui fréquente ces salles lit plus volontiers *Le Monde* ou *Libération* que *La Croix* ; il y a là sûrement une corrélation à explorer qui permettrait de comprendre les différences de public et leur segmentation.

Quelles observations peut-on tirer de l'analyse de la réception critique des films québécois ? L'examen des textes met en lumière un processus de lecture de la réalité que la coproduction avive, car le critique perçoit autant l'altérité du même que la similitude de l'autre. Face à une réalité — disons un pays —, tout individu peut avoir recours à des schémas de compréhension pré-formés. Quand il s'agit de filmer cette réalité, un réalisateur peut souscrire à ces

images-archétypes ou s'en démarquer. Il peut les entériner parce que cela facilite la lecture pour le spectateur ou parce que cela focalise son attention sur des données qui lui paraissent plus importantes et qu'un effort de décryptage de la réalité viendrait handicaper. En tant que spectateur privilégié, le critique peut reconduire ces images-archétypes qu'il repère dans le film, ce qui les consolide dans leur réception par le spectateur, confortant, à la limite, les préjugés qui peuvent exister à l'égard de la réalité. Mais face à une réalisation qui s'en démarque, le critique peut se retrouver dérouté, surtout quand l'oeuvre n'est qu'une parmi plusieurs d'origines aussi variées que mal connues. Lorsqu'il a une connaissance plus fine et plus approfondie de la réalité, ses commentaires réussissent à mettre en lumière la démarche du réalisateur et donc à la singulariser. Nous avons pu remarquer que la critique avait souvent recours aux images-archétypes, aux images-préjugés; s'agissant du Québec, les mots paysages (évidemment sauvages et naturels), grands espaces, froid, neige et glaces revenaient souvent. Il faut avouer par ailleurs que cela correspond souvent aux images que retiennent et projettent les Québécois quand ils veulent affirmer leur originalité et leur identité.

M'inspirant du cadre d'analyse de la réception évoqué au début du texte, j'ai indiqué tout au long de mon étude que la critique a recours à un certain nombre de contextes pour « expliquer » les films. Le **contexte de création** permet de situer un film dans l'oeuvre d'un auteur (son contexte de référence est formé des auteurs dont la mention permettrait d'apprécier ou de déprécier le travail du cinéaste : ainsi l'association Maupassant / Carle). Le **contexte d'origine** renvoie à des données qui ont trait au lieu, au temps et aux modes de la société d'origine du film ; ce contexte est très complexe et j'en ai indiqué plusieurs éléments pertinents dans les pages précédentes ; son analyse systématique me semble davantage convenir à l'étude d'un texte écrit. Il y a enfin le **contexte de réception** qui renvoie à des données qui s'expriment dans la société réceptrice et dont nous avons pu voir des exemples dans l'accueil fait au *Vieux pays...* ou aux *Plouffe*. Je voudrais conclure pas quelques observations sur la dialectique entre le contexte d'origine et le contexte de réception quant aux films de Carle.

La mention du contexte d'origine dépend toujours de la connaissance qu'on en a. Le critique, tel Louis Marcocelles, qui est venu souvent au Québec et s'est donné une culture québécoise, essaie souvent de préciser avec justesse ce qui sert de référence au contexte d'origine et avance des opinions plus fondées. Plusieurs ont une connaissance indirecte de la province, ce qui favorise la formulation d'idées reçues et de clichés. Cette attitude est particulièrement marquée dans les textes des quotidiens qui réagissent à chaud et ont moins l'habitude de la distance critique ou analytique. Ainsi, j'ai pu constater que plusieurs éléments qui reviennent dans l'appréciation des films de Carle : poésie, verdure du langage et gaillarde gauloiserie, sont tributaires d'une perception « Ma cabane au Canada » du pays : espace, nature, sauvagerie, etc. On croirait entendre Rousseau et Chateaubriand! Au-delà de l'idée reçue, je crois que cela indique qu'il y a en France une nostalgie du Villon et du Rabelais perdus, étouffés par les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, étouffés par Descartes. La

France semble toujours partagée par cette dichotomie et retrouve dans le Québec l'écho de ce qu'elle fut et qu'elle n'ose plus être, sauf dans l'imaginaire. Durant les années 1970, alors que se manifestait en France une panoplie d'interventions culturelles québécoises (Vigneault, Charlebois, Miron, etc.), ce sont ces données à la fois nostalgiques et d'une modernité provocante que les Français valorisaient quand ils se forgeaient une image du Québec. Pas étonnant que Carle fut alors, toutes proportions gardées, très populaire. Lorsque celui-ci voulut dévier de cet horizon d'attente du public français, celui-ci manifesta ses réserves, non seulement en boudant les films, mais aussi en les traitant davantage du point de vue de leur contexte de création et de leur valeur esthétique qui, tout d'un coup, devenait un en soi. Plusieurs qualifications *a priori* neutres devenaient, dans ces circonstances, connotées négativement⁹⁸.

J'avancerais enfin, comme piste d'une réflexion à poursuivre, que, règle générale, ce n'est pas tant l'exotisme et le folklore qui constituent les éléments majeurs d'appréciation d'un film québécois par des Français — bien qu'on ait pu qualifier ainsi la distance-miroir entre la France et le Québec. Pourtant, c'est justement cette distance-miroir, cet espace symbolique, ce semblable/moi-même qui fait référence immédiate et cherche à s'affirmer sur le plan national, qui séduit tout Français fier de son État et enclin à souhaiter au Québécois la même chose. Pour que le spectateur aille au-delà du syndrome de l'enfant prodigue ou du frère perdu et retrouvé, il faut que le film (ou le produit) en provenance du Québec efface le plus possible les marques d'énonciation de son origine⁹⁹. Lorsque le contexte d'origine est quasi complètement évacué (voir à l'heure actuelle le phénomène Roch Voisine), la réception se mesure au regard d'autres facteurs et d'autres horizons d'attente ; dans ce cas-là, la compétition peut devenir féroce et c'est alors, peut-on dire, qu'on joue dans les ligues de l'« universel ». L'exemple des films dont nous avons traité nous aura au moins permis de voir concrètement comment toute cette dynamique se manifestait.

Notes

1. Présenté en première mondiale au festival de Cannes de 1986 où il obtient le prix de la critique, ce film fait en France, à sa sortie en 1987 (plus de 1 200 000 spectateurs) une performance exceptionnelle, même en comparaison avec les films français. Il est donc totalement atypique de l'accueil réservé au cinéma québécois. Denise Pérusse publie, dans le numéro du printemps 1992 de la revue *Cinémas*, une analyse de la réception du *DÉCLIN* dans la presse française.
2. Tel est le cas de Gilles Carle avec *Les mâles* et *La vraie nature de Bernadette*.
3. En moyenne, durant les années 1980, sept films québécois ont pris chaque année l'affiche en France.
4. Parmi les catastrophes notoires, vu le coût des films et le battage publicitaire mis en oeuvre à leur sortie, mentionnons *Les fous de Bassan* de Jean Beaudin (12 000), *Les portes tournantes* de Francis Mankiewicz (9 200) et *Le crime d'Ovide Plouffe* de Denys Arcand (5 000).
5. *Les cahiers du cinéma*, *Cinéma*, *Écran*, *Jeune cinéma*, *Positif*, *La revue du cinéma*.

6. Voir H.R. Jauss, *Pour une esthétique de la réception*, Paris, Gallimard, 1978; Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula*, Paris, Grasset, 1985; Francesco Casetti, *D'un regard l'autre : le film et son spectateur*, Lyon, Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1990.
7. Peu de documentaires sortent en salle et ils ne restent pas longtemps à l'affiche. Ainsi, il n'y a que deux « succès » pour les années 1980 : *Images d'un doux ethnocide* d'Arthur Lamothe (2 976 spectateurs en 262 séances) et *Pourquoi l'étrange monsieur Zolock s'intéressait-il tant à la bande dessinée ?* d'Yves Simoneau (2 326 en 236 séances). Une quantité archi négligeable ! Leur circuit premier demeure celui des festivals et de la diffusion parallèle pour lesquels aucune donnée n'existe. À la différence de la fiction, la télévision leur est pratiquement exclue.
8. L'étude de la réception de ses films au Québec pourrait sûrement faire ressortir des différences notables tant il est vrai que l'horizon d'attente varie des deux côtés de l'Atlantique.
9. « Canada : du *candid eye* à Pierre Perrault », *Image et son*, 183: avril 1963, p. 48-50.
10. *Les cahiers du cinéma*, 146 : août 1963.
11. Par exemple, les longs entretiens parus à quelques reprises dans la revue *Image et son*, le colloque « Gens de paroles », tenu à La Rochelle en mars 1982, la publication à Paris en 1983 d'un recueil de textes de Perrault intitulé *Caméramages* et l'organisation d'une manifestation « Perrault » à Paris en 1987.
12. Parmi les rares succès, mentionnons *Jésus de Montréal* de Denys Arcand (1989) qui recueille 187 827 spectateurs et *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre* de Jacques W. Benoît (1989) qui fait 128 000 entrées. Le cas de Gilles Carle est abordé plus loin.
13. Au guichet, ces films feront, à Paris, respectivement 24 757, 46 600 et 55 628 entrées.
14. Monique Portal, *Jeune cinéma*, 77 : 1974.
15. Lucien Bodard, *Pariscope*, 13 février 1974.
16. Samuel Lachize, *Humanité Dimanche*, 8 février 1974.
17. *J. Ro.*, 24 février 1974.
18. *Le Monde*, 8 février 1974.
19. *France-Soir*, 13 février 1974.
20. À la même époque, une autre coproduction, *Kamouraska*, connaîtra un sort français pire encore : il ne sortira pas.
21. Laure et Furey, qui se sont connus grâce à Carle, avaient obtenu à Paris un succès appréciable avec leur spectacle présenté au Palace en 1977 et à Bobino en 1979 (quelques mois avant Cannes où *Fantastica* va inaugurer le festival). Avec Geneviève Bujold, ils constituent les premières stars québécoises créées par le cinéma et renforcées par la chanson à percer en France. Cet effet d'écho inter-média est susceptible d'assurer aux oeuvres québécoises, sinon un meilleur succès, à tout le moins une meilleure couverture critique.
22. Jean Wagner, *Télérama*, 24 octobre 1979.
23. Jacqueline Nacache, *Cinéma*, 258 : juin 1980.
24. À noter que la critique québécoise formule généralement la même opinion à l'égard des coproductions tournées au Canada.
25. Michel Pérez, *Le Matin de Paris*, 10 mai 1980.
26. Jean Wagner, *Télérama*, 14 mai 1980.
27. *Positif*, novembre 1983, n° 273.
28. *Le Figaro Magazine*, 7 juillet 1984.
29. Jean Rochereau, *La Croix*, 22 juin 1984.
30. Annie Coppermann, *Les Échos*, 21 juin 1984.
31. Et repris dans le numéro 49, 5 : 9, 1977 de la même revue.
32. F. F., *L'Express* 5 décembre 1977.
33. Jean-Luc Douin, *Télérama*, 7 décembre 1977.
34. Michel Mohrt, *Le Figaro*, 12 décembre 1977.
35. Henri Rabine, *La Croix*, 21 mai 1977.
36. Cela inclut, entre autres, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *L'Aurore*, *L'Humanité*, *Le Figaro* et *Jeune cinéma*.
37. Louis Audibert, *Cinématographe*, 28 : juin 1977.
38. Quelques-uns remarquent, par ailleurs, que la présence d'une scénariste française, Mireille Amiel, entraîne que le film ne présente plus tout à fait le regard d'un Québécois sur la France, mais le regard d'une Française parlant de son pays et d'un cinéaste qui le

