

BOOK REVIEWS

Journal d'un Fils de la Liberté, 1838–1855. By Amédée Papineau. Introduction and notes by Georges Aubin. Sillery, PQ: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 1998. 959 pages. \$49.95.

Amédée Papineau (1819–1903) was the eldest son of Louis-Joseph Papineau, leader of the Patriots' movement in Lower Canada until the outbreak of the Rebellion in the fall of 1837. Forced into exile in the United States in December 1837, Amédée started a diary the following spring. These seven notebooks (1838–1855) are in part new to the reader: although sections of the diary were published in the past (*La Presse*, 1924; Réédition-Québec, 1972; Éditions de l'Étincelle, 1978), this is the first complete and unabridged edition.

At the beginning of his diary, Amédée Papineau portrays himself as a witness to the events and considers his work will provide "a mass of details, which will be of great interest and might help the future historian" (30). Amédée's position on the political debate was basically the same as his father's, except that Louis-Joseph recommended non-violence while promoting civil disobedience, while Amédée dreamed of the independence of Canada "by the fire and the sword" (55). Amédée belonged to the *Association des Fils de la Liberté*, an organization that desired to share political knowledge with the masses. Named after the American "Sons of Liberty," the group had a paramilitary wing that attracted mostly young men.

The first three notebooks give an account of the rebellion of 1837, as experienced in the southern part of the Montreal district by an 18-year-old patriot galvanized by events. In describing the colonial administration and its supporters during the rebellion, Papineau has a strong tendency to use terms like "murderers," "tyrants," "robbers," "cut-throats," and "bloodthirsty" individuals. His tone changes completely when writing about the Patriots' movement, favouring language such as "fraternity," "democracy," "liberty" and "courage," and the Patriots become "heroes" if not "martyrs." This first-hand account is incomplete and most events referred to can be found in Henry S. Chapman's *An Impartial and Authentic Account of the Civil War in the Canadas* (1838), the first published history of the movement.

The latter notebooks inform the reader about daily life in Montreal in the mid-nineteenth century, after Papineau's return from exile. Although Amédée's entries were mostly about dances and parties in Montreal's high society, some refer to the political situation in Montreal as the leaders of the Patriots' movement returned.

Papineau is not listed in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* but, thanks to Georges Aubin, a short biography is included in the introduction to the diary. The notebooks are presented and annotated by Aubin as well, but the results are very uneven. Aubin's footnotes offer short biographical notes, but of only some of the characters mentioned by Papineau. He goes out of his way to explain words that can be found in any French dictionary, but he does not think it necessary to provide a biographical note for Louis-Joseph Papineau, leader of the movement. This omission is not unique: Thomas Storrow Brown, who is mentioned more than a dozen times by Papineau, is also forgotten; Aubin does not explain Brown's role during the rebellion, nor does he mention his authorship of the "Fils de la Liberté's" manifesto (66). On the other hand, Henry Judah and his wife get three biographical entries (598, 661, 812).

The reader will need a very good knowledge of Lower and Upper Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century to make the most of this diary. To understand Amédée Papineau's diary and the Patriots' movement, the reader should turn his attention to two booklets published by the Canadian Historical Society: Jean-Paul Bernard's *The Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada* (no. 55, 1996) and Colin F. Read's *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (no. 46, 1988), and to Allan Greer's article, "1837-1838: Rebellion Reconsidered," *Canadian Historical Review* 76.1 (1995): 1-18.

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La Petite Loterie: Comment la Couronne a obtenu la collaboration du Canada français après 1837. By Stéphane Kelly. Montréal: Boréal, 1997. 283 pages. \$27.95.

