

LUCA CODIGNOLA

LITTLE DO WE KNOW  
HISTORY AND HISTORIANS  
OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC  
1492-2010

*edited by*  
Matteo Binasco



CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE  
*Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*  
Cagliari – Genova – Milano – Roma – Torino

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Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea  
Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche

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## PRESENTAZIONE DELLA COLLANA

Questa collana digitale multilingue rappresenta il nuovo volto della celebre e affermata collana pubblicata dall'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea. Il volto è nuovo perché le nuove tecnologie digitali hanno reso possibile la pubblicazione di articoli, riviste e libri che si rendono in tal modo istantaneamente disponibili in qualsiasi luogo del mondo vi sia un lettore che abbia avuto notizia della sua esistenza e del suo interesse. Come avveniva anche nell'era predigitale, la nozione dell'esistenza di un articolo o di un libro può essere la conseguenza di una attenta lettura di note a piè di pagina o di una bibliografia, o dell'indicazione di un amico o di un collega, o il risultato di un incontro casuale e non cercato con la pagina scritta. Nell'era digitale una pubblicazione su un tema che ci interessi può essere identificata e reperita anche assemblando una stringa di parole o di segni in un motore di ricerca. Perché dunque non approfittare di questa nuova tecnologia per rendere disponibile i risultati della nostra ricerca a un numero vastissimo di lettori nel più breve tempo possibile finora inventato dall'essere umano?

Non c'è dubbio che tutti proviamo una certa nostalgia nel ricordare la pagina ingiallita del vecchio libro fatto di carta, la copertina la cui rilegatura mostra i segni del tempo, gli eleganti caratteri Bodoni che non si usano più, o il lento girar di pagina, per nulla dire di quel senso di soddisfazione quando si arriva all'ultima pagina del volume, lo si chiude, e ci si crogiola nell'idea che la nuova conoscenza finalmente acquisita rimarrà per sempre con noi. Siamo ben coscienti di tutto ciò. Non diversamente, sappiamo bene che un volo a prezzo scontato e senza scalo da Gatwick a La Guardia non ci darà mai la stessa gratificazione di una lenta crociera da Londra a New York su una lussuosa nave da crociera. Siamo però anche ben coscienti del valore che rappresenta il grande numero dei nostri potenziali lettori, la facilità con cui possiamo creare delle reti di studiosi e di conoscenze, nonché quelle funzioni di ricerca automatica che arricchiscono oltre

misura le possibilità offerte dagli indici dei nomi e delle cose notevoli senza i quali nessun libro scientifico poteva dirsi completo. Inoltre, la pubblicazione in forma digitale non esclude, di per sé, una pubblicazione tradizionale sotto forma di libro cartaceo. In un mondo ideale, si può prevedere la pubblicazione simultanea del libro digitale e della sua versione cartacea ogniqualvolta i fondi a disposizione lo consentano, anche quando il numero dei volumi a stampa dovesse essere molto ridotto.

Ma c'è un altro motivo, ben più importante, per il quale questa collana deve essere considerata una collana nuova, o quantomeno rinnovata. Abbiamo preso la collana dell'Istituto e, trasformandola, le abbiamo cambiato titolo: *Europa e Mediterraneo. Storia e immagini di una comunità internazionale*. Anzi, per dire la verità, la collana non aveva mai avuto un suo vero titolo. Abbiamo infatti ritenuto che il nuovo titolo riflettesse meglio gli interessi scientifici dell'Istituto. In realtà, nessuno dei temi di ricerca che erano presenti al momento della creazione dell'Istituto nel 2001 è stato abbandonato o messo da parte. È però anche vero che negli ultimi anni l'Istituto ha accentuato il suo orientamento internazionale ed è diventato più cosciente del suo ruolo cruciale di produttore di nuova conoscenza e di interprete della cangiante identità dell'Europa mediterranea.

In termini generali, l'Istituto esamina il modo in cui l'Europa mediterranea ha forgiato la sua identità. A tale scopo l'Istituto utilizza la prospettiva della penisola italiana all'interno di un arco cronologico che va dal Medioevo al giorno d'oggi, senza dimenticare i fatti che si svolgono ogni giorno sotto i nostri occhi. Da sempre l'Istituto ha rivolto la sua attenzione ai temi e ai problemi che traggono origine dai rapporti e dalle influenze reciproche che hanno avuto tra loro i paesi europei che vivono sulle sponde del Mediterraneo. Si pensi, per esempio, ai rapporti tra quella che è oggi la Catalogna, la Sardegna e la penisola italiana nel suo complesso, o all'espansione marittima e commerciale della Repubblica di Genova e di quella di Pisa. Né si dimentichi che l'Istituto ha tra i suoi compiti quello di individuare e valorizzare nuovi strumenti conoscitivi che aiutino l'Italia a interpretare e assolvere la sua naturale funzione di cerniera tra



l'Europa e i paesi di cultura non europea che si affacciano sulla sponda opposta del Mare Mediterraneo. In tempi più recenti, è stata l'espansione europea al di fuori dell'Europa, verso il Mar Nero a est o il mondo atlantico a ovest, a rappresentare una nuova e importante area di interesse scientifico, come dimostrano per esempio le nuove ricerche sulla marineria veneziana e la formazione delle identità neoeuropee nelle letterature dell'America ispanica e portoghese, così pure come nell'America francofona e anglofona.