- médiatisé, ce qui induit une impossibilité de dépasser les apparences et cause la distance du film.
39. *France-Soir*, 13 décembre 1977.
 40. P.A. P., *Rouge*, 14 décembre 1977.
 41. Frantz Gévaudan, *Cinéma*, 224-225 : 1977.
 42. Truffaut apparaîtra d'ailleurs dans *À tout prendre*.
 43. Novembre 1960, janvier et février 1961. C'est pour cette revue qu'écrit également le Montréalais d'adoption, Patrick Straram, qui publie de nombreux textes sur Jutra et Gilles Groulx et sert de médiateur entre le cinéma québécois et les cinéphiles français.
 44. *Les cahiers du cinéma*, 149 : novembre 1963.
 45. Gérard Langlois, *Les Lettres Françaises*, 23 avril 1969.
 46. *Les Cahiers du Cinéma*, 213 : juin 1969.
 47. *Témoignage Chrétien*, 25 septembre 1969.
 48. *Ibid.*
 49. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 15 septembre 1969.
 50. Jean Wagner, 6 mai 1972.
 51. Le 12 juin 1972.
 52. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 31 juillet / 6 août 1972.
 53. *L'Humanité*, 30 septembre 1972.
 54. Janick Arbois, *Télérama*, 7/14 octobre 1972.
 55. Michel Duran, *Le Canard Enchaîné*, 27 septembre 1972.
 56. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 31 juillet / 6 août 1972.
 57. *Télérama*, juin 1974.
 58. *La Croix*, 16 octobre 1972.
 59. Le film jouira d'un statut privilégié auprès de la critique française ainsi que le démontre le fait que la revue *L'Avant-Scène* en a publié le découpage après tournage.
 60. Certains tireront de la comparaison des observations défavorables à Carle, déplorant que le film d'Arcand n'ait pas été choisi pour la compétition.
 61. J. Ro., 24 mai 1973.
 62. *L'Aurore*, 24 mai 1973.
 63. Claire-Marie Tremois, *Télérama*, 2 juin 1973.
 64. Jacques Siclier, *Le Monde*, septembre 1973.
 65. Samuel Lachize, *L'Humanité*, 19 septembre 1973.
 66. H.R., 6 octobre 1973.
 67. Louis Chauvet, *Le Figaro*, 26 septembre 1973.
 68. Robert Chazal, *France-Soir*, 19 mai 1976.
 69. Louis Marcorelles, *Le Monde*, 23-24 mai 1976.
 70. *Cinéma*, 223 : juillet 1977.
 71. Christine de Montvalon, *Télérama*, 4 mai 1977.
 72. Albert Cervoni, *L'Humanité*, 23 avril 1977.
 73. M. E., *Le Matin de Paris*, 21 mai 1977.
 74. *Le Monde*, 24-25 avril 1977.
 75. *Elle*, 20 juin 1977.
 76. J.P. M., *Fiches de cinéma*, 1978.
 77. Didier Decoin, *VSD*, 14 avril 1978.
 78. *Libération*, 5 avril 1978.
 79. Leonardo de la Fuente, *Cinéma*, 234 : juin 1978.
 80. Albert Cervoni, *L'Humanité*, 29 mars 1978.
 81. *Le Figaro*, 30 mars 1978.
 82. Jacqueline Nacache, *Cinéma*, 271-272 : juillet-août 1981.
 83. Louella Intérim, *Libération*, 14 mai 1981.
 84. *France-Soir*, 15 mai 1981.
 85. *Le Monde*, 17-18 mai 1981.
 86. Marie-Élisabeth Rouchy, *Le Matin de Paris*, 16 mai 1981.
 87. Maurice Huleu, *Nice-Matin*, 16 mai 1981.
 88. Jacques Siclier, *Le Monde*, 6 mars 1982.
 89. Annie Coppermann, *Les Échos*, 3 mars 1982.
 90. *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 3 mars 1982.

91. *L'Humanité*, 3 mars 1982.
92. *Le Figaro*, 27 février 1982.
93. Dont le film *Les ordres* obtient le prix de la mise en scène à Cannes en 1975.
94. Monique Mercure, interprète de *J.A. Martin photographe* (1976), a obtenu un prix d'interprétation à Cannes, ce qui a facilité la sortie du film en France.
95. Le Centre de recherche Cinéma / Réception a fait paraître, au début de 1992, *Le cinéma québécois dans la presse française*, un répertoire analytique des écrits publiés en France sur le cinéma québécois pendant la période allant de 1980 à 1989. On y recense 1 315 notices bibliographiques. Pour *LE DÉCLIN*, il y en a 48 : le tiers lors de sa présentation à Cannes en 1986, les deux tiers lors de sa sortie en janvier 1987. Deux revues de cinéma seulement (*Positif*, *Revue du cinéma*) publient un entretien avec le réalisateur qu'elles complètent d'une critique.
96. À cause des délais de production, cela exclut les revues, sauf dans le cas d'une présentation dans un festival suivie, quelques mois plus tard, d'une sortie en salle ; dans ce cas, la rédaction d'une revue peut s'arranger pour la faire coïncider avec la parution d'un texte ou d'un entretien.
97. Ce fut le cas, par exemple, des *Plouffe* et du *DÉCLIN*. Mais cela ne garantit pas le succès comme le démontre l'échec des *Portes tournantes* (1988) de Francis Mankiewicz qui ne récoltera que 9 237 spectateurs sur toute la France !
98. Par exemple, la notion de fable, connotée favorablement dans les premiers films, fut transformée en charge contre *Fantastica* ou *L'ange et la femme*. Par contre, lorsque les films retrouvèrent l'horizon d'attente idéologique avec *Les Plouffe* et *Maria Chapdelaine*, la réception fut infiniment plus obligeante.
99. Dans le cas de l'oral, il y a toujours l'accent à contourner, ce qui n'est pas le cas avec l'écrit, et qui explique la nature de la réception des Hébert, Aquin, Godbout ou Ducharme.

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Review Essays
Essais critiques

Luca Codignola

Historians Against Contact: Indians and Europeans in the Early Northeast

James Axtell, *The Invasion Within. The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Urs Bitterli, *Alte Welt, neue Welt: Formen des europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986); translated into English by Ritchie Robertson as *Cultures in Conflict. Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989)

Denys Delâge, *Le pays renversé. Amérindiens et européens en Amérique du nord-est 1600-1664* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985)

Bruce Graham Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers. Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); translated into French by Georges Khal as *Les Indiens, la fourrure et les Blancs. Français et Amérindiens en Amérique du Nord* (Montréal and Paris: Boréal et Seuil, 1990).

Slowly but surely, 1992 will come and go, and we will have lost a good opportunity to add to our knowledge about the year(s) of contact between Indians and Europeans, and the ways persons, peoples and cultures were brought together by history. Why? Because most historians, political scientists, literary critics, journalists, Indian leaders and politicians are bringing too much to the fore at once. They all share an identical view of "discovery", though seen from opposite sides of the fence. Indian leaders look back at their pre-Columbian past and see a paradise lost; revenge has become the name of their game. Europeans and Euroamericans also look back; they see their forefathers conquering a continent, and feel guilty on their behalf. Both parties wish "discovery" had never happened. Both share the same moralistic vision of history. Revenge, remorse and expiation have become the keys to their interpretation of the year(s) of contact.

Invariably, the origins of present-day evils are traced back to the days of contact. Preoccupations with present-day issues, such as the status of Indian peoples, the conditions of their habitat and the ecology of our planet, are generating overwhelming curiosity about our human past. Yet, all we hear or read are long-discarded commonplaces on how Indian peoples prospered before the arrival of the white man, how they protected their environment, and how their societies were immune to historical change, societal development, and cultural adaptation. Variants are not being considered, differences in time and space not being accounted for. On the one side, Aztecs and Inuit,

Tupinamba and Sioux, 16th-century Tainos and 18th-century Micmacs have all become “the Indian.” On the opposite side, 15th-century Spanish (but Genoa-born) Cristoforo Colombo, 17th-century Samuel de Champlain and 19th-century American George Armstrong Custer have all become “the European.”

The Columbus celebrations are certainly producing a lively debate on the current relationship between Indians and Euroamericans. To date (March 1992), however, they have not produced anything of value that would deepen our knowledge of history, that is, our knowledge of those long-dead men and women who lived in the past and were affected by contact. This is why, in this short review article, I shall deal not with *new* books, mostly written *for* or *against* the Quincentennial, but with books that were published in 1985 and 1986 — although their translations into French or English are more recent. These books were researched and written independently of the debate over the significance of 1492. No matter how much readers may disagree with their points of view, their contribution to the historical debate is impressive, and their influence shall be felt long after American journalist Kirkpatrick Sale’s *The Conquest of Paradise* (1990) and Huron “conférencier, poète et musicien” George E. Sioui’s *Pour une autohistoire amérindienne* (1989) have been eminently forgotten.¹ In fact, except for Urs Bitterli’s *Cultures in Conflict*, which to date does not seem to have influenced the historiographical debate, the other three books under review are already regarded as “classics.” References to them abound in the literature dealing with contact. They have enjoyed such success that they have already become a sort of reference tool, cited by all irrespective of the fact that the points of view they represent are still very controversial.

* * * * *

Bitterli’s book embraces more time, more peoples, and more encounters than any of the other books under review. Bitterli is Professor of Modern History at the University of Zurich, in Switzerland, and favours the “history of mentalities” approach to the historical discipline (p. 1). As his major works were written in German and never translated into either English or French, he is little known outside the German-speaking world. Bitterli’s earlier books dealt with West Africa in the 17th and the 18th centuries (1970), with a critical treatment of imperialism in writers such as Joseph Conrad, André Malraux, Graham Greene and Peter Weiss (1973), and with the concepts of savagery and civilization (1981).² *Cultures in Conflict* is an ambitious, interesting and original attempt to evaluate the impact of contact on various cultures at different times — the Portuguese in Africa and Asia, the French in Canada, the English in Pennsylvania, the Europeans in China and the English and French in the South Seas. In order to discuss such varied experiences, Bitterli uses a model that distinguishes between three types of cultural encounter: contact, collision and relationship. These categories, and therefore the model, never

exist “in a pure state” (p. 20), yet they are useful because they help identify their variants.

Bitterli’s worldwide view is a good deterrent to a trap into which so many students of American contact fall, that is, to forget that the encounter between Europeans (i.e., Christians) and alien cultures long predated 1492. From the Scandinavian North to the Muslim lands, from Black Africa to China, Europeans had always met with peoples who differed from them in language, colour and culture. Of these, some were even reputed more refined and civilized than themselves. Bitterli refrains from such fashionable, vacuous but seemingly mandatory expressions as “other”, “otherness”, and the like, which refer to a model-European encountering a model-Indian. He also refrains from constantly referring to Indians as impotent victims of European brutality. He states, for example, that “cultural contact was generally marked by peaceable behaviour on both sides” (p. 27) (although more often than not it turned into collision), and that epidemics, not violence, were the real cause of the Indian’s initial and dramatic loss, as they “wrought more havoc than direct military operations” (p. 33).

What is notable, in a book as vast in scope as Bitterli’s, is a new appreciation of the adaptability of Indian cultures to European ones, and the uncommon attempt not to treat them as indefinite wholes. He states that they never adopted “European culture ... as a seamless whole,” and argues that its components “met with very different degrees of receptivity” amongst the native peoples, whose members and institutions reacted differently “to the imposition of new techniques and ideas” (p. 49). In fact, as Denys Delâge rightly recalls in his *Le pays renversé*, Indians never managed to “surmonter leurs divisions et s’unir pour refouler à la mer les envahisseurs.”³ Bitterli treats non-European societies, whether the “refined” Chinese or the “primitive” Montagnais, as we would treat European societies — by making distinctions within them. Indian nations consisted of men and women, the young and the old, the leaders and the led. Had they all reacted in the same way to the Europeans’ arrival, the history of North America would have been different.

Few books are devoid of problems, and Bitterli’s is no exception, although most of them derive from the book’s impressive scope. These are mostly linked to Bitterli’s contribution on specific matters and to the use of new primary sources. I will briefly discuss these problems with reference to the only chapter of *Cultures in Conflict* which is devoted to Canada (Ch. 4, “Missionary Work as a Cultural Relationship. The French in Canada”). In fact, there is nothing in this chapter that is not known to historians of Canada. Furthermore, the reader is left with the impression that its author has an imperfect knowledge of the early phase of the history of New France. There is confusion between Hochelaga (the Indian name of the city), Ville-Marie (its earliest French name), Montréal (its new name) and Mont-Royal (the “mountain”), as if the author did not know their real meanings (pp. 88, 91). American historian Francis Parkman (1823-1893) is repeatedly used as a

reliable secondary source. Almost all works cited by Bitterli belong to the 1960s and earlier, and are only used as reference tools. Yet the chapter achieves its purpose, and falls well within the general framework of the book without being seriously hampered by an outdated bibliography. The discussion of the Jesuits' methods and problems with the Hurons is, for example, useful, lively and substantially sound. In conclusion, whereas I would not use *Cultures in Conflict* to gain a better knowledge of any specific event that is narrated in its chapters, I would recommend it to historians of those events in order to place them in a more general context, and to compare similar experiences at various times and in different places.

* * * * *

Whereas Bitterli's book spans over four centuries and four European cultures, Delâge's *Le pays renversé*, based on his doctoral dissertation, focuses on the relationship between the French and the Hurons in the years from 1600 to 1664, but places New France within a complete overview of the whole western economy. The logical sequence of Delâge, who is Professor of Sociology at Université Laval, Québec, proceeds downward from a large-scale chapter on the conditions of Europe "au coeur d'une économie-monde" in its transition from feudalism to capitalism (Ch. 1), to a (rather idyllic) description of Indian life in North America "avant l'implantation européenne" (Ch. 2). Then we have contact ("le processus d'annexion de cet espace à l'économie atlantique," p. 9), and the beginnings of unequal exchange, that is, an economic relationship between Europeans and Indians in which the latter always come up the losers (Ch. 3). We then reach the core of the book, a small-scale chapter on "Huronie et Iroquoise," really a description of how Huron society disintegrated between 1632 and 1649 (Ch. 4). We are then led upward again, to the birth of Euroamerica (Ch. 5), and to the final maturity of Euroamerican society (Ch. 6), defined as "une société plus libre, une société où la qualité de la vie est meilleure" (although "libre n'est pas synonyme d'égalitaire") (p. 326).

