

standing of folk religion in the colony, as comparative studies of witchcraft have suggested. With this sole caveat, however, Jaenen's book must be praised as an outstanding and most welcome addition to our meagre but growing knowledge of Canadian religious history.

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CAMERON NISH. *François-Étienne Cugnet, 1719-1751: entrepreneur et entreprises en Nouvelle-France*. Collection Histoire économique et sociale du Canada français, Fides: Montréal, 1975.

In 1719, François-Étienne Cugnet arrived in Canada, where until his death in 1751 he remained a prominent figure in both governmental administration and business. He had come to the colony as administrator of the *Domaine d'Occident*, a position that he retained by becoming a civil servant when this *ferme* was reunited to the *Domaine du Roi* in 1732. Son of an academic lawyer, himself "avocat au Parlement de Paris", Cugnet also became a member of the *Conseil supérieur* in 1730 and first councillor in 1733. He is remembered particularly for his involvement with the *Forges de Saint Maurice*, being manager of the company exploiting this resource from 1737 to 1741. Cugnet also was lessee of the *Postes du Roi* from 1736 to 1745. After a spectacular bankruptcy largely related to the failure of the *Forges*, he appears — according to Professor Nish's showing — to have rebuilt his fortune and died leaving an estate valued at 135,752 livres 12 sols net, making him a very rich colonial indeed. Clearly this was a man of considerable importance; and Professor Nish, who has been interested in Cugnet for some time and has published a host of documents on his bankruptcy, now presents us with Cugnet's first book-length, business biography.

Nish outlines briefly Cugnet's role as administrator and councillor, but concentrates on his subject's business activities. The *Forges* are given pride of place, with five chapters covering their history from the earliest notice of iron ore deposits in 1541, through the *Francheville* and Cugnet companies and Cugnet's bankruptcy down to the end of 1743, after which time the *Forges* became the property of the Crown. There are also chapters on Cugnet's lease of the *Tadoussac* trade and on his character and the significance of his career.

The narrative of the early history of the *Forges* is clear, but the author lets pass the opportunities for comment and analysis. Why was the Anglo-American style bloomery forge set aside in favour of more complex technology? What does the author think of Vézin's plans? Were the financial arrangements sound? Why was there such a shocking record of blunders: collapsing buildings, ill-chosen sites, inadequate water to turn the mills? Were the large expenses incurred reasonable? Can anything concrete be said about the entrepreneurial talent and knowledge demonstrated in the management of the *Forges*?

The very important chapter on Cugnet's bankruptcy contains many more unanswered questions. When the company's financial problems became hopeless, members attempted to resign; Hocquart sensibly stopped them. But could members extricate themselves from the financial problems of what appears to have been — but we are not told — a *société générale*? How could Cugnet's partners escape the *Forges*' creditors, considering that they fell under the rule of joint and several liability? Or did they escape? Was the company's largest block of debt, which

appears in Cugnet's accounts, legitimate? We need a careful analysis of this liability for 453,710 livres 6 sols. Let us speculate. Since all the company's capital was advanced by the Crown, was it perhaps in Cugnet's interest to run the company into the ground by diverting funds? Probably not, but such questions must be answered. This is particularly true because one must explain how it was that Cugnet died with a large fortune.

To understand all of this, the reader requires greater background in eighteenth-century business structures than the book provides. What, for example, will he make of Professor Nish's assertion on page 174, "Les Forges n'ont jamais fait banqueroute: Cugnet a fait banqueroute." Does the author mean that because this was a partnership rather than a joint-stock venture, liabilities were personal? If so, he should say so.

Nish demonstrates in a chapter on Cugnet's lease of Tadoussac that Cugnet's admitted profits must always be adjusted upwards and he attempts to establish the true profits of this trade (table, p. 129). If *vente d'effets* means sale of goods to Indians, then Nish's adjusted profit figure, which the reader must work out for himself to 13½%, was a very good return. There was still another profit to be earned on the sale of fur, one that has escaped analysis. Or is it included in *vente d'effets*? The reader is not told. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of eighteenth-century profit levels or of business ethics in the period, both necessary to the interpretation of data in this chapter. The reader would also be helped greatly had the earlier chapter on Cugnet's career as administrator of the Domaine d'Occident given more than cursory attention to the workings of the domain. Readers unaware that the confusion of *fourrures* and *castors* is a tradition of long standing in Canadian historiography may be troubled by Professor Nish's repeated assertion (pp. 14, 17) that the *fermier* and later the Compagnie des Indes had a "monopole sur l'exportation des fourrures de la Nouvelle France."