Based on analysis of the Confederation debates of 1865 and editorials from several republican newspapers of Lower Canada, in addition to extensive secondary sources, Kelly's study proposes a new interpretation of the history of French Canadian collaboration after the rebellions of 1837-1838. While not denying the role played by the Roman Catholic clergy in preaching cooperation with the Crown, the author points out the much more important effect that former rebels had in the conversion of French Lower Canada from a republican ideal to a position of collaboration with loyalist designs for a political union in which French Canadians were reduced to an ethnic minority. This he calls the role of the "parvenu," a member of the minority who sacrifices the interests of his group in favour of his own. Kelly shows how important men in the colony, republicans in the 1830s, came around in the 1860s to the loyalist way of thinking as a result of the application by Crown agents of the "Durham solution" or "la petite loterie": satisfy the ambitions of the rebel leadership and obtain their loyalty through the distribution of pa-

tronage. "The French Canadian parvenu, whether he be Wilfrid Laurier, Albert Sévigny or Ernest Lapointe, is a direct descendant of the tradition begun by George-Étienne Cartier" (230). Many French-speaking Quebeckers today would include Jean Chrétien in that list.

The study is divided into four parts. Part one, "L'Amérique du nord britannique," examines the origins of loyalist ideology through analysis of the political division that existed in eighteenth-century England between the agrarian republicanism of the Country party and the commercial monarchism of the Court whigs. With the defeat of the latter at the outcome of the American war of independence and the loyalist exodus northwards, the same rivalry was played out in Lower Canada. Part two, "La Nation canadienne," consists of an analysis of the French Canadian version of agrarian republicanism, while the third part, "La Résistance," chronicles the clash of the two opposing ideologies in French Canada. "La Collaboration," the fourth and last part of the study, examines the conversions of three of the more important parvenus: Étienne Parent, Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine and George-Étienne Cartier.

A well-written and solidly argued essay, Kelly's interpretation of the political history of nineteenth-century Quebec is already causing waves among students of that period in contemporary academic circles in the province. The recurring theme throughout the essay, that of the collaboration of the parvenu with the Crown and the former's contempt for his fellows seen as pariahs or miserable outcasts, sheds new light on the real motivations of these rebels-turned-loyalists of nineteenth-century French Canada. Commenting in 1865 on the refusal of the promoters of the federal union to let the people decide by plebiscite during the debates, Antoine-Aimé Dorion, leader of the "rouges," the main (but not the only) party opposed to the project, was perhaps prophetic when he stated that "should this measure be adopted without the sanction of the people, the country will come to regret it on more than one occasion" (210). In the context of the present political division in Quebec between federalists and separatists and in the wake of Meech Lake, Charlottetown and the last of two referenda on Quebec independence, Dorion's comment in 1865 does indeed ring prophetic.

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La Révolution déroutée, 1960-1976. By Léon Dion. Montréal: Boréal, 1998. 324 pages. \$29.95.

In August 1997 Québec lost one of its most famous committed intellectuals. Not only did Léon Dion analyze political and social events of the last fifty years in Québec, but he was also an actor, often behind the scenes as an adviser to the Prince, but also directly involved in the processes that have marked the destinies of Québec and Canada. Thus, he was the special re-

search adviser to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a commission that marked the sixties and even the seventies, as he relates in his book, *La Révolution dérivée* [The Diverted Revolution], which he was preparing at the time of his death. A promotional strip added by the publisher presents the book as Dion's "intellectual legacy."

Unfortunately, his death left us with an unfinished work. The book should have been a reflection on the main thread of the events characteristic of the Quiet Revolution, and more globally, on the dynamics of the change, both at the level of practices and of representations. Does the election of Jean Lesage's Liberal Party and his "équipe du tonnerre" on 22 June 1960 constitute a break or continuity for Québec society? How should we understand the ensuing transformations that modified the initial instigators' impetus?