Delâge's explanation of the historical process is so simple and his symmetry so perfect — all elements are in place, causes and effects are so evidently linked — that the reader immediately begins to wonder whether simplicity is in the model, rather than in the reality this model should portray. In the whole book, I recognized only four instances in which the author seems to express some form of doubt and to admit the existence of variants in the historical process. [1] In describing women as oppressed in several primitive and classless societies, Delâge concedes that their role in Algonquin and Iroquois societies was, on the contrary, superior to their role in European society (p. 80). One wonders why Algonquins and Iroquois were exceptions to the rule. [2] In explaining how "la civilisation amérindienne ... s'est désintégrée au rythme de son intégration au marché mondial", he admits that "À court terme..., le sort de toutes les sociétés amérindiennes n'a pas été identique," as "les jeux d'alliance, les guerres ont fait des vainqueurs et des vaincus" (p. 173). How short is this "court terme"? How does it relate to the debate on the significance of the concept of

generations?⁴ For example, how would the century and a half of the Guaranis in the Paraguay “reducciones” (1610-1763) compare with the sudden demographical catastrophe of the Arawaks in the West Indies? [3] In introducing the chapter on how European societies reproduced themselves in the Americas, the author warns that “le poids relatif de ces variables restera difficile à évaluer” (p. 307). And yet these variants are nothing less than the different origins of European societies (“métropoles modernes ou archaïques, capitalistes ou féodales”), their division of labour and their internal hierarchy, their different positions in the Atlantic economy. [4] At the end of the book, Delâge admits that “on ne peut dire ... qu’il y ait un modèle unique de rencontre, car les différences entre Européens ... [et] entre Amérindiens ... viennent spécifier les modalités de la rencontre” (p. 341). As he deals with entire countries, “différences” and “modalités” loom very large indeed. With variants such as these, the reader cannot but wonder about the plausibility of the model.

There is one very good chapter in the book, that dealing with the disintegration of Huronia (Ch. 4). It is in fact better than anything I have read on the matter to date. Its substance is not new. As in Bitterli, there is nothing here that is not already known to historians, although Delâge’s scale is much larger. In fact, the overused and yet unsurmounted “Jesuit Relations” are the only real primary source for both authors with regard to Canada. Delâge, however, is able to make good use of the instruments provided by sociology and philosophy (Pierre Bourdieu, Herbert Marcuse) and psychoanalysis (C. Castilla Del Pino, Christiane Olivier), and to provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the psychological and social turmoil that profoundly altered Huron culture in the first half of the 17th century. For example, Delâge explains that mythical factors linked to the very concept of alliance kept the Hurons from dissolving their pact with the French (pp. 184-185). In order to explain the impressive number of converts, he shows that the many refugees from other vanquished nations who had been integrated into the Huron society were psychologically “plus réceptifs au discours du missionnaire” (p. 195). This is how Delâge summarizes the whole process: “Dépendance, tensions, hiérarchisation, instauration d’un rapport destructeur entre l’homme et la nature, éclatement d’une civilisation, dépossession, autant de réalités qui font basculer les anciennes explications du monde, engendrent l’anomie au sein de la société huronne et suscitent ce que P. Bourdieu appelle: ‘l’attente d’un message systématique capable de donner un sens unitaire à la vie’” (pp. 195-196).⁵

The usefulness of the remainder of the book is, however, questionable, as Delâge makes a number of sweeping statements which are at best commonplace, and at worst dogma. Here are a few examples. [1] “Les grandes puissances furent celles dont l’organisation de la production était la plus avancée, c’est-à-dire la plus efficace” (p. 17). There is no absolute concept of great power. Take, for example, Portugal’s role in 15th-century European expansion.⁶ [2] “Au plan colonial, la France est partie perdante et elle a fini

perdante” (p. 44), a concluding sentence placed at the beginning of the book, coupled by “la lourdeur et la marginalité de l’économie de la Nouvelle-France ne peuvent ... laisser de doute sur l’histoire ultérieure” (p. 286). One simply wonders how French Canada managed to survive for a century and a half, and Québec still overwhelmingly consists of francophones. [3] “Ce qui frappe, c’est l’ambivalence de l’Église catholique associée au pouvoir et à la domination, tout en étant opposée aux excès de cette domination” (p. 147).⁷ The church’s attitude is not “frappante” (a moral statement that does not fit well in a book of history), as this “ambivalence” is the essence of the church’s role in *ancien régime* societies. [4] “Là où le mode capitaliste de produire refoule le monde féodal, là où la classe capitaliste arrive même à contrôler l’État, là se trouve le secret de la puissance des pays et le fondement de leur hégémonie” (p. 19, *see also* p. 243). In a single sentence, Delâge manages to do away with the whole debate on the meaning and persistence of whatever historians mean by feudalism. [5] The secret of the success of the Netherlands “c’est le développement du capitalisme, qui, libérant les forces productives dans l’agriculture et dans la production manufacturière, leur assure une supériorité matérielle et ... commerciale et militaire” (p. 22). Here again, the reader wonders why only the Netherlands found that secret. Spain, for example, for all “la richesse phénoménale accumulée” (p. 20), found the secret for modern inflation instead. [6] “En période de conjoncture économique difficile,” the Netherlands reacted by developing “des rapports capitalistes,” whereas France went backward “en renforçant sa structure féodale” (p. 126). For all his economic determinism, Delâge shows a curious tendency to treat countries as persons-with-a-choice.

None of the above statements is supported by hard evidence. Indeed, Delâge’s sources are old and inadequate, and even on individual issues he builds his general hypotheses on very shaky ground. Here are some specific examples. [1] The source for the American demographic catastrophe (pp. 14-15) is American historian Francis Jennings in *The Invasion of America* (1975),⁸ itself a secondary source, who, in spite of his proclaimed pro-Indian bias, is much more careful in approaching the problem. [2] The discussion on the number of pre-contact Indians (pp. 54-57) is again based on Jennings’ ideas, but relies on a superseded book such as American anthropologist Harold E. Driver’s *Indians of North America* (1961), and on such authors as French historians Philippe Jacquin and Élise Marienstras, who are not first-hand authorities on the matter.⁹ [3] The number of French settlers is still given, without further explanation, at the traditional 10,000 (pp. 45, 252-3), although such a figure has been variously challenged in the past decade. [4] The statement on the biological causes of Indian alcoholism (p. 148) is not, as it looks, a capsule of all science knows on the matter. [5] As anybody familiar with John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard’s *Economy of British America* (1985) may well see, Delâge’s discussion of Euroamerican demography and of emigration from England to the Americas is also outdated (pp. 244-246, 254-258).¹⁰ [6] The whole church-state relationship in New France is explained (p. 388) on the basis of Québec sociologist Guy Rocher’s thesis (1957), and neither Canadian

historian John Sargent Moir's *Church and State in Canada* (1967), nor Canadian historian Cornelius John Jaenen's *Role of Church in New France* (1976), are cited.¹¹ [7] As historians of North America know less about New Netherland (the merit should be ascribed to Delâge for having brought our attention to it), they are likely to take Delâge's treatment of the Dutch at face value (Ch.s 3, 5). Yet Canadian historian James S. Pritchard warns that the author "néglige ... les recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire économique hollandaise." Furthermore, Delâge uses a very limited range of Dutch primary sources, and there is not much in his footnotes except the 19th-century collection compiled by American historian Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan (1797-1880). Yet these sources are plentiful, as shown, for example, by American historian Charles T. Gehring's *Guide* (1978).¹²

This writer is left with the impression that Delâge started from the wrong side. First, he had his answer, namely, that New France was on the far periphery of the Atlantic economy, and that the Hurons and the Iroquois were brought unwillingly from an "[â]ge de pierre, âge d'abondance" (p. 64) into an unequal and disadvantageous partnership with Europe. Secondly, he built an abstract sociological model to accommodate the above answer. This method allowed him to create a perfect sequence of concentric empty boxes, each one containing the smaller one — from the entire western world, down to the 20,000 (p. 55) residents of Huronia.¹³ Thirdly, he selected his primary and secondary sources in order to prove his case.

As for Europe, Delâge mainly relied on the general interpretations of the dogmatic political economists of the 1950s and the 1960s. Consequently, he denied any possibility of a government, an interest group¹⁴ or an individual making decisions for any other reason than profit. There is almost no mention of such entities as foreign and dynastic policies, political dissent, religion, race, a desire for human betterment or glory. As for the Indians, he heavily relied on American historian George T. Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois* (1940) and on Canadian anthropologist Bruce Graham Trigger. Consequently, he maintained that, as soon as contact was made, Indians became potential capitalists, and their actions were motivated by profit alone (pp. 88, 132, 139, 167). One example shall suffice here. Delâge states that, with time, Indians got to know "la valeur réelle des marchandises" (p. 69, 94). Does he mean, their value according to how many hours it took a person to produce them? Or how much one would pay in Europe for a certain item? Or their symbolic value within Indian society? Yet historians well know that items (a worn furcoat, a new hatchet) had different values in different societies, and that considerations other than profit intervened in the exchange process (witness the typical instance of France buying furs at a loss in order to keep the Indians' allegiance).

Paradoxically, the limitation of his sources makes it impossible for Delâge to even conceive the new frame of reference that he is so avidly seeking. Whereas, for example, Canadian historians John A. Dickinson and Brian

Young suggested a new periodization of early Canadian history, and made the disappearance of the Hurons by 1650 the end of the first phase in the history of early Canada (1988),¹⁵ Delâge is anchored to 1663, the traditional date chosen by historians more concerned with politics than with economics. Furthermore, after thirty years of debate over the effects of societal organization on their residents, New France and New Netherland are still compared in terms of monopoly (a regressive attitude, according to Delâge) vs. free competition (a progressive one). Is Delâge really certain that less monopoly would have meant more prosperity for early Canada? In any case, he does not seem to be bothered by such questions.

Had it been written in the 1950s or in the early 1960s, Delâge's book would have been regarded as innovative, though dogmatic; it would have had the merit to call for more attention to the Atlantic world's economic interaction and the concept of social class applied to primitive societies. Published in 1985, however, *Le pays renversé* comes down to us as a conceptually very old book, containing one very good chapter.

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We now come to Trigger's *Natives and Newcomers*. The author of a short book on the Hurons (1969) and a major history of the Hurons to 1660 (1976), and the editor of the Northeast volume of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* series (1978),¹⁶ Trigger, who is Professor of Anthropology at McGill University, Montréal, is today one of North America's most well-known and acclaimed anthropologists. His last book was saluted by Delâge as "un apport majeur et incontournable à notre histoire," "la meilleure synthèse de la rencontre ... des Français et des Amérindiens," "une oeuvre qui renouvelle l'histoire canadienne ... faisant appel à toutes les disciplines de l'histoire" — but was not so enthusiastically met by other reviewers.¹⁷ Contrary to the symmetry of Delâge's *Le pays renversé*, Trigger's *Natives and Newcomers* is a poorly packaged book. Historiography and methodology constitute the whole of Ch. 1 ("The Indian Image in Canadian History") and a good part of Ch. 2 ("Before History") and Ch. 4 ("Traders and Colonisers"). We are shown in detail the treatment received by Indians in historical literature, starting with the mandatory (although well deserved) Parkman-bashing.¹⁸ We are also given definitions of archaeology, ethnographic archaeology, ethnology, comparative ethnology, ethnohistory, anthropology, physical anthropology, historical linguistics, oral history and more. In fact, so much in *Natives and Newcomers* is devoted to methodology, that the whole book was defined, by Pritchard, as "une oeuvre polémique dirigée contre les historiens," rather than "une oeuvre d'histoire."¹⁹ The last chapter, Ch. 6 ("Who Founded New France"), offers a lengthy summary of previous chapters. What is left of Ch.s 2 to 5, covering the years prior to contact to 1660, constitutes the core of Trigger's book.

The most significant and indeed innovative part of *Natives and Newcomers* is that dealing with the ethnohistory of the Northeast prior to Champlain's founding of Québec in 1607. By using and connecting little-known archaeological evidence, Trigger tries to bridge the many gaps in the traditional (written) sources, and to provide the reader with the Indian point of view. Historians, who, with very few exceptions (Selma Huxley Barkham, Laurier Turgeon, David Beers Quinn amongst them), are foreign to the secrets of archaeology, cannot but welcome Trigger's attempt and agree that further research and findings should be encouraged. According to Trigger, "Archaeology has radically altered our understanding of the history of the St. Lawrence lowlands" prior to contact, as findings show that "internal change and development characterized all the native societies of this area and that some changed rapidly" (p. 109, also p. 52).

As to exactly what changes and what development are meant, Trigger admits that archaeologists still have but very tentative answers. Historians are often left to wonder how much more they have to learn from new archaeological evidence. His constant use of disclaimers such as "probably," "presumably," "we can surmise," "it seems to have implied," honestly mirrors how little we all still know of the subject in question. One mystery that, for example, remains unanswered is the long-debated disappearance of the Saint-Lawrence Iroquoians. They might have been driven away by the Mohawks, as suggested by Trigger (pp. 106, 144-148), but, admittedly, this is nothing more than a plausible hypothesis. The one certainty that we derive from *Natives and Newcomers*, and for which historians owe much to Trigger, is that the commonly held notion of pre-contact, static Indian societies must be abandoned, because a number of crucial phenomena (genocidal warfare, large communities, confederacies, property patterns) were brought about or *could* have been brought about prior to contact (pp. 105-116). On the whole, from now on, no one writing about the early phase of New France could do without this part of Trigger's book.