Un'altra area di crescente interesse per l'Istituto è rappresentata dalla mobilità e dalla migrazione umana. I suoi ricercatori hanno da sempre tenuto conto del fatto che in nessun luogo dell'Europa mediterranea (ma nemmeno del resto del mondo) siano esistite società stabili le quali non siano state influenzate da movimenti migratori di persone, oggetti o idee da o verso di esse, o dove le lingue e i linguaggi (tecnici e non) non siano stati oggetto di costante cambiamento e reinvenzione. Negli anni è sempre stato l'individuo, da solo o come parte di una comunità e della sua cultura, a essere al centro degli interessi dell'Istituto. Vista tale tradizione, è probabile che questa tendenza non verrà sostanzialmente modificata in un futuro prevedibile. Non possiamo però in alcun modo immaginare in che modo i nuovi e grandi movimenti migratori provenienti dal bacino del Mediterraneo spingeranno i ricercatori a esaminare i cambiamenti nel tempo di tali movimenti, allo scopo di fornire un loro contributo a una migliore comprensione dei nuovi bisogni e obblighi nei loro confronti.

Il sottotitolo della nuova collana, *Storia e immagini di una comunità internazionale*, parla da sé. Ci preme tuttavia sottolineare che, secondo noi, se per 'storia' non si intende niente di più che 'cambiamento nel tempo', con 'immagini' ci proponiamo di affrontare il tema e il problema della rappresentazione di tale cambiamento, sia esso cartografico, politico, letterario o artistico. Grande o piccola che sia, una comunità è in primo luogo un gruppo di individui che condivide la propria identità, la rappresenta, e crede che al di fuori di essa esistano altri soggetti che non la condividono e non ne fanno parte. È certamente vero che la condivisione di un'identità comune non garantisce dall'assenza di rivalità profonde o lotte intestine. Come

ben sappiamo, tali tensioni scoppiano anche tra cittadini di due villaggi vicini, fedeli di una stessa religione, o discendenti di una stessa famiglia. Nell'ambito dell'arco cronologico considerato dall'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, riteniamo che l'Europa mediterranea abbia costituito una comunità distinta che fu sempre intrinsecamente internazionale, poiché consistette sempre di 'nazioni' che si trovarono in relazione costante l'una con l'altra e i cui confini non furono mai disegnati con chiarezza o accettati senza conflitto. È compito dell'Istituto studiare questa comunità nel suo cambiamento nel tempo e nel modo in cui essa si è rappresentata.

Da tutto ciò derivano dunque il titolo di questa nuova collana, *Europa e Mediterraneo. Storia e immagini di una comunità internazionale*, e la scelta strategica di pubblicare i suoi volumi in italiano oppure in inglese, francese, spagnolo, catalano e portoghese, nonché in eventuali altre lingue, se l'occasione lo richieda.

*Luca Codignola Bo, Direttore (1 giugno 2008-31 gennaio 2012)*  
*Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*  
*Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*

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## SERIES FOREWORD

This new online and multilingual book series represents the new face of the well-known and long-established book series published by the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe. It is new because new digital technologies make publications – an article, a journal, but also a book – available almost instantly, all over the world, to readers who have been alerted to its existence and significance. As in the pre-digital era, this awareness may have been induced by learned footnotes and bibliographical references, by word of mouth passed on

by colleagues and friends, or simply by fortuitous and occasional encounters with the written page. In the digital era, however, a publication dealing with an issue of interest can also be found simply by assembling a string of words or signs into a search engine. Why not take advantage of this new technology to make the result of one's research available to the largest number of readers in the quickest way so far devised by the human being?

Indeed, we might feel somewhat nostalgic for the yellowing paper page, the indented hard cover, the old-fashioned Bodoni typeface, the slow thumbing from one page to the next, let alone the feeling of accomplishment that comes when reaching the end page and the feeling that, from then onwards, we know more – and that knowledge is there to stay. This new online series recognizes all that. In the same fashion, however, we also recognize that a fast low-cost non-stop flight from Gatwick to La Guardia does not live up to the personal fulfillment granted by a slow voyage from London to New York on a luxury cruise ship. Yet we also value the enlarged readership, the easier networking, and especially the automatic search options that vastly enrich the old-fashioned indexing without which no scholarly book was deemed to be complete. Furthermore, online publishing does not, *per se*, exclude the production of a printed book. In a perfect world, both digital and printed versions will be available, whenever sufficient funding makes it possible to do so, even when only a limited number of hard copies are to be printed.