The book leaves us with material for a reflection rather than the actual synthesis Léon Dion wished to write. Even the meaning of the term "diverted" can appear ambiguous: in the text he had written for *L'Horizon de la culture: Hommage à Fernand Dumont* (which also closes the book), he seems very harsh towards the political community that would have been responsible for this diversion. Elsewhere, there is a sense that Dion has a grudge against those who oriented nationalist thought towards the path of independence rather than, as he would have preferred, the renewal of federalism. However, Dion also reminds us that conservative forces had not disappeared in the Québec of the sixties and that the political actors, while knowing how to pursue reforms, had to take those opinions into account. Nonetheless, the material Léon Dion presents in this book displays the backdrop of the major political forces that animated Québec's civil society between 1960 and 1976, and whose actions are still echoed today: when reading both parts of his book, one realizes more than ever how the dilemmas that drove the actors of the time, especially on the national question in Québec, are still faced in the same terms today.

In this regard, the largely quoted extracts from André Laurendeau's personal diary are certainly still topical. Moreover, Dion shows well that, even if the Quiet Revolution has cultural aspects, what mostly transpired at the political level was the establishment of a real welfare state, in accordance with principles that had already been set up elsewhere in North America: protection of citizens against the inherent risks of life in society and responsibility in economic planning. In these times of challenge to the welfare state, it is not useless for today's readers to be reminded of the conditions that had justified this *enhancement of the political sphere* which was the distinctive feature of the Quiet Revolution. In this respect, this "legacy" above all opens up a debate.

Constitutional Patriation. The Lougheed-Lévesque Correspondence. By Peter Lougheed, René Lévesque et al. With an Introduction by J. Peter Meekison. Kingston: Queen's U Institute of Intergovernmental Relations and Canada West Foundation, 1999. \$15.00.

La Dérive d'Ottawa: Catalogue commenté des stratégies, tactiques et manœuvres fédérales. By Claude Morin. Montréal: Boréal, 1998. \$15.95.

The night of 4 November 1981 is remembered as a key moment in recent Canadian constitutional history. According to common knowledge, it was during this night that seven provinces, voluntarily excluding Québec, crafted an agreement that was used as the basis for the renewal of the Canadian constitution. The two texts reviewed here offer a reading of these events from opposing points of view and different approaches.

The book presenting correspondence exchanged between Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed and his Québec counterpart René Lévesque is surprisingly thin (3 letters, 43 pages translated and printed back-to-back). The title may lead one to think that there were several exchanges in the months leading to this famous night. In fact, the book does not consider letters exchanged before 5 November, but letters routed between Québec and Edmonton after the constitutional (dis)agreement.

The first letter is from Claude Morin, then Québec Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, to his Canadian counterparts, the one reproduced here being the one sent to Alberta's Dick Johnston. This letter is dated 6 November, the day after the conference ended. Morin expresses in it sentiments of deceit and rejection, a state of mind he will describe at length in his books *Lendemain piégés* (1988) and *Les Choses comme elles étaient* (1997), and one that is reviewed below.

Morin never received an answer to his letter, for he resigned from the Lévesque government some days later. Waiting to see if "there would be no further change to the [final] resolution" and that "Québec would not join with the other governments, Premier Lougheed decided to outline his recollection of the events" (11). In a letter to Lévesque dated 8 March 1982, Lougheed establishes a chronology as an answer he "feels appropriate" to Morin's letter, stating his "understanding of the events which occurred and, particularly, Alberta's view of the nature of the April 16, 1981 Accord" (15). This accord was the basis on which eight provinces opposed Pierre Trudeau's unilateral move to patriate the Constitution.

Lougheed's chronology reminds us that Lévesque and the Québec government, even though they were not invited to the last-minute talks during that November night, had the opportunity to discuss its content at a scheduled working breakfast the following morning, a meeting to which Lévesque arrived late and during which he apparently did not voice his opposition. Did he consider it too late to intervene? In his succinct answer of 5

May Lévesque gives his own reading of some of the events related by Lougheed, but does not reply to this specific aspect of Lougheed's recollection.

Even more interesting is the portrait painted by Peter Meekison in his introduction. Meekison was then Deputy Minister to Alberta's Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs. His point of view is that it was Québec that sowed a sentiment of distrust and broke the solidarity among the "Group of Eight," well before the November meeting (7, 8) and even during the afternoon of 4 November, when Lévesque did not keep his word, broke from the group, and aligned himself with Trudeau (9).