This part is followed by Trigger's treatment of the post-Champlain era, from 1607 to 1660. We find here a new Champlain, treated as a second-rate leader who meddled with the Indians with a "total lack of realism" (p. 200) and was devoid of any "knowledge of their culture" (p. 319).²⁰ We also find a new awareness of the "indispensable ... role" that François Gravé Du Pont (fl. 1599-1629) "appears to have played" in the first three decades of the 17th century, a role "at least as important as [that of] Champlain" (p. 305). Still, there is little else that is totally new here. This part, however, is crucial to the understanding of Trigger's interpretation. Since, according to Trigger, furs were the only item Indians could offer in exchange for European goods, their societies became increasingly dependent on the fur trade, which was "[t]he basis for all relations between the Indians and the French" (p. 224), and, indeed, defined all facets of intertribal relations at least to 1660 (pp. 137-8, 162-3, 183, 224, 260-1, 271, 285). European materials "were reaching the entire coast of North America throughout the sixteenth century" (p. 153), but at

that time they were mainly used for ritual purposes and did not significantly “transform Indian life” (p. 163). The process was in place, however, and by the 1630s the Hurons “were convinced that they could no longer do without “European materials” (p. 247), which began to alter Indian life in the 1600-32 period (pp. 224-5), and significantly so in the years 1633-60 (Ch. 5).

The fur trade is thus the key to Trigger’s interpretation of the whole history of early Canada. As with Delâge, profit comes up in *Natives and Newcomers* as what all North Americans — Indians and Europeans alike — sought. Change in Indian society (wars, alliances, expansion) is invariably explained by the needs of the fur trade. Indeed, the whole history of the “Heroic Age” of New France is explained on the basis of purely economic motivations. Like Delâge (and this is essentially what the two authors have in common, and explains Delâge’s admiration), Trigger has very little to say of other factors that were emphasized by the historical literature of the past thirty years. *Natives and Newcomers* is refreshing and stimulating for its interdisciplinary approach, important for its contribution to our knowledge of the pre-1600 era, somewhat inaccurate in offering, as state-of-the-art conclusions, statements on which historians are not likely to agree, and very simplistic in its depiction of the Indians as “capitalistic entrepreneurs in moccasins” — a definition of Canadian historian William J. Eccles.²¹

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The Invasion Within is one of the three books that James Axtell, who teaches early American history at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, produced in the 1980s. It had been preceded and followed by two collections of essays, *The European and the Indian* (1981) and *After Columbus* (1988).²² *The Invasion Within* is the first part of a more ambitious project, a three-volume history of the cultural encounter in colonial North America (p. x), a sort of 20th-century equivalent to Parkman’s series known as “France and England in North America.” Axtell’s book deals essentially with the same time frame, the same Indians, and the same Europeans as Delâge’s *Le pays renversé* (although New Englanders replace the New York Dutch settlers). It even repeats, almost *verbatim* (at least conceptually), Delâge’s conclusion, namely, that the missionaries’ end was to put the Indian world upside down.²³ In Axtell’s words, the Indian “was asked to commit cultural suicide, to cease to be an Indian” (p. 330). Yet the two books could not be more distant and, indeed, opposite to each other. Whereas for Delâge (and for Trigger) the fur trade and economic profit was all that counted in the relationship between the European and the Indian, for Axtell, only the cultural contest engendered by contact explains their struggle for supremacy. In Axtell’s own words, “Although that struggle took political and economic forms, ... it remained primarily a contest between two concepts of spiritual power and the quality of life each promised” (p. 19). This contest “was fought largely in times of declared peace,” with weapons such as trade, forest diplomacy and religious conversion (p. 4, also p. 43).

In order to state his case, Axtell devotes somewhat less than half the book to illustrate the French success with the Indians from the early days of settlement down to around the 1660s (pp. 23-127), and the balance to narrate, in excruciating and somehow hilarious detail (as in Ch. 10, “Errands into the Wilderness”), the failure of the English (pp. 131-327). Contrary to Del age and Trigger, however, the Indian comes up as the leading character of the book. Whereas, from Trigger and especially from Del age, the reader gets the impression that Europeans led the dance, and Indians could not refrain from being led to their own destruction, in Axtell’s *The Invasion Within*, they abandon their still and rigid role and come to life as individual persons who think, reason, hope, suffer and make decisions accordingly. There are two leading concepts in the book, which are clearly identifiable as the key to Axtell’s interpretation of the contest between Indians and Europeans — the concept of human options, and the concept of human adaptability. (Neither is present in either Trigger or Del age.)

As for human options, Axtell states that historians should “seek to recapture the challenges [people of the past] faced, the options they enjoyed, the choices they made, and the short-range as well as long-range consequences of their actions” (p. 5). Europeans, he explains, had many options, but “[d]iscovering the natives, respecting them, and leaving them to set their own collective courses was not a real possibility [i.e., option] for Early Modern man” (p. 331). Yet thousands of them were fascinated (indeed, converted) by Indian life, and fully joined their ranks, either voluntarily, or having forcibly experienced life among them (pp. 302-327). Another example of options that were available to European men and women was “apostasy” from Protestantism to Catholicism, for which “every individual had his private reason” (p. 291). The Indians, too, had their options. They could, for example, try to join European society (had they really been allowed to do so). Yet not a single one ever did (p. 303). They could accept the missionary’s message and become Christians, since, Axtell maintains, “conversion is ultimately a personal, voluntary act of individuals, a decisive act of reason, faith, and will that no one can make for them” (p. 280).²⁴ Some 10,000 Hurons, according to Axtell’s reckoning, “chose to become Christians after long and painstaking instruction by the priests” (p. 277). Those who had chosen to adjust to “post-European conditions without surrendering their ethnic and cultural identity” also had two options, namely, “to join a revitalization movement by a native prophet or charismatic leader,” or “to revitalize native culture through the selective use of Christianity rather than nativism” (p. 284).

As for human adaptability, Axtell agrees with Bitterli and maintains that the Indians were “surprisingly well equipped to counter the cultural offensives of the Europeans,” as they possessed “daunting self- confidence,” an “inclusive religion” capable of absorbing foreign elements (Christian and Indian religions were very similar [p. 14]), “an uncanny talent for converting hostile enemies into loyal kinsmen,” and the ability to “play colonial governments ... against each other” (p. 4). Converting to Christianity was, according to Axtell,

“one way of adapting to the invasion of America,” and missions also “provided the natives with practical techniques for coping with the invaders” (p. 332). Axtell concludes that the Indians “were remarkably resourceful in adjusting to new conditions, especially in using elements of European religious culture for their own purposes” (p. 286). Europeans, evidently enough, were the masters in the art of adaptability, as their final domination over the entire world well shows. This is also Bitterli’s opinion. For him European superiority owes much to “the fact that in the course of an extremely varied history, Western culture has absorbed, transformed and rejected so many alien influences that it has acquired an astonishing capacity for change and renewal.”²⁵

Once the existence of individual options is granted, and the ground for the adaptability of Indian culture is paved, then the question comes up — when is it that too much adaptability becomes “cultural suicide”? I, for one, have no clear answers to such a philosophical and political question, as these answers very much depend on specific spatial, chronological and cultural experiences, besides the individual’s own awareness of the process itself. Undoubtedly, both “cultural suicide” and the European conquest of America began on the beach of Columbus’s landing. “Sooner or later, all the eastern tribes began to lose their aboriginal sovereignty and strength” (p. 284), and “eventually, and with very few exceptions, the Indians lost badly, if not to deadly diseases alone” (p. 331). But how long did it take? And what course did final defeat follow? I have already noted Delâge’s subtle and possibly unconscious hint of his own doubts on the destinies “[à] court terme”²⁶ of Indian societies. Axtell is more explicit. Without the missionaries, he maintains, “the timing and duration of America’s intercolonial conflicts and therefore the history of colonial North America could have been very different indeed” (p. 332). Axtell is convincing. Personally, I believe that it makes a lot of difference whether individuals or communities are killed off outright, as it happened to many, or progressively lose their culture step by step, day by day, generation after generation, by adapting to a more powerful physical or human environment.

Axtell’s more interesting chapter is that dealing with the problem of the conversion of the Hurons (Ch. 11, “Preachers, Priests, and Pagans”). This chapter does not substantially differ from Delâge’s own “Huronie et Iroquoise,” although Axtell could have profited from Delâge’s intelligent and innovative use of the instruments of psychoanalysis and sociology. Axtell, for his part, mostly uses common sense. The Indians, he states, were attracted by the message of the missionaries on account of the French colonial system (p. 277), the Jesuits’ superior schooling and abilities (pp. 71-90, also p. 277), “simple curiosity” (p. 282), “respect”, to “fulfill a serious need” for something “more” than traditional religions. This need derived in turn from “long-term changes in native religion” that were constantly occurring, as Indian society was not static (p. 283).

I believe Axtell convincingly argues his general thesis by using a vast array of printed sources, although none of them is new. I believe that his *mise-en-valeur* of the Indian as a human being, and not as a stilted and artificial model, is of great import. It is true, as Jaenen noted, that *The Invasion Within* “is strongly weighted in favour of religious concerns,” and that the “economic, political, and other social aspects of European culture are assigned less attention than religion.”²⁷ Given the fact that no historian can do everything, Axtell’s “cultural” approach does not seem to close the door to the contributions of other disciplines such as economics and political science. Conversely, Delâge’s and Trigger’s economicism does close the door to culture.

Two items, on a different scale, need clarification. The first is that, contrary to most historians, Axtell maintains that the success of the Jesuit missionaries did not end with the destruction of Huronia in 1650, but can be traced through the 1670s (pp. 107-108). He does not provide any evidence in support of his statement. The second is the fact that the English, to whom so much room is devoted in *The Invasion Within*, are depicted throughout the book as rough and intransigent towards the Indians, just the opposite of the French. Axtell shows that they were so, but provides little explanation as to the reasons for their different approach (see in particular pp. 277-279).

Lastly, there is an evident Americentrism in Axtell’s conclusions, when he states that “Columbus inadvertently redirected the evangelical energies of European Christianity toward the Occident” (p. 329). This is simply not true. The Americas in general, and North America in particular, were never deemed a priority by any European church, let alone the Catholic church. Well through the early 19th century, the latter’s grand design of worldwide conversion included the reconversion of Protestant Europe, the christianization of rural areas (the so-called “internal missions”), the reunification with Eastern churches, the defence of the Christian communities within the Muslim territories, the progress of religion in the refined Asiatic civilizations such as India, China and Japan, and, at the very bottom, the conversion of the “primitive” peoples in Africa and the Americas. As Axtell limits himself to North America, and indeed to the American Northeast, he does not profit from useful comparisons with similar experiences both in the Americas (take Paraguay, for instance), or in the rest of the world (the Jesuits in China, or the Capuchins in Africa, for example). He does not tell the reader, in fact, whether the American Northeast was an exceptional place, or one of the many places of the world where a similar relationship between the natives and the Europeans was in place. In this regard, Bitterli’s book might serve as a useful antidote.

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As it so often happens with history, the last word must be left to primary sources. As pointed out by American historian Alden T. Vaughan, as they left no written records, “[h]ow can the experiences and viewpoints of the Indians in

the early period be adequately presented”?²⁸ To hope to do so by simply embracing “les valeurs amérindiennes,” as Sioui and other native historians pretend to be doing, makes no sense, as it implies the concept of constant Indian values that would have remained unchanged over the centuries, and that would be applicable to all Indian societies throughout the continent. Would Europeans or Euroamericans of today ever pretend to write the history of the Middle Ages in rural Italy by embracing the so-called values of 20th-century Great Britain — as if Italy, Great Britain, the Middle Ages and the 20th century were one and the same thing?

Yet, the historical problem of how to best represent the Indian viewpoint remains. Trigger believes that archaeological evidence, coupled with traditional written sources, can help solve the problem. Delâge does not address the question directly, and probably believes that he has solved it by simply siding with the Indians against the Europeans. Axtell tries to read as much European sources as possible, and to identify and control their cultural biases. Perhaps, the problem of giving a voice to the Indians of the past will never be solved. One little improvement, however, would not require much effort. All historians mentioned in this article heavily rely on Jesuit sources, as did most of their predecessors since Parkman. Bitterli, Axtell, and Trigger rely on the collection edited by American Reuben Gold Thwaites (1896-1901),²⁹ a collection that is so famous and handy (perhaps because of the translations from French and Latin into English it provides) that the name “Jesuit Relations” has become a synonymous with the Thwaites edition, and not with the original yearly reports published by the Society of Jesus in the 17th century. For his part, Delâge inexplicably prefers the 1858 collection recently (1972) reprinted by Éditions du Jour.³⁰ One wonders why none of them really used the new collection of Jesuit sources edited by Canadian historian Lucien Campeau, which is indeed a model of documentary edition.³¹ Furthermore, whereas the Jesuit Relations proper were texts specially prepared for publication and self-promotion, there are, in Rome and in France, the original Jesuit letters, never used to date by any historian (except for Campeau). As they were meant for internal use and not for publication, these letters were one step closer to what really took place in the field. Undoubtedly, their viewpoints are still the Jesuits’, and the general problem of the Indian perspective will challenge historians forever. Still, their professional burden might certainly be eased by a more complete use of all the readily available sources.