Nish points out the important rôle of the State in enterprise in New France and observes that this remains an element of Canadian business history down to the present time. Several times, he points out that Cugnet's success in this or that endeavour results, as on page 174, "grâce à ses relations personnelles avec Hocquart." Yet the relationship of intendant and entrepreneur remains essentially unexplored. There is no discussion of Hocquart's views or of recent work in Canada and elsewhere on what is ifelegantly termed "clientage."

In a chapter on "L'image de l'homme," Nish attempts to divine Cugnet's character from floor plans and library lists. No doubt the material *mise en scène* of a life can be useful to the historian, either used artistically to recreate the visual past or as the basis of an analysis in which the meaning of *décor* is sought. Neither course is followed here. Library analysis can be successful too, but again we are disappointed. It is unacceptable to draw conclusions about Cugnet's "goûts plutôt séculiers" (p. 151) from the fact that there was little Church history in Cugnet's library when it contained actually ninety-eight works on religion and theology. It is preposterous to conclude that five works on commerce indicates that "commerce était assez bien représenté dans la collection" (p. 153) just because Intendant Dupuy only had one such book. Finally, one cannot overlook the ridiculous argument that because Hocquart and Cugnet had close business and governmental relations, Cugnet's character can be inferred from what we know of Hocquart's.

Cugnet's character must be sought in his writings and, more particularly, in his actions. This also is true of Cugnet's entrepreneurship, of which the present volume purports to be a study. There is no analysis of Cugnet's business methods or of his business attitudes. The most important of his undertakings was an abject failure, yet we seem to be in the presence of a dynamic businessman who rises

from defeat to rebuild his fortune. The development of this fortune is not clearly traced: François-Étienne Cugnet: entrepreneur or "operator"? We cannot be sure.

While there is much useful information in this volume that many will be pleased to have readily at hand, the book's analytical weaknesses are greatly to be regretted. It is not a unified work, but a poorly connected series of chapters, adorned with irrelevant engravings, unidentified photographs and entirely too many tables of doubtful utility. An author invariably needs help in deciding whether his manuscript is ready for publication. There is considerable food for thought in the fact that the editorial board whose names appear on page vi of the present work and, presumably, academic referees have found this volume suitable for publication.

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ROBERT CHOQUETTE. — *Language and Religion, A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975.

As Robert Choquette rightly emphasizes, English-French conflict in Ontario in the early twentieth century did not necessarily imply Protestant-Catholic conflict. The internal conflict in the Roman Catholic Church between English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics became public knowledge with the development of the Ontario bilingual schools' issue and the clash of nationalisms during World War I. However, the desire of many Church officials to maintain a united front against the Protestant majority in Canada meant that the inside story of the division was not revealed. Now, having obtained access to a wide range of ecclesiastical sources, including the Fallon Papers and the Catholic Church Archives in Ottawa, Toronto, Kingston, London, Hearst, and Alexandria, Robert Choquette has provided full documentation of the struggle for power between Irish and French Catholics which helped to disrupt not only Church affairs but also the educational system of the Province of Ontario.

Choquette takes as his first example linguistic strife over the Catholic University of Ottawa, portrayed as a microcosm of the larger conflict. Although it had begun as a bilingual college in 1848, the University of Ottawa had developed as a unilingual English institution between 1874 and 1901. Consequently, the restoration of the French section of the University in the first decade of the twentieth century was bitterly resented by many Irish Catholics in Ottawa who regarded the University as their institution. One result of the successful assertion of French-Canadian power was the "exile" to Buffalo of the Reverend Michael Francis Fallon, former Vice-Rector of the University. Fallon, who continues to dominate much of the conflict at the University of Ottawa even in his absence, emerges in the book as the leading figure in the escalating Catholic conflict. After examining the religious and educational problems in the Ottawa area which led to the formation in 1910 of L'Association canadienne-française d'Éducation d'Ontario, Choquette follows Fallon as he is appointed Bishop in the western Ontario, Diocese of London. The middle section of the book, entitled "The Fallon Years," documents the strife which erupted in the diocese as the new Bishop used his power over the clergy and the teaching orders to oppose "a bilingual school system which teaches neither English nor French, encourages incompetency, gives a prize to hypocrisy and breeds ignorance." Both the quarrel over language at