Of course, one might say that this reading is biased. Indeed, it probably is. However, it constitutes a crucial piece of information for our understanding of these events since it reflects, through its very bias, the perception of Québec's behaviour that at least some of the seven other provinces had, a perception on which they founded their ensuing actions.

Was Lévesque negligent in not showing up at the appropriate moments? Did Québec play in bad faith as the Alberta actors leave us to think? Of course, this is not how Claude Morin reads the situation. His most recent book does not reprint official documents, but delivers the author's personal thoughts on Ottawa's decision to refer to the Supreme Court the question of the legality of Québec's secession, since "this book aims at explaining by which drift such a decision—and other aberrant decisions—were reached" (7). With regard to Morin's writing habits, this book is also a short essay.

Morin's thoughts are organized in five chapters. The first two take an historical approach and set the stage for three questions that are answered in each of the following three chapters. These questions are: "What does Québec find wrong with the federal regime? how did Ottawa and the rest of Canada answer Québec's demands? would have it been possible that things have evolved differently?" (32). Morin naturally answers them according to his own credo, but the answers he provides are well organized—although they do not always stick to the heart of his own questions—and they offer an interesting reading of the logic behind the sovereignists' rationale. Chapter 5 addresses the specific questions of the referral and of what is known in Ottawa circles as Plan B, a strategy to defeat the sovereignist movement.

The events of November 1981 constitute a *Leitmotiv* that is clearly present in the first chapters, and one that comes back from time to time subsequently. One has to remember that the 1980–82 constitutional talks were held as an answer to the 1980 referendum that was organized according to Morin's strategy, but failed; as well, Morin was Lévesque's right-hand man during these talks that resulted in leaving Québec out of the Canadian constitutional family. These two factors help in understanding the importance the author gives to these events throughout his writings, which constitute interesting reading for those seeking a well-written, open, and frank testimony from a sovereignist at heart.

L'énigme Charest. By André Pratte. Montréal: Boréal, 1998. 358 pages. \$24.95.

André Pratte is a columnist with the Montréal daily *La Presse*. He published "The Pinocchio Syndrome" (1997), an essay about the lies in the realm of politics. The book was for a while the conversation piece in many power circles in Québec, Montreal, and Ottawa. After devoting some time studying the not-so-good sides of politicians, how might this author consider a specific political character? What kind of biography would he write?

These questions no doubt come to mind to the reader wanting to know more about Jean Charest, the former rising star of the Progressive Conservatives, then their leader while they were "crossing the desert," the hero of the 1995 referendum, and now the leader of the Québec Liberal Party, which entitles him to be the leader of the Opposition in Québec's National Assembly. Unavoidably, Pratte refers to the "Charest effect," the momentum the politician brings with him, wherever he goes. He also refers to the "Charest enigma": there is no doubt that Charest has charisma, but he is also a difficult man to get close to. Relating an interview he did with him, Pratte remembers: "Charest was exactly as you see him on TV: convincing, charming, funny The moment after, his face became impassive, his blue eyes were fading out. What was he thinking about?" (11). The challenge was there: who is this guy who, in a second, can go from charismatic to sheltering himself behind a wall? For Quebeckers who now have to consider him as a "Premier-in-waiting," and for other Canadians out of Québec who see in Charest the hope to keep Canada united, such a portrait is not without interest.

In an attempt to solve the enigma, Pratte reviews key moments of Charest's life, using techniques that one finds in the movies: he starts with a dramatic moment, Charest's mother's death, flashes back to his youth, and then fast-forwards to his political career. The book ends with the same actor who was first on stage, Charest's father, Red, as one usually sees in Hollywood-type scenarios. This technique serves the author well: he delivers a lively account of a young politician's bright career and allows the reader to understand better, even if not perfectly, the Charest enigma.