Notes

1. Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise. Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990); George E. Sioui, *Pour une autohistoire amérindienne. Essai sur les fondements d'une morale sociale* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989). Contrary to Sale's *tirade*, Sioui's is a serious book. It simply does not fall into the category of what I understand by “history”. It is, as Canadian anthropologist Bruce Graham Trigger well states in his preface to Sioui's book, “l'histoire autochtone écrite en conformité avec les valeurs amérindiennes” (p. xi). In order to define Sioui, I have used

- the publisher's words as they appear on the back cover of his book, presumably approved by Sioui himself.
2. Bitterli, *Die Entdeckung des schwarzen Afrikaners. Versuch einer Geistesgeschichte der europäisch-afrikanischen Beziehungen an der Guineaküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1970); Bitterli, *Schriftsteller und Kolonialismus: Malraux, Conrad, Greene, Weiss* (Zürich: Benziger, 1973); Bitterli, *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten". Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1976).
 3. Delâge, *Pays renversé*, p. 343. A similar sentence in id., p. 293.
 4. Alan B. Spitzer, "The Historical Problem of Generations," *The American Historical Review*, LXXVIII, 5 (December 1973), pp. 1353-1385.
 5. Compare this sentence with Axtell's own, in Axtell, *Invasion Within*, p. 284 ("Sooner or later ... cultural direction").
 6. Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, pp. 52-53.
 7. This sentence is curiously footnoted by Marcuse only.
 8. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America. Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975).
 9. Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961); Philippe Jacquin, *Histoire des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord* (Paris: Payot, 1976); Élise Marienstras, *La résistance indienne aux États-Unis du XVI^e au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard/Juillard, 1980).
 10. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985). Delâge's discussion is mostly based on books either very general (Christopher Hill, Michael M. Postan, Ralph Davis, Jan de Vries, André Gunder Frank), or long superseded (Bernard Bailyn, Edward Eggleston), nor is there any mention of fundamental books such as Robert V. Wells, *The Population of the British Colonies in America before 1776. A Survey of Census Data* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). Furthermore, Delâge's bibliography is misleading, as there is no distinction between first publications and the editions used, not even in the case of translations into French.
 11. Guy Arthur Rocher, *The Relations between Church and State in New France during the Seventeenth Century. A Sociological Interpretation*, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University (1957); John Sargent Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada 1627-1867. Basic Documents* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Cornelius John Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976).
 12. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany: Van Benthuysen, 1849-1851); O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *John Romeyn Broadhead, comp., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1853-1887); Charles T. Gehring, ed., *A Guide to Dutch Manuscripts Relating to New Netherland in United States Repositories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978). But see also Gehring, "Documentary Sources Relating to New Netherland," in Eric Nooter and Patricia U. Bonomi, eds., *Colonial Dutch Studies. An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988), pp. 33-51; and the vast bibliography in American historian Oliver A. Rink's *Holland on the Hudson. An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca and Cooperstown: Cornell University Press and New York State Historical Association, 1986), both published after Delâge's *Pays renversé*. James S. Pritchard's review is in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 41, 3 (hiver 1988), pp. 409-411, quotation at p. 410.
 13. Axtell accounts for 25,000 to 30,000 Hurons (Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, p. 341 n17). This is still a very controversial issue.
 14. On the concept of interest group, see Trigger's definition in *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 169.
 15. John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec. A Socio-Economic Perspective* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), pp. 25-30. Delâge could not profit from this new approach to early Canadian periodization, as *Short History* was published two years after *Le pays renversé*.
 16. Trigger, *The Huron. Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969); Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic. A History of the Huron People to 1660*, 2 vols. (Montréal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), translated into French by

- Jean-Paul Sainte-Marie and Brigitte Chabert Hacikyan as *Les enfants d'Ataentsic. L'histoire du peuple huron* (Montréal: Éditions Libre Expression, 1991); Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, XV: *Northeast* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).
17. According to Delâge, its very success was the cause of “quelques comptes rendus mesquins” (Delâge’s review to the French edition of Trigger’s book, *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, 45, 1 [été 1991], pp. 126-128, quotations at pp. 127-128). Delâge’s is by far the most enthusiastic scholarly review of *Natives and Newcomers* that I have read, surpassed only by Boyce Richardson, “Native Intelligence,” *Saturday Night*, CI, 7 (July 1986), pp. 49-51. The latter elevates Trigger to the level of the great Canadian geniuses — Harold Adams Innis, Herbert Marshall McLuhan, and Herman Northrop Frye. This writer reviewed Trigger’s book in *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, XVII, 1 (Spring 1987), pp. 95-96.
 18. Francis Parkman, however, is defined “a good scholar”, in spite of William J. Eccles, “The History of New France According to Francis Parkman,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, XVIII, 2 (April 1961), pp. 163-175; and of Jennings, “Francis Parkman: A Brahmin among Untouchables,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, XLII, 3 (July 1985), pp. 305-328.
 19. Pritchard, “L’amérindien victime de l’incompétence des historiens,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, 41, 1 (été 1987), pp. 63-70, quotation at p. 65.
 20. But see, on this point, Pritchard, “L’amérindien victime,” pp. 66-67. According to Trigger, fur traders, contrary to Champlain and to the Jesuit missionaries, were the ones who understood the Indians (Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, pp. 200, 294-295, 319).
 21. Eccles’s review in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, XLIII, 3 (July 1986), pp. 480-483, quotation at p. 481.
 22. Axtell, *The European and the Indian. Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Axtell, *After Columbus. Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 23. Delâge, *Pays renversé*, p. 223.
 24. Compare Axtell’s statement with the position of Jesuit historian Campeau: “Ceux qui clament ... que la foi chrétienne a été imposée aux indigènes devraient ... leur reconnaître à eux aussi ce droit. Ils ont alors usé de leur jugement et de leur libre arbitre” (Campeau, *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, IV: *Les grandes épreuves (1638-1640)* (Rome and Montréal: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu and Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1989), p. 600.
 25. Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict*, p. 51.
 26. Delâge, *Pays renversé*, p. 173.
 27. Jaenen’s review in *The Canadian Historical Review*, LXVIII, 1 (March 1987), pp. 118-120, quotation at p. 118.
 28. Alden T. Vaughan’s review in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, XLIII, 4 (October 1986), pp. 660-664, quotation at p. 663.
 29. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791* (73 vols.) (Cleveland: The Burrow Brothers Company, 1896-1901).
 30. *Relations des Jésuites contenant ce qui s’est passé de plus remarquable dans les missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France, 1611-1672*, 6 vols. (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1972), a reprint edition of the 1858 Augustin-Côté edition.
 31. Lucien Campeau, ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, 5 vols. to date (Rome, Québec and Montréal: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Les Presses de l’Université Laval and Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1967-1991). On Campeau’s vol. IV, see Codignola, “Note critique,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, 44, 1 (été 1990), pp. 97-103. Delâge’s bibliography lists Campeau’s vol. I, Trigger’s bibliography lists Campeau’s vols. I and II. Campeau’s vols. III-V appeared after the publication of the books under review.

Paul-André Comeau

Le Canada vu d'Europe

C.H.W. Remie et J.-M. Lacroix, dir., *Canada on the Threshold of the 21st century, Le Canada au seuil du 21^{ème} siècle*, Amsterdam et Philadelphie, John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1991, 565.

Réunir 300 universitaires de plus de 22 pays d'Europe pour discuter des problèmes canadiens et de l'évolution de la fédération n'était pas un pari facile à tenir. À la lecture des actes de ce colloque, qui s'est tenu à La Haye en octobre 1990 avec la collaboration du Conseil international d'études canadiennes, on ne peut qu'applaudir aux efforts des organisateurs et aux résultats qu'ils ont obtenus. Quelque cinquante textes composent cet imposant recueil, textes qui sont dus à la plume d'éminents chercheurs et professeurs de 22 pays européens. Et malgré la diversité des points de vue, l'ensemble témoigne d'une cohésion qu'il importe de signaler.

De la structure démographique à l'examen prospectif des relations internationales du Canada, sans oublier les questions environnementales ni la structure du pouvoir politique au sein de la fédération, un large éventail de disciplines des sciences humaines est mis à profit. Nécessairement variées, les diverses approches sont teintées par des sensibilités nationales différentes: de là, sans doute, l'impression de foisonnement, mais aussi la tonicité de ce regard jeté par des *canadianistes* sur un pays qui se cherche encore.

Un examen sommaire de cette publication permet d'en dégager deux thèmes fondamentaux. Il s'agit, dans un premier temps, du bilan de l'échec de l'accord du lac Meech et de ses conséquences sur l'évolution interne du Canada et, dans un second, de l'examen des éventuelles relations internationales du Canada dans ce monde de l'après-Berlin.

L'ancien gouverneur général du Canada, madame Jeanne Sauvé, a donné le coup d'envoi à cette réflexion multidisciplinaire sur le Canada d'après-Meech en prolongeant en quelque sorte la réflexion courageuse qu'elle avait exprimée publiquement lors de ses vœux de fin d'année au moment où l'« Accord » battait de l'aile. Cette intervention « politique » de la vice-reine avait alors — on s'en souvient — soulevé un certain tollé.

Le juriste José Woehrling et le politicologue Denis Monière, tous deux de l'Université de Montréal, de même que leur homologue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Michael Behiels, ont repris à l'intention de leurs collègues européens les thèses qu'ils avaient exposées ici même au Canada. Dans l'espoir de rendre compte du fiasco constitutionnel de juin 1990, la dimension

novatrice de cette entreprise réside évidemment dans les explications avancées par les chercheurs européens.

C'est sans doute le professeur Helmut J. Vollmer de l'Université d'Osnabrück (Allemagne) qui est le plus catégorique, voire même le plus cinglant dans l'attribution des bons et des mauvais points. Ce linguiste porte en effet un jugement très sévère contre les premiers ministres responsables du rejet d'une entente négociée dans la bonne foi, trois ans auparavant (263).

Pour Rainer-Olaf Schultze de l'Université d'Augsburg (Allemagne), l'ultime explication de cet échec découle du pari tenté par le Premier ministre du Canada au sujet du libre-échange. Monsieur Mulroney aurait fait cadeau au Québec de ce projet d'entente constitutionnelle en échange de son appui au traité canado-américain. C'est une thèse que ne renieraient sans doute pas certains intellectuels anglophones, notamment de la région de Toronto.

Comment expliquer cette faveur dont le libre-échange a joui au Québec au moment des négociations entre Ottawa et Washington ? Selon le professeur Robin Mathews de la Simon Fraser University (Colombie-Britannique), les Québécois auraient adhéré au libéralisme, donc au libre-échange, en réaction à l'abandon des traditions et de la culture qui avaient caractérisé jusque-là leur cheminement collectif. Le Québec reluquerait favorablement du côté des États-Unis alors que le Canada anglais chercherait à se prémunir des visées impérialistes du géant américain. On croit relire ici la thèse développée avec vigueur, avec virulence même, par le professeur Philip Resnick qui, voilà peu de temps, adressait à ses amis québécois une lettre indignée autour de cette même question¹. C'est aussi rejoindre l'un des thèmes fondamentaux développés par André Laurendeau dans son journal tenu durant les années où il a coprésidé la Commission d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, au milieu des années 1960².

À la veille d'un débat peut-être décisif, les canadianistes européens livrent des considérations pertinentes et importantes sur les modifications de ce qu'on a appelé autrefois « la mosaïque canadienne ». Dans les faits, le multiculturalisme à la canadienne est-il différent du *melting pot* à l'américaine, se demande le professeur Jean-Michel Lacroix (Université de Paris III, Sorbonne Nouvelle) ? Et de répondre lui-même : « La mosaïque, si elle doit constituer un véritable modèle, ne doit pas être un conglomerat de sous-cultures, et il est urgent que le Canada définisse les représentations idéologiques, historiques ou mythiques qu'il veut se donner sans attendre que d'autres viennent les lui imposer » (282).

Avant même d'envisager cette dimension multiculturelle, d'autres chercheurs se sont penchés sur les caractéristiques de l'évolution de cette même population ces dernières décennies. Ainsi, la vitesse et l'ampleur du déclin de la natalité au Canada et au Québec, où ce phénomène est particulièrement marqué, appellent sous la plume du professeur Willekens de l'Université de La

Haye des analogies intéressantes avec la situation vécue aux Pays-Bas. Au cours des quarante prochaines années, selon le professeur Wolfgang Reuter de l'Université Justus Liebig (Giessen, Allemagne), les conséquences de cette chute démographique vont se faire sentir très vivement dans l'ensemble canadien.

Le Canada de l'après-Meech est essentiellement urbain, mais ses villes sont sérieusement malades. C'est la constatation à laquelle souscrit le professeur Henk Ottens de l'Université d'Utrecht en comparant le cheminement de certaines grandes villes canadiennes, notamment Toronto et Vancouver. La remise en valeur des centres-villes, plus ou moins délaissés, et la cure de jeunesse des vieux ports, sont autant de réussites qui témoignent, selon Ottens, de la qualité de la planification urbaine, au Canada, qui offrirait de nombreuses analogies avec la pratique européenne.

Cette texture humaine et sociale compose la matière première pour esquisser le visage du Canada d'après-Meech. À cet égard, le professeur Schiller de l'Université Phillips (Marburg) attire l'attention sur la signification du changement de la garde, en Ontario. La victoire néo-démocrate de l'été 1990 bientôt suivie de triomphes analogues en Colombie-Britannique et en Saskatchewan, annoncerait une modification des règles du jeu dans l'ensemble politique. Il faudrait y lire la conséquence du flirt canadien avec le néo-conservatisme, mais surtout de la signature de l'Accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis. La définition du Canada nouveau devra se négocier dorénavant, toujours selon le professeur Schiller, entre les trois grands partis politiques fédéraux.

Bref, ces interprétations se font en quelque sorte l'écho de ce qui a été dit maintes et maintes fois au Canada même. L'accent est différent, le sentiment d'inquiétude n'en est pas moins tout aussi présent. En outre, plusieurs des intervenants proposent-ils des voies d'avenir et des hypothèses de solution à la crise actuelle du système fédéral canadien.

Helmut Volmer prend carrément partie pour l'octroi de pouvoirs plus importants au gouvernement du Québec. C'est la conclusion à laquelle il aboutit après des années d'étude consacrées à cette question. À cet égard, les commentaires de Volmer sur l'idéologie dominante au Québec sont le contre-pied de l'acceptation négative généralement réservée en Europe au phénomène et aux manifestations du nationalisme (256). À défaut de composer avec le nationalisme québécois et de ménager à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec un espace bien à elle, Volmer redoute une issue fatale pour la fédération canadienne.

C'est également le sentiment du professeur James Jackson de l'University of Dublin qui voit d'un bon œil la volonté du Québec d'avoir la main haute sur ses institutions financières et de préserver son héritage culturel et linguistique. Devant les menaces que peut engendrer la perpétuation des querelles

linguistiques au moment où la société canadienne subit le choc de l'immigration et du multiculturalisme, Jackson propose aux Canadiens de s'inspirer du modèle de l'Europe de 1992 (290). Voilà de quoi plaire au premier ministre du Québec, monsieur Robert Bourassa, qui ne fait plus mystère de son souhait de voir le Canada adopter une forme de *super-structure* à l'européenne.

Rainer-Olaf Schultze estime pour sa part que la structure politique de l'actuelle République allemande pourrait servir d'exemple au Canada en matière d'arrangements constitutionnels. De la « loi fondamentale allemande », le Canada devrait, selon lui, recourir au scrutin proportionnel pour l'élection des membres de la Chambre des communes et s'inspirer du modèle du Bundesrat en ce qui a trait à la réforme du Sénat.

La plupart des auteurs de cet ouvrage ne perdent pourtant pas foi en l'avenir d'un Canada fédéral et uni. L'antithèse de cette position est présentée par le professeur Denis Monière qui, il y a quelques années, brigua, à la tête de l'éphémère Parti indépendantiste, les suffrages d'une circonscription québécoise en vue de siéger à la Chambre des communes, à Ottawa.

Le 21^e siècle, dans l'esprit des Européens et aussi des Canadiens qui ont confronté leurs idées lors du colloque de La Haye, sera inévitablement marqué par un nouveau partage des pouvoirs qui tiendra compte des aspirations des Autochtones.

Cette thèse est exposée en détail par le professeur J. Rick Ponting de l'University of Calgary (Alberta). Et, de poursuivre cet universitaire, les Européens seront inévitablement appelés à intervenir dans ce nouveau débat entre les Autochtones et les autorités canadiennes : « Nous devons nous attendre à des demandes de la part des Autochtones canadiens, en vue d'inciter les gouvernements et les consommateurs européens à exercer des pressions en leur faveur » (442).

Ce sentiment n'est pas partagé par le professeur Tom G. Svensson de l'Université d'Oslo qui se montre plutôt sceptique sur les conséquences des éventuelles démarches européennes. Spécialiste des questions autochtones dans le Grand Nord scandinave et finlandais, Svensson propose aux Canadiens de s'inspirer du modèle de dévolution qui a été mis en place avec un certain succès dans cette région du monde au cours des dernières années.

Certains Européens ne s'illusionnent pas sur les chances de voir les Canadiens accorder quelque poids à leurs interventions, à plus forte raison à leurs conseils. À preuve, cette réflexion presque désabusée du professeur Jacques Portes de l'Université Charles de Gaulle (Lille) : « Or, le Canada, doté d'une réelle aura internationale, ne se soucie pas de ce que les autres pensent de lui, pas plus qu'il ne s'intéresse véritablement aux autres pays sinon sur le plan touristique — ses habitants sont parmi les plus grands voyageurs du monde —

et sur le plan moral et souvent abstrait des grands problèmes de développement » (423).

Dans un deuxième temps, plusieurs participants ont émis diverses réflexions et hypothèses au sujet des relations du Canada du 21^e siècle avec ce que l'on appelle encore le Vieux Continent.

L'ancien vice-président des Communautés européennes, monsieur Willy De Clercq, rappelle les grandes étapes, les temps forts, mais aussi les axes de faiblesse des relations entre le Canada et la Communauté européenne depuis la signature de l'accord-cadre de 1976. En termes diplomatiques, monsieur De Clercq s'étonne de l'attitude adoptée par le Canada au sein du groupe de Cairns : « c'est clairement laisser entendre le peu de sympathie que la position canadienne aux négociations du GATT inspire désormais au sein de l'Europe des Douze ».

Au chapitre de la rétrospective, madame Adèle Airodi (Commission des communautés européennes) jette un éclairage nouveau sur deux problèmes qui ont « compliqué » les relations entre le Canada et la Communauté ces dernières années : affaire des bébés phoques et maintenant interdiction de la vente de fourrures de bêtes capturées par des pièges à mâchoire. Même si les Autochtones sont directement concernés dans ces deux cas, madame Airodi insiste sur la difficulté pour les Européens de réconcilier les visées environnementalistes et les préjugés favorables envers les Autochtones (451).

Au titre de la prospective immédiate, il faut porter une grande attention, de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique, à un certain nombre de textes sur l'exploitation forestière au Canada. Le professeur Lyndhurst Collins de l'Université d'Édimbourg tente d'expliquer globalement le recul de l'industrie forestière canadienne. Il pointe du doigt la révolution de l'eucalyptus dans d'autres pays, ainsi que la chute de la productivité de l'exploitation forestière au Canada.

En regard du style d'exploitation pratiquée au Canada, Willem Heij de l'Université de Wageningen (les Pays-Bas) dresse le catalogue des critiques que l'on peut formuler à ce chapitre. Dans le sillage de l'inquiétude soulevée notamment par le déboisement de l'Amazonie, cette liste est inquiétante. Il faut y voir celle des reproches que ne manqueront pas de formuler au cours des prochaines années les écologistes européens avant qu'ils ne brandissent, éventuellement, la menace d'un embargo contre les produits forestiers du Canada.

Avec le démantèlement de l'ancien empire soviétique, l'Europe est redevenue le lieu de tous les bouleversements, de toutes les transformations. Cette nouvelle obligera, au dire du professeur A.M. Altling Von Geusau de l'Université de Tilburg (Hollande), la diplomatie canadienne à redéfinir ses relations avec l'Europe. En écorchant au passage la célèbre et inutile mission de paix de l'ancien premier ministre du Canada, monsieur Pierre-Elliot

Trudeau, le chercheur hollandais préconise l'abandon de considérations stratégiques dans la reformulation de la politique canadienne envers le Vieux Continent. Cette relation ne devra plus, précise-t-il, se définir seulement en termes politiques, gouvernementaux ou diplomatiques, mais bien en regard de l'intégration du Canada à une société civile transnationale, large et ouverte (470).

En somme, cette « réflexion transatlantique » sur l'avenir d'un Canada incertain ouvre des perspectives intéressantes et témoigne de la rigueur de la recherche menée en Europe par les *canadianistes*. En parcourant les pages de ce solide ouvrage, le lecteur canadien se verra forcé de remettre en question un certain nombre de clichés qu'il entretient à l'égard de son propre pays.

À juste titre, les organisateurs de ce colloque ont accordé une grande place aux réflexions sur la survie de la fédération canadienne. On a toutefois l'impression que *les deux solitudes* ont prolongé leur ombre de l'autre côté de l'océan. Ainsi, aucun des chercheurs ne met en doute l'importance du fait québécois dans cette remise en cause du régime constitutionnel canadien. Pourtant, impossible de ne pas relever, de ne pas regretter l'absence de contributions québécoises plus significatives dans cet ouvrage. Peu de chercheurs du Québec ou du Canada français ont participé activement au colloque de La Haye. C'est cependant au chapitre des références avouées par les universitaires européens que l'on peut constater la maigre place faite aux travaux des chercheurs québécois. De même, on ne retrouve dans les chapitres consacrés à la question du féminisme aucune mention de son importance dans la vie sociale au Québec. En regard de la gestion des forêts, silence le plus absolu sur la nouvelle législation québécoise que l'on considère pourtant comme l'une des plus progressistes en Amérique du Nord.

Cette réserve faite, Québécois et Canadiens ont tout intérêt à lire attentivement tous les textes rassemblés dans cet ouvrage. Les uns et les autres en tireront des enseignements, des leçons qui n'auront rien d'« académique ». Ainsi, les affirmations du professeur Ponting au sujet du projet mort-né de la Sûreté du Québec de faire l'acquisition de tanks, au lendemain des événements d'Oka, a déjà fait son bout de chemin. Ce projet a beau avoir été balayé d'un revers de la main par le ministre de la Sécurité publique du Québec, monsieur Claude Ryan, il figure maintenant dans un rapport soumis au Parlement européen comme un indice supplémentaire de la grave détérioration des rapports entre le Québec et ses Autochtones. Rien de moins !

Le Canada au seuil du 21^{ème} siècle constitue une lecture stimulante et enrichissante. Outre les questions qui sont directement formulées à l'intention des Canadiens et des Québécois eux-mêmes, certaines hypothèses, certaines affirmations assimilent l'aventure canadienne à un défi de nouveau redessiné : « À défaut de marqueur historique fort, le Canada, écrit le professeur Lacroix, s'est réfugié dans une géographie parfois obsédante pour se définir. Mais la géographie physique ne semble pas avoir réussi à proposer un modèle

identificateur. La géographie économique doublée de la volonté politique n'a pas réussi non plus, et l'aventure du chemin de fer *a mari usque ad mare* a relié sans unifier. Il reste, en revanche, la géographie de l'âme, la dimension de l'imaginaire et de l'écriture pour dire un Canada qui demeure un monde à découvrir. L'ère des explorateurs n'a fait que commencer » (244). Seul un universitaire européen pouvait signer pareille conclusion.

Notes

1. Philip, Resnick, *Lettres à un ami québécois*, Montréal, Boréal, 1990, 175 p.
2. André Laurendeau, *Journal tenu pendant la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme*, Montréal, VLB Éditeur, 1990, 385 p.

Les relations franco-québécoises. Une perspective bibliographique

Cet essai est une réflexion personnelle sur l'atonie de la production scientifique consacrée aux relations France-Québec au cours des dernières années. Il ne prétend pas offrir un panorama complet des oeuvres portant sur ce thème, mais il propose plutôt une interprétation des relations franco-québécoises qui expliquerait le petit nombre d'ouvrages dans ce domaine.

La décomposition de l'empire soviétique et la disparition de l'URSS, comme l'éclatement de la Yougoslavie, ont multiplié les nouvelles entités territoriales. Certaines ont été rapidement reconnues par la communauté internationale—tels les trois pays baltes—, d'autres posent plus de problèmes comme la Slovénie et la Croatie et rien ne permet de dire que les républiques indépendantes issues de l'ex-URSS noueront chacune des liens étroits avec les autres puissances.

Dans ce contexte mouvant, les relations franco-québécoises devraient fournir un exemple intéressant. En effet, le cas, présenté comme unique par le ministère français des Affaires étrangères¹, d'un État ayant des liens de type international avec l'État fédéré d'un autre État fédéral—qui appartient à une alliance commune—pourrait servir de modèle dans la situation actuelle. Pour cela, il faudrait que les liens particuliers entre la France et le Québec aient fait l'objet d'études nombreuses et détaillées, dont nous pourrions tirer diverses conclusions. Or, il n'en est rien; ces relations extraordinaires n'ayant guère suscité d'études très récentes.