This book series, however, is also new because, first and foremost, its contents have undergone a significant renewal. We have taken the former Institute's book series and given it a new name – “Europe and the Mediterranean. History and Images of an International Community.” (To be frank, the earlier series did not even have a title.) We thought that this new title better reflects the overall scholarly interests of the Institute. None of the research fields that were present at its inception in 2001 have been sidelined or abandoned. We felt, however, that in the past few years the Institute had become more internationally-oriented and more conscious of its crucial role of

provider of new knowledge about the identity of Mediterranean Europe and of interpreter of its new and ever-changing nature.

By and large, the Institute examines how Mediterranean Europe has shaped its identity. We do it from the privileged viewpoint of the Italian peninsula in a long chronological framework, from the Middle Ages until the present times that unfold, as we speak, under our very eyes. The Institute has traditionally addressed issues arising from the relations and the reciprocal influences of the European countries that dwell on the northern Mediterranean shores. Let us recall, for example, the relationship between present-day Catalonia, Sardinia, and the Italian peninsula as a whole, or the maritime and commercial expansion of the Genoa and Pisa republics. Furthermore, the Institute's mandate includes the improvement of the knowledge basis on which Italy as a whole can make the most of its bridging role between Europe and the non-European countries that dwell on the opposite shore of the Mediterranean Sea. In recent times, however, the expansion of Mediterranean Europe outside of itself, towards the Black Sea to the East, and the Atlantic world to the West, has grown into being a significant area of interest. This is shown, for example, by new research on the Venetian navy and on the shaping of new European identities in the literatures of Spanish and Portuguese America, as well as of French- and English-speaking North America.

Human mobility and migration have also been a growing concern of the Institute. Its researchers have always recognized that there did not exist in Mediterranean Europe – or elsewhere, for that matter – existed such a thing as a stable society that was not influenced by inward or outward movements of people, objects, and ideas, or where languages (technical or otherwise) were not subject to constant change and reinvention. Throughout the years, the individual and its being part of a community and of its culture has been at the centre of the Institute's interests. Given the Institute's knowledge basis, this will probably continue to be so in the foreseeable future. However, we cannot determine whether new and large migration waves in the Mediterranean basin will not urge researchers to address the origins and developments over time of such movements, thus contributing to

a better understanding of Italy's new needs and obligations in that regard.

The subtitle of the new series, "History and Images of an International Community", is rather self-explaining. Let us emphasize, however, that in our view "history" simply means "change over time", whereas the word "images" addresses the issue of the representation of this change, whether cartographical, political, literary or artistic. No matter how large or how small, a community is first and foremost a group of individuals who share a common identity and represent it. At the same time they believe that other individuals who live outside the community neither share that same identity nor in any way belong to it. Undoubtedly, sharing of a common identity does not prevent bitter rivalries and in fighting. As we know, these even exist and happen among citizens of nearby villages, or the faithful of similar religious denominations, and even offspring of the same family. Throughout the chronological scope considered by the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe, we believe that Mediterranean Europe constituted a distinct community that was inherently international, in that it consisted of several "nations" that were in constant relationship with one another and whose borders were far from being clear or mutually accepted. The Institute examines the change over time of this community and how it represented itself.

Hence the title of this new book series, *Europe and the Mediterranean. History and Images of an International Community* and the strategic decision to publish its volumes either in Italian or in another language, such as English, French, Spanish, Catalan or Portuguese, as well as in other languages such as may be appropriate.

*Luca Codignola-Bo, Head (1 June 2008-31 January 2012)*  
*Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe*  
*National Research Council (Italy)*



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Full bibliographical references are appended to each chapter. With few exceptions, duly noted, revisions were made in order to avoid repetitions and to provide stylistic consistency. Whenever possible, years of birth and death were provided for all deceased persons on their first mention in the book. In Part IV, years of birth were sometimes provided for living persons. Chapters are given in the original language in which they first appeared in print. Editorial styles are those of the original language. However, the Chicago Manual of Style was applied whenever different styles appeared to be in conflict.