Some elements of interest should be noted here. Even though Pratte met Charest on several occasions while doing his research, and although he had to write some comments about his own academic record (50) to convince Jean Charest of his good faith, the author insists that the book is not an authorized biography; i.e., a work about somebody who has approved its contents. (As a matter of fact, Pratte recalls that Charest was a little nervous about the outcome of his work.) Moreover, it is noticeable that Pratte invested great effort in his research, hiring a University of Montreal PhD candidate to help him with the research *per se*, and taking the time to interview 227 people: Charest's friends, relatives, political allies and foes as well.

Were all these efforts worth the time and energies invested? In the end, we get an interesting, human portrait of a young politician who played

an important role for the future of Québec and the country as a whole, a man who is now at the crossroads.

There is no doubt that this book allows a better understanding of the character, but it does not answer all the questions about the Charest enigma, for Charest is far too complex a politician to be revealed in few hundred pages. However, Pratte brings out enough interesting information to provide the reader with a better knowledge of what was at stake in the Québec election of 1998.

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Les entre-lieux de la culture. Sous la direction de Laurier Turgeon. Québec: L'Harmattan. Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Collection Intercultures, 1998. 493 pages. \$35.00.

During the past twenty years political discourse underwent a sea change when it shifted its focus from the politics of distribution and economics to the politics of identity and culture. Not that economics has disappeared from politics, but the central place it held for most of the century is now occupied by culture. Concerns with cultural identity have invaded the concept of social justice, determined electoral strategies, dominated constitutional disputes, advanced the ideas of multiculturalism and transculturalism, and derailed international negotiations on trade and investment. Central to this change is the notion that politics must mediate the boundary between the culture of one's life-world and the culture advanced by the global marketplace. Concerned with the discovery and recovery of distinct identity, political man now needs to map out his actions in a new grid between local time and global space, between externalized intimacy and pervasive surveillance. This establishes a new political space of the in-between, the 'entre-lieux,' and requires the subtle ambivalence of the translator's mind in order to sustain itself.

The essays in the volume under review engagingly reflect on the many nuances of the in-between and contribute greatly to its understanding. They were first presented at a joint Russian/Québécois conference on interculturalism in Moscow in March 1998. The topics range from French apocalyptic writing of the 1980s to Céline Dion, the spatial structuration of the encounter between Québec and Canada, the local and global dialectic in architecture, and the presence of the other in Dostoyevsky's work. The articles are grouped along three dominant analytic themes: the in-between of local and global dimensions; the in-between of present and past time; and the in-between of self and other. The critical concept is the interval between identities. While English discourse would probably prefer the term 'frontier,' "in-between" or "*L'état des entre-lieux*," as Laurier Turgeon calls it in his introduction to this

meticulously edited book, seems to better capture the ambivalent, hesitant, indeterminate 'rapport' between rival identities. Readers in Canada will find particularly informative the essay by Reginald Auger on the encounter between Martin Frobisher and the Inuits; Frédéric Demers on how Céline Dion reconciles local sensibilities with global tastes; G. Desmarais on the spatial ontogenesis of Québec within Canada; Guy Mercier on a successful mediation between ancient and modern landscapes in the Quartier Saint-Roch; Pierre Ouellet on the interspace between self and the other in the Québec/Canada context; and Laurier Turgeon and Denis Laborde on the Basque region in Québec. Read together these articles not only reveal the iridescence of intercultural space but also indicate a new direction in Québec's conceptualization of *la survivance*. Old polarities are relinquished in favour of a deepening sense of the in-between.

Readers with an interest in comparative literature and semiology will enjoy the essays by Marc Angenot on French cultural pessimism in the 1980s; Zila Bernd on literary metamorphism and the hybrid figure in Brazilian, Caribbean, and Québécois writing; Marie Carani on the impact of Russian "suprematism" on pictorial modernism in Québec; Marc Grignon on the postmodern dialectic of local and international architectural styles; Gueorghii S. Knabe on Tolstoy's and Dostoyevsky's perceptions of architectural space; Karen Anne McCarthy on the presence of the other in Dostoyevsky; and Denyse Noreau on the encounter of difference in Nabokov's *Lolita*. In a way these essays follow familiar paths of comparative iconology but focus more strongly on the borderline of images.

The essays by Leonid Batkine, Bernard Cherubini, and Andrée Gendreau tackle methodological problems of conceptualizing and measuring the in-between in ethnology and history, while articles by Irene Herrmann, Tristan Landry, and Dessislav Sabev discuss the experience of the in-between in communist and post-communist society.

All the essays mediate well between their specific subject matter and the general theme so that the mosaic of the volume itself documents the interspace as a connecting rather than separating experience. Conceptualization is at a high level and documentation exemplary, particularly in the papers on Québec. Readers with a strong interest in intercultural encounters in Canada and Québec will, however, be disappointed with the lack of attention given to the encounter between self and other in this multi-historical and interspatial country. It is to be hoped that Laurier Turgeon will be able to devote another volume in his ingeniously conceived and handsomely produced Collection Intercultures to Canada's hesitant and yet mindful exploration of *les entre-lieux de la culture canadienne*.

L'Action internationale du Québec en matière linguistique: Coopération avec la France et la francophonie de 1961 à 1995. By Gaston Cholette. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997. 197 pages. \$27.00.

La Coopération économique franco-québécoise de 1961 à 1997. By Gaston Cholette. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998. 375 pages. \$35.00.

One of the particularities of what is known as Québec's Quiet Revolution is the development of international activities, of a doctrine to justify these activities, and of a department in charge of co-ordinating them. With only a handful of civil servants, Québec launched what is now considered around the world the most accomplished example of a foreign policy by a subnational state. Although over time Québec's international activities have covered the globe, Québec has two particular relations: with the United States over economic affairs and with France over culture. Québec still relies heavily on the US market for its exports. Without the support of the French government in general and of Charles de Gaulle in particular, Québec would never have been capable of developing its international activities while facing the hostility of the Canadian government when the Liberals were in power. The "Printemps du Québec" extravaganza in Paris illustrates the lasting importance of France in Québec's international policy and the "francophilia" of the current minister and of a strong current within the Québec government over the years.

If we exclude two synthesis, those of Balthazar et al. (*Trente ans de politique extérieure du Québec*, Québec: PUL, 1993) and Bernier (*De Paris à Washington*, Sainte-Foy: PUQ, 1996), most of the material on Québec's foreign policy available for researchers can be found in a few personal accounts such as those developed by Claude Morin in his books (*L'Art de l'impossible: La Diplomatie québécoise depuis 1960*, Montréal: Boréal, 1987) or by Paul Gérin-Lajoie in his memoirs (*Combats d'un révolutionnaire tranquille: Propos et confidences*, Montréal: Centre éducatif et culturel, 1989). But overall, Québec civil servants and participants in this policy have not published much.

It is thus important that other actors involved since the early days of the Quiet Revolution make available their own views so that a more accurate explanation can be developed. The two well-written books recently published by Gaston Cholette are thus welcome. Cholette has been at the centre of Québec-France relations and linguistic policy for over three decades. He has been in charge of international co-operation for the department of education, of various sections of the department of inter-governmental affairs, and of the "Office de la langue française."

His books cover two aspects of the Québec-France relation. The first one is an account of the development of Québec's linguistic policy through international relations since 1961. It is an interesting illustration of the substance of the international relations developed by the Québec government, a substance too often obfuscated by the fights between Ottawa and Québec

over who should do what. The second book covers the programs that constituted co-operation between Québec and France over economic issues. The involvement of various agencies is also discussed. Both books include official documents that are almost impossible to find elsewhere. Both books illustrate how Québec's modernization was accelerated by co-operation with France with respect to activities such as the exchange of workers or teachers, discussions about terminology, and access to French know-how and institutions. Cholette's work is an important contribution to the literature on the topic. It is also an excellent demonstration that Québec's foreign policy is not a tool used in constitutional quarrels but a legitimate policy for any government preoccupied with the well-being of its citizens.

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