Le but du présent essai est de faire le point sur les quelques publications existantes avant de s'interroger sur les raisons qui peuvent expliquer une relative atonie et de conclure par une réflexion en forme de perspective.

Un intérêt relativement réduit

La nouveauté des relations franco-québécoises, ponctuée par la péroraison fameuse du discours du général de Gaulle, sur le balcon de l'hôtel de ville de Montréal le 24 juillet 1967, a suscité dans sa foulée un assez grand nombre d'ouvrages et d'articles. La stature du premier président de la V^e République et l'éclat de son acte expliquent que les témoins de l'événement aient jugé bon d'en conter le moindre détail—l'origine du micro fatidique, par le canal duquel est passé le « Vive le Québec libre ! », a ainsi été l'objet de vigoureuses

controverses²—. Ces commentaires ou analyses sont déjà anciens et souvent relativement anecdotiques; aussi semble-t-il inutile d’y revenir.³

Depuis une vingtaine d’années, pourtant, un certain nombre d’articles et d’ouvrages ont été consacrés aux relations Québec-Ottawa-Paris, mais aucune synthèse analysant en profondeur le contenu des accords de coopération, le volume des divers échanges et leur dynamique n’a vu le jour en France ou au Canada.

L’ouvrage de Sylvie et Pierre Guillaume, *Paris-Québec-Ottawa: un ménage à trois*⁴, se présente comme un survol des relations entre les trois acteurs, mettant en place les principales étapes et les grands domaines; cette volonté de bonne vulgarisation ne fait cependant pas apparaître de véritable problématique qui permette de pousser plus loin l’analyse. Dans le domaine économique, le travail sympathique de Jean Vinant, *De Jacques Cartier à Péchiney, histoire des relations économiques franco-canadiennes*⁵, offre une multitude d’exemples, mais ne prétend pas être un guide méthodologique. En revanche, un véritable effort problématique est la base du recueil de textes dirigé par le regretté Ivo Duchacek; dans *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations, Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments*⁶, cinq auteurs examinent, sans prétendre à l’exhaustivité, le cas des relations France-Québec en l’étayant par d’autres exemples tirés des États-Unis (Nouvelle-Angleterre et État de Washington) ou d’Europe (Suisse) :

Subsequently, under the conditions of complex interdependence, ... direct contacts between subnational (provincial or regional) governments, on the one hand, and sovereign states, on the other, have become less unique than was the case when Québec established its first permanent paradiplomatic mission in Paris. These trans-sovereign relations led to the concept of “perforated sovereignties”. . . .⁷

Cette approche est particulièrement intéressante puisque c’est un spécialiste des systèmes fédéraux qui a été attiré par le problème précis des relations France-Québec, celles-ci prouvant qu’un État fédéré put mener sa propre politique étrangère. À partir de cet exemple, il est apparu que certains États des États-Unis, comme l’Oregon ou le Washington, ont noué des liens avec le Japon; que des régions frontalières—en Suisse ou encore plus en Belgique—ont également des relations très particulières avec un pays voisin, bénéficiant d’une réelle autonomie. Dans le cas du Québec pourtant, où la notion de voisinage n’entre pas en jeu, les relations avec la France ont servi de tremplin à l’établissement d’une politique extérieure complète, englobant aspects économiques et culturels—avec les pays d’Afrique francophone—marquant une volonté d’aborder les États-Unis de façon particulière. Le Québec a même été le seul dans les années 1960 à se lancer dans l’arène internationale en tant qu’État sub-national; il a montré l’exemple aux autres, en particulier au sein de la Confédération canadienne—l’Ontario et la Colombie-

britannique ont suivi son exemple, vers l'Europe ou le Japon—ou parmi les États américains et, aujourd'hui, les relations de ce type se sont multipliées.

En raison de la disparition de Ivo Duchacek; ce recueil est passé inaperçu, bien qu'il aurait pu donner, suivi par d'autres études comparatives, un éclairage original et important, surtout dans le contexte international actuel.

Outres ces quelques ouvrages, il faut signaler une étude plus limitée, celle dirigée par Sylvain Simard et l'auteur des présentes lignes sur *La Coopération universitaire franco-québécoise, bilan et perspectives*⁸; qui, elle, permet de comprendre la spécificité et la richesse des ententes universitaires grâce aux présentations d'ensemble et aux témoignages des divers participants. Le fait que plus de 5 000 universitaires français et québécois aient participé à ces échanges de 1965 à 1990, comme des milliers d'étudiants—bien que leur nombre se soit considérablement réduit en vingt ans⁹—donne la mesure d'un phénomène exceptionnel.

À ces quelques ouvrages, on peut en ajouter d'autres qui, sans traiter strictement des relations franco-canadiennes, prouvent que les liens entre les deux pays stimulent la réflexion sur leur origine. Le célèbre politologue Gérard Bergeron prend plaisir à relire et à commenter les pages concernant le Canada français dans les oeuvres de De Tocqueville et d'André Siegfried¹⁰ et le philosophe Robert Hébert s'interroge sur quelques étrangers, français et autres, qui se sont intéressés à l'Amérique française¹¹. Ces deux ouvrages estimables prouvent l'intérêt du problème, mais ne permettent pas d'aller plus loin.

Si l'on exclut les auteurs qui évoquent les relations France-Québec-Canada dans le cadre de travaux sur la francophonie, on doit constater que l'intérêt pour ces liens originaux et apparemment exemplaires est resté fort limité. En effet, les articles scientifiques sur le sujet ne sont pas très nombreux, comme le prouvent les débats de quelques rencontres qui auraient pu s'y intéresser ainsi que les articles purement historiques, souvent excellents mais qui ne permettent pas une analyse de la situation actuelle¹².

Pourtant, certains étudiants sont conscients des problèmes particuliers de ces relations et tentent d'apporter de nouveaux éclairages. La principale difficulté qu'ils ont à affronter vient de ce qu'ils n'ont pu, la plupart du temps, utiliser que les sources d'un côté. C'est le cas de la thèse de doctorat de Luc Roussel « Les relations culturelles du Québec avec la France, 1920-1965¹³ », étayée en partie par l'article de Y.-H. Nouailhat et Sandrine Beteau, « La politique culturelle de la France à l'égard du Canada entre les deux guerres¹⁴ ». Ces travaux d'histoire prouvent l'ancienneté et la spécificité des relations intellectuelles et culturelles entre la France et le Canada français à des époques où l'on prenait bien soin, des deux côtés, d'éviter toute controverse politique et de garder, dans la mesure du possible, un « profil bas »; il apparaît également

que seule une partie des élites de chaque pays était concernée par ces échanges et, seulement marginalement, le peuple.

Le changement induit par la conjonction de la Révolution tranquille et du cri du général de Gaulle a aussi attiré l'attention de quelques étudiants en science politique, dans la mesure où les liens établis entre les Gaullistes et le parti libéral québécois ont survécu aux évolutions politiques et où ceux qui ont lié le Parti québécois au Parti socialiste ont semblé aussi étroits. Le mémoire de DEA de Vincent Dufour, *Les relations France- Québec après de Gaulle (1969-1990) : la « politique québécoise » de la France en question*¹⁵, montre que sous l'apparente continuité, du seul côté français, se dissimulent en fait des changements conjecturaux non négligeables. De son côté, Gabrielle Mathieu a consacré son mémoire de maîtrise à la période récente : « Les relations franco-québécoises de 1978 à 1985¹⁶ », prouvant à partir de nombreuses entrevues comment les socialistes français ont été approchés assez tôt par certains membres du Parti québécois soucieux d'équilibrer leurs relations avec la France sans les limiter aux épigones du général de Gaulle.

Bien que peu nombreux¹⁷, ces divers travaux indiquent la permanence d'un certain intérêt pour ce dossier, puisqu'ils s'étalent sur plus de vingt ans. La question se pose, en conséquence, de savoir si les limites de cet intérêt s'expliquent facilement et de quelle façon.

Les fondements de l'intérêt

La logique des relations entre la France et le Québec— le Canada ayant adopté le même point de vue—repose sur l'existence d'indiscutables liens culturels associés à la communauté francophone. Ce n'est pas un hasard si nombre des travaux cités ont choisi l'angle d'approche culturel, que ce soit pour aborder des relations officielles qui ne pouvaient sortir de ce champ-là—autant à cause du statut colonial du Canada qu'en raison de la volonté maintes fois réaffirmée de la France de ne pas éveiller « les susceptibilités britanniques¹⁸ »—ou bien en raison du poids réel de ce secteur. Or, les relations internationales culturelles ne jouissent pas d'une grande faveur dans l'historiographie, laquelle est assez récente au Québec et pas très développée dans la recherche française (en dépit d'un intérêt nouveau pour ce type de rapports dans les relations avec les pays de l'Est sortis du carcan soviétique). D'ailleurs, la participation active du couple Canada-Québec aux sommets et aux activités de la francophonie n'a guère contribué à les faire mieux connaître en France; la francophonie n'y suscitant malheureusement pas beaucoup d'intérêt¹⁹. De l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, on peut supposer que cette dimension francophone a contribué à dissoudre relativement la spécificité des relations avec la France seule.

Outre cette raison de fond qui peut expliquer une bibliographie restreinte, une autre provient des résultats obtenus par le resserrement des liens entre les deux

pays depuis une vingtaine d'années. Ceux-ci sont tellement nombreux et réguliers, dans le domaine touristique ou institutionnel et sur les plans personnel ou collectif, qu'ils semblent naturels et peuvent être soumis à une relative banalisation. En effet, si les étudiants sont moins nombreux que naguère, le relais a été pris par les organisateurs de voyages qui proposent aux uns les « sources françaises », aux autres « ma cabane au Canada » et une semaine de vie sauvage chez les Indiens. De plus, les ententes engendrées par les mécanismes officiels ont débouché sur des accords privés entre universités, écoles ou entreprises. Tout cela ne signifie pas que les livres québécois se vendent facilement en France, ni que la chaîne de télévision francophone ait une vaste audience, mais implique une régularité qui ne provoque guère d'intérêt ou des recherches nouvelles.

Il est frappant que les études récentes soient toutes amenées à se situer par rapport à l'intervention gaullienne de 1967 qui, sans marquer un commencement, était le début d'une étape novatrice. Depuis, il n'y a pas eu de fait majeur qui accroche l'attention, au-delà de petites phrases et de commentaires conjoncturels; les tendances profondes n'étant pas toujours faciles à décrypter.

Pourtant, cette apparente banalisation doit d'autant moins faire illusion qu'elle est un argument pour changer le sens des rapports entre les deux pays. Depuis les années 1960, le gouvernement du Québec a toujours été demandeur à l'égard de la France—le Canada lui emboîtant ensuite le pas—, jugeant indispensable le soutien politique de celle-ci dans la recherche d'un espace culturel accessible. Les gouvernements français ont répondu à cette demande avec une chaleur variable, mais sans faiblir²⁰. Or, depuis l'échec du référendum québécois de mai 1980, et surtout le retour de Robert Bourassa et du Parti libéral au pouvoir en décembre 1985, la demande québécoise a subi les effets d'une conjoncture économique déprimée qui ne favorise pas les initiatives ni d'un côté ni de l'autre.

En effet, le primat a été attribué à l'économie; les relations avec la France entrant dans ce schéma. La réussite des échanges dans les années précédentes justifie qu'on les laisse se développer librement sans soutien politique, sans initiative officielle. Ainsi, la Direction des affaires françaises, fleuron du ministère québécois des Relations internationales, n'existe plus en tant que telle; aussi le Consulat général de France à Québec est-il rentré dans le droit commun des consulats, ne jouissant plus d'une véritable autonomie et étant replacé sous l'autorité de l'ambassade d'Ottawa. Cette évolution n'a rien d'inquiétant en soi et indique plutôt que les relations entre les deux pays ont atteint l'âge adulte et ont besoin ni de béquilles ni d'impulsion politique particulière.

Il faut bien voir, cependant, que les relations entre la France et le Québec, bien qu'elles se soient intensifiées depuis 1960, ne sont pas nécessairement devenues plus naturelles qu'alors, car elles ne reposent pas sur des bases

vraiment solides. En dépit de réels succès, les échanges économiques n'ont pas connu un développement suffisant qui en fasse le moteur des autres formes de relation. Sans doute 50 p. 100 des exportations françaises vers le Canada sont destinées au Québec tandis que seulement 14 p. 100 des exportations vers l'Europe de ce dernier prennent le chemin de la France²¹, mais les deux partenaires ne sont essentiels ni pour l'un ni pour l'autre en dépit d'une orientation économique affirmée depuis plusieurs années comme en témoignent les accords Bourassa-Chirac de 1974. Il est frappant, d'ailleurs, que chacun des partenaires se sente obligé de mettre en avant le rôle de porte d'entrée sur le continent de l'autre; les industriels français parlent du marché américain, les Québécois de celui de la CEE. Pourtant, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, il s'agit-là d'une affirmation purement rhétorique : une implantation canadienne ne débouche pas nécessairement sur un développement aux États-Unis et l'installation en France ne permet par facilement de passer la vitesse nécessaire à l'extension européenne. La réaffirmation officielle d'un principe usé et, le plus souvent, démenti par les faits prouve l'incertitude qui règne sur le potentiel des échanges économiques qui seraient laissés à eux-mêmes.