## INTRODUCTION

### CONSTRUCTING AN ATLANTIC WORLD

I first met Dr. Luca Codignola in early October 1996. At the time I had enrolled in his *History of Canada* course at the Università di Genova as an undergraduate. My initial curiosity in a distant country soon developed into a keen interest in early Canadian history and the early history of European expansion. This brought me first to a *laurea* dissertation under Dr. Codignola's direct supervision (2000), then to a Master of Arts degree at Saint Mary's University of Halifax (2004), later still to a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the National University of Ireland at Galway (to be completed in 2011), and finally to a position of Research Fellow at the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe (ISEM) of Italy's National Research Council (CNR), headed by Dr. Codignola (2010). In recognizing that my own intellectual itinerary had been significantly influenced by his own research interests, in September 2010 I asked Dr. Codignola whether he might be interested in an edited selection of his published scholarly articles. This collection brings together a selection that represents the axes of his writing and research: the historiography on North America, early European expansion, and the Catholic Church. (Codignola has a book in progress devoted to the Catholic Church and so his writings on that topic are here selected for their strict pertinence to the other two). His broad areas of expertise spans the vast geographical expanse of North America and Europe, a long timeframe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, and an extensive range of methodological issues. The challenge for me was how to weave these essays together into a cohesive collection that honours Dr. Codignola's impressive career.

The title of this collection recognizes that at the heart of Dr. Codignola's scholarly career have been the classic questions of how historians use primary sources to produce historical writing, and how these sources shape the historians' visions of historical writing. Each chapter in this collection examines the use of primary sources, either

in Dr. Codignola's own work, or in his reflections on American and European historiography. In all cases Dr. Codignola's insistence on the careful use of sources in their historical context has shaped both his reviews of historiography and his own production of historical writing. The relationship between history, sources, and the historian is the key theme that glues together this collection – except, perhaps, for Part IV. Each chapter examines the use or – in most cases – the misuse of primary sources or the lack of mastery of the historiography on the part of a number of prominent North American and European historians. The three articles of which Part IV consist illustrate the development of American historiography in Italy and of Canadian studies throughout Europe in the post-World War II era. They also assess the European and specifically Italian scholarly contribution to both fields of enquiry.

Part I, *Historians and History*, opens with a discussion of the challenges facing any historian during his or her historical and historiographical investigations (Ch. 1). These tensions can be summarized by two simple yet provocative questions: why do we study the past, and how do we connect it to our present times? Codignola places his tentative answers to such tricky questions, so common among historians, in the framework of a rigorous methodological analysis.<sup>1</sup>

This is followed by an examination of Filippo Mazzei, an eclectic Tuscan who lived, in various capacities, in several western countries (Ch. 2). Mazzei's entrepreneurial attitude, his good relationships with American authors and politicians Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, and his experience as traveller, emigrant, and politician, led to a fascinating correspondence that has justly attracted the attention of many historians.<sup>2</sup> According to United States historian Jack P.

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<sup>1</sup> For two landmark reflections on this topic, see Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire, ou métier d'historien* (Paris: Cahiers des Annales, 1949); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>2</sup> Edoardo Tortarolo, *Illuminismo e rivoluzioni: biografia politica di Filippo Mazzei* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1986); Guido Gerosa, *Il fiorentino che fece l'America: vita e avventure di Filippo Mazzei, 1730-1816* (Milano: SugarCo, 1990); Giovanni

Greene, Mazzei acted a "cultural broker who, through his movements, contributed to the transfer of knowledge between North America and Europe."<sup>3</sup> Codignola's assessment of this major collection explains its significance to North American and European history, and discusses the best methods for its editing and publication.

The second witness to the so-called "Age of Revolutions" that Codignola examines is Carlo Botta, a surgeon and essayist from Piedmont who published in 1809 a massive account of the history of the American War of Independence (Ch. 3). His lengthy account, republished in 2010, shows that he was a strong supporter of the ideals of the American Revolution. According to Codignola, far from being a dull and old-fashioned narrative account, Botta's viewpoint is well in line with the interpretive framework shared by most popular accounts of the American Revolution.

Over a century after Botta's reflections on the American War of Independence, English politician and author Winston L.S. Churchill shared Botta's fascination with English political developments in his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (Ch. 4). Originally published between 1956 and 1958, this long survey spans the first century B.C. to the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Boer War. Codignola believes that, despite its excessive attention to military events and its neglect of the lives of ordinary people, Churchill's work still impresses the

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Pizzorusso, "Dal viaggiatore all'emigrante: 'mestieri' italiani nelle Americhe, 1492-1876," *Il Velcro* 36, no. 1-2 (1992): 9-33; Gianni Fazzini, *Il Gentiluomo dei Tre Mondi: le avventure di Filippo Mazzei* (Roma: Alberto Gaffi Editore, 2008); Luca Codignola, "Le prime relazioni tra il Nord America e la penisola italiana, 1750-1830: ciò che ancora non sappiamo," in *Flussi migratori e accoglienza tra storia e politiche di gestione*, ed. Pia G. