

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

the University of Ottawa and the London problems serve as preliminaries to the main engagement, the provincial controversy surrounding Regulation 17, which forms the third and final section of the book.

The documentation in the book is impressive, but the primary materials are not sufficiently interpreted or integrated into the narrative, and a poor literary style makes reading difficult. The detailed presentation of letters, memoranda, statements, and counterstatements tends to strangle the development of a broader sense of action or character. This is particularly unfortunate when dealing with a topic where the potential for drama is so great, ranging from stolen letters, to Church and legal trials, to parishioners guarding a rectory in the Diocese of London against the installation of a pastor who was French in name only, and to mothers armed with hat-pins defending French-speaking teachers in an Ottawa school. The motives and aims of the leading protagonists in the conflict also are not fully assessed. Bishop Fallon, who aroused so much controversy in the Diocese of London that he was twice invited by Rome to move elsewhere, remains an enigmatic figure. Fallon claimed that he urged his priests to learn French and demanded that all candidates from the London Seminary be able to perform the basic ministerial functions in French. In addition, Fallon stated that he would favour the establishment of purely French schools for those who wanted them. Choquette fails to reconcile these statements with the portrayal of Fallon as a militant anti-Francophone extremist.

Choquette concludes that Irish-Canadian and French-Canadian Catholics clashed particularly bitterly because both were minority groups in the province, insecure and anxious to defend their position. Both too were driven by pride in their ethnicity and by a determination to link language and religion. However, most of the integration of the details of conflict to support these conclusions is left to the questioning reader. What proportion of English-speaking Catholics in the province were of Irish origin, and did Irish Catholics react differently than, for example, Scottish Catholics? How was the relative influence of English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics in the Church and the province changing in the early twentieth century? Did Irish Catholics often lead the opposition against Franco-Ontarians not because they were both insecure minorities but because they were forced to work together within the same institutional structures in religious and educational affairs?

Choquette devotes little attention to the English-speaking Protestant majority in Ontario. They are set outside the limits of his topic which he defines as "English-French conflict within Ontario Catholicism during the first quarter of the twentieth century" (p. 4). Certainly, the quantity and intrinsic interest of the ecclesiastical material advances the knowledge of a vital area of English-French conflict in the province. However, Choquette is not satisfied with this reason for concentrating on Ontario Catholicism. Instead, he makes much wider claims, stating that "this work demonstrates that the bilingual schools controversy in Ontario was primarily, at least after 1910, a struggle within Canadian catholicism itself" (p. 258). Yet many English-speaking Protestants were as alarmed as Irish Catholics by what they regarded as aggressive and unjustified Franco-Ontarian demands. English-speaking Protestants believed strongly that Ontario was and must remain an English-speaking province and their aroused feelings during the period of a major world war left the government little room to manoeuvre. Extremists, both Protestant and Catholic, were responsible for making the bilingual schools of Ontario a political issue. The resulting Regulation 17 was a political measure and the political power of the Protestant majority could have more impact on its fate than the demands of the Catholic minority, English-speaking or French-speaking. Choquette's claim

that the bilingual schools controversy was primarily an internal Catholic conflict is not substantiated in the book and it is difficult to see how it could be substantiated without close examination of the role of the non-Catholics in the province.

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RICHARD JONES. — *L'idéologie de l'Action catholique (1917-1939)*. Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974.

L'ouvrage de Richard Jones débute sur une phrase qui me laisse songeur. « Si, pour comprendre le comportement des gens, l'interprétation que ceux-ci se font de la réalité est plus significative que ne l'est la réalité elle-même, des études de journaux se révèlent fort utiles. » L'ambiguïté de l'énoncé tient au fait qu'entre les comportements et les opinions, il y a parfois une distance que l'historien doit repérer. L'étude de l'opinion ne permet pas de comprendre les comportements, ou si peu. L'antithèse entre les deux pourrait s'exprimer ainsi: d'un côté, légitimation, justification, de l'autre, le vécu, le réel que simplifie, déforme, modifie le discours idéologique.

Une histoire sociale des idées qui se chargerait d'expliquer l'orientation de celles-ci en fonction des situations des groupes qui les formulent me satisferait davantage. Réduire l'histoire des idéologies à la décomposition de l'argumentation me paraît relever d'une approche idéaliste qui laisse l'intelligence en appétit. Après tout, il n'est pas absolument vrai et probablement faux de dire que les idées mènent le monde. Ce qui veut dire que contrairement à ce qu'écrit Jones, il ne faut pas imputer aux rédacteurs de *L'Action catholique* la responsabilité du soi-disant « retard » du Québec (p. 312), mais bien plutôt considérer l'hypothèse qu'il formule au dernier paragraphe de son livre: « Certains pourraient même conclure que les rédacteurs, en explicitant une idéologie, n'ont fait que répondre à la réalité de la société close qui les entourait » (p. 314). L'auteur dit ne pas exclure cette explication, mais tout son livre est là pour soutenir le contraire.

Pour lire l'ouvrage boussole en main, il faut avoir à l'esprit qu'il appartient au courant « rattrappiste » d'inspiration libérale qui vit le jour au cours des décennies 1950-1960. Car Jones ne s'embarrasse pas de découvrir l'articulation des idées aux arrières-plans structuraux et conjoncturels qui pourraient en expliquer la genèse, pas plus qu'il ne se contente d'en résumer le contenu à la manière des positivistes. Il s'aventure, à ses risques et périls, à juger les rédacteurs de *L'Action* suivant ses propres absolus idéologiques. Or l'histoire des idées n'est pas exempte que je sache des exigences de l'explication scientifique. Quand un groupe social exprime une opinion, il faut savoir pourquoi celle-ci est orientée dans telle ou telle direction, ce qui nous ramène aux structures économiques et sociales.

En dépit d'une phrase malheureuse au lever du rideau, Jones a fait une belle tentative en vue de dégager les fondements de l'idéologie clérico-conservatrice de ses journalistes. La définition de l'idéologie proposée par l'auteur s'inspire de la théorie dumontienne. Certains aspects de la traduction libre de l'historien me paraissent néanmoins discutables. Dire que « l'adepte d'une idéologie, quelle qu'elle soit, demeure un être foncièrement *mécontent* » (p. I) me semble un peu absolu. Il en est de même de cette autre affirmation: « ne pourrait-on pas qualifier les partisans de toute idéologie, quelle qu'elle soit, de « révolutionnaire », du moins