Si les fondements des relations entre les deux pays ne sont pas très nombreux, cela s'explique également par la profonde dissymétrie qui existe entre eux. Les 5 500 000 de Québécois, même si on ajoute les autres francophones du Canada, ne pèsent pas très lourd dans une France qui reste liée à de multiples pays par des accords de coopération; l'intérêt pour le Québec et le Canada, quoique réel, est sans cesse concurrencé par d'autres sujets, africains ou européens. On a pu le constater au début du premier mandat de François Mitterrand; ce dernier n'était guère intéressé par le Québec et nombreux étaient les ministres qui ne jugeaient pas les relations avec ce pays essentielles²². Sans doute ce relatif désintérêt n'a pas duré et surtout n'a pas empêché le maintien des structures d'échanges existants, mais il n'en révèle pas moins que l'attention pour le Québec n'est nullement automatique, ni universelle. Il a fallu les efforts de certains et les effets de la conjoncture pour y remédier.

Du côté québécois, la dissymétrie n'est pas ressentie de la même façon, la France ayant longtemps été le principal partenaire du Québec dans le domaine des relations internationales. Toutefois, de nombreux malentendus sont issus de cette situation et la parité officielle—que les deux gouvernements tiennent à respecter pour ne pas risquer de menacer la solidité des liens—dissimule mal la réalité des choses. Envoyer le même nombre d'étudiants dans le pays de l'autre ne correspond pas à grand-chose et un investissement au Québec, comme celui de Péchiney à Bécancour, prend une dimension sans rapport avec ses conséquences en France. En revanche, quand le papetier Cascades a investi en France, cela a eu un impact essentiellement régional.

Une telle dissymétrie n'est nullement unique et elle ne condamne pas les relations entre des pays de taille très différente, mais elle pose certains problèmes quand tout a été fait, depuis le début, pour la masquer ou feindre de

l'ignorer. Il est remarquable ainsi que les structures de la coopération franco-québécoises aient été calquées sur celles de la coopération franco-allemande, comme pour les rehausser.

Ces quelques points, qui ressortent des principales études citées, et qui sont confirmés par mes propres recherches, éclairent certaines des limites constitutives des relations entre la France et le Québec. On comprend mieux que le sujet soit moins porteur qu'il puisse y paraître; les études le concernant ne peuvent être bien nombreuses, manquant d'aliment nouveau, ne débouchant pas facilement sur une application à d'autres cas de relations internationales.

La situation actuelle montre que le gouvernement québécois a fait le choix d'une banalisation accentuée par l'incertitude de ses propres projets; le partenaire français ne peut, quant à lui, rien proposer de plus. Sans vouloir se lancer dans la futurologie, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur les perspectives qui en découlent et qui permettraient de nouvelles recherches.

Vers une nouvelle donne

Dans les années 1960-1970, les relations entre la France et le couple Québec-Canada ont pris nécessairement un tour particulier et une réelle spécificité. Depuis, les choses ont considérablement évolué, modifiant par voie de conséquence les perspectives.

Depuis le milieu des années 1980, la CEE a intensifié son processus d'intégration des pays la composant et le Canada a, de son côté, signé un accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis—auquel le Québec est particulièrement favorable. Dans ce contexte de grands ensembles, les liens privilégiés de la France et du Québec ne peuvent garder tout à fait la même tournure.

Dans le domaine économique, les difficultés indiquées ci-dessus ne sont pas sur le point de disparaître. Il faudra en effet une volonté bien déterminée pour renforcer le mouvement des échanges que contredit une orientation naturelle qui pourtant existe dans certains domaines, comme le prouve les accords entre les firmes françaises construisant le TGV et Bombardier—qui ont permis d'obtenir un contrat important de l'État du Texas. Mais pour la plupart des PME, la recherche de marchés risque de se faire le plus souvent vers les États-Unis pour les unes, vers la CEE pour les autres. L'acquis des dernières années risque de ne pas être suffisant pour contre-balancer ces tendances anciennes²³, réaffirmées par l'actualité. À cet égard, le libre jeu du marché risque de distendre certains des liens franco-canadiens, forgés par une vigoureuse volonté politique.

Les choses peuvent être différentes sur le plan culturel, qui est absent du traité de libre-échange nord-américain. Les francophones du Canada, et surtout les Québécois, ont un besoin vital des liens avec la France, d'autant plus qu'ils ne craignent pas un rapprochement avec les États-Unis en raison même de leur culture française qui les différencie des autres habitants de leur pays. Cette noble assurance ne laisse pas d'être inquiétante, car la force d'absorption américaine ne s'embarasse pas de telles contraintes. Or, il n'est pas sûr que la volonté existe, des côtés québécois et français, de renforcer et de développer les liens existant dans ce domaine essentiel. Sans doute, les artistes cherchent-ils souvent à élargir leur public en s'adressant aux Français, mais suivant une pente naturelle, réussissent le mieux ceux qui gomment leur québécity comme Diane Tell ou Roch Voisine; les autres n'ayant plus l'effet de nouveauté de leurs prédécesseurs : Félix Leclerc, Gilles Vigneault ou Robert Charlebois pour rester dans le domaine de la chanson. En effet, le public et les producteurs français restent souvent réticents devant les manifestations trop affirmées de la différence québécoise; il est frappant que les pièces de Michel Tremblay soient francisées et que soient doublées certaines des séries télévisées venant du Québec, comme s'il s'agissait d'une langue totalement étrangère²⁴. D'ailleurs, les problèmes du doublage constituent une pomme de discorde récurrente entre Québécois et Français, les premiers arguant de leur expérience pour s'ouvrir le marché français, les seconds se réfugiant derrière un vigoureux protectionnisme et derrière la différence d'accent.

Il est tout à fait remarquable que vingt-cinq ans de coopération et d'échanges n'aient pas permis de surmonter ce type de difficultés et de malentendus. Livrés à eux-mêmes, les liens de type culturel ne sont pas faciles à établir, surtout dans un système de relations largement asymétriques comme celles de la France et du Québec.

La situation des échanges universitaires n'est pas totalement différente. Ils sont certes nombreux, à la fois institutionnels et privés, individuels et collectifs, mais ne sont pas assurés d'un véritable renouvellement. En effet, seuls des flux d'étudiants permettent d'espérer dans l'avenir; or, pour diverses raisons, ceux-ci se sont asséchés. La réduction des bourses et des programmes gouvernementaux n'explique pas tout, si elle joue un rôle important. En effet, les étudiants français désireux de poursuivre des études au Québec se heurtent à des exigences sévères en matière de droits d'inscription, de garantie de ressources et d'équivalence de diplômes²⁵, les autres s'orientant encore plus qu'avant vers l'Europe dans le cadre du programme Erasmus. Les Québécois, quant à eux, rencontrent en France d'autres problèmes liés à la faible attraction d'universités françaises surpeuplées et fonctionnant dans des conditions matérielles particulièrement médiocres; aussi choisissent-ils plutôt, s'ils désirent poursuivre leur formation à l'étranger, les établissements américains plus proches et beaucoup mieux équipés que ceux de la France.

À nouveau, le mouvement naturel semble dissoudre quelque peu les liens privilégiés entre la France et le Québec, même si subsistent quelques beaux bastions.

L'incertitude qui règne au Québec pèse lourdement sur l'ensemble des relations avec la France. En effet, un Québec plus autonome recevrait l'appui officiel de Paris, à condition que tout se passe en douceur avec le reste du Canada; en effet, la situation ne serait en rien comparable à celle de la sortie du carcan totalitaire de l'ex-URSS... Mais, au delà d'une reconnaissance de type diplomatique, les liens entre les deux pays seraient de fait banalisés. Deux entités souveraines n'auraient plus besoin des précautions dues au statut fédéral de la Province de Québec au sein du Canada; un Québec indépendant pourrait se trouver en concurrence totale avec de nombreux autres pays de la planète, en ces temps de restrictions budgétaires. De plus, l'appartenance de chacun des partenaires à son grand ensemble particulier continuerait de la même façon, freinant d'autres types de relations.

En deçà de ces suppositions de prospective, la nouvelle conjoncture ne place pas les relations entre la France et le Québec sur un terrain particulièrement favorable. Le mouvement naturel des échanges, conforme à la volonté libérale des gouvernements, ne semble pas favoriser un rapprochement plus intense. Au contraire, il apparaît de plus en plus, grâce aux études citées, que l'essor des liens France-Québec a été dû à une réelle volonté politique, maintenue pendant une vingtaine d'années par les Québécois et acceptée par les Français et que leur permanence a été recherchée et établie en dépit des changements de gouvernements et d'orientation. La réussite et l'exemplarité viennent probablement de cet effort extraordinaire et concerté. En effet, sans lui, il n'y aurait pas eu développement naturel des relations entre la France et le Québec, entre la France et le Canada.

Aujourd'hui, alors que la volonté collective s'est affaïdie, on ne peut que s'interroger sur l'avenir de ces relations : seront-elles assez vigoureuses pour connaître un nouveau développement sans cette ténacité ou stagneront-elles au niveau qu'elles ont atteint ?

* * *

Il faudra de nouvelles études pour vérifier ces hypothèses et répondre à ces questions. En tout cas, il est essentiel de suivre le fil de ces relations indispensables pour les deux pays, ne serait-ce que parce que la survie du français dans le monde dépend d'elles.

Ce survol, en forme de perspective bibliographique, n'a pas d'autre but que de stimuler les esprits de ceux qui se lanceront dans la recherche.

Notes

1. Vincent Dufour, *Les relations France-Québec après de Gaulle (1969-1990) : la « politique québécoise » de la France en question*, mémoire de DEA de Relations internationales, Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne sous la direction de Denis Lacorne, 1991, p. 3.
2. Cf., par exemple, Pierre-Louis Mallen, *Vivre le Québec libre*, Paris-Montréal, Presses de la Cité - Plon, 1978.
3. Bibliographie un peu ancienne dans Renée Lescop, *Le pari québécois du général de Gaulle*, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1981 et, plus récent, Dale C. Thomson, *De Gaulle et le Québec*, Montréal, Trécaré, 1990.
4. Éditions Entente, 1987; ouvrage peu disponible.
5. *De Jacques Cartier à Péchiney, histoire des relations économiques franco-canadiennes*, Paris, Chotard Ass., 1985.
6. Ivo D. Duchacek, D. Latouche et G. Stevenson, Westport (Conn.), Greenwood, 1988.
7. *Idem, Ibidem*, p. 118.
8. Publications de la Sorbonne et CCFIQ, 1986.
9. Vers 1968, de 4 000 à 5 000 étudiants québécois sont en France, contre 400 à 500 aujourd'hui.
10. *Quand De Tocqueville et Siegfried nous observaient*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1990.
11. Robert Hébert, *L'Amérique française devant l'opinion étrangère, 1715-1960*, Montréal, Hexagone, 1989.
12. Ainsi, l'atelier consacré aux liens avec l'Europe du colloque « Le Canada au seuil du 21^e siècle » a regroupé fort peu de chercheurs. Les travaux de Bernard Penisson sur les relations entre la France et le Canada de 1880 à 1920 font partie de cette catégorie.
13. Thèse de l'Université Laval, 1983.
14. In Jacques Portes, dir., *Le fait français et l'histoire du Canada, XIX-XX^e siècle*, Paris, SFHOM, 1990, p. 75-91; dans le même volume, J. Portes, « Vingt ans après ou les métamorphoses du triangle Paris - Québec - Ottawa », p. 93-109.
15. *Op. cit.*
16. Maîtrise ès arts en science politique, Université d'Ottawa, mai 1991.
17. Sans chercher l'exhaustivité, mais sans rien négliger.
18. Voir J. Portes, « La France, quelques Français et le Canada, les relations entre la France et le Canada, 1850-1870 », thèse de troisième cycle, Université de Paris I, 1974 et les travaux en cours de B. Penisson pour la période suivante.
19. Le Sommet de Paris, en décembre 1991, n'a guère retenu l'attention; les Parisiens semblent avoir surtout retenu les embarras de la circulation qu'il occasionnait.
20. « Vingt ans après... », article cité.
21. V. Dufour, *Op. cit.*, p. 64-85.
22. Travaux de V. Dufour et G. Mathieu.
23. L'échec de la « Troisième option », lancée en 1970 par P.-E. Trudeau, est la preuve de la difficulté d'inverser les courants traditionnels; voir à ce sujet, J.L. Granatstein, R. Bothwell, *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy*, Toronto, UTP, 1990, p. 158-177.
24. Ainsi le feuilleton « Lance et compte » est devenu « Cogne et gagne », totalement aseptisé, ayant perdu la saveur originale.
25. Les étudiants français doivent payer désormais la totalité des droits d'inscription et justifier de 40 000 F de revenus dans l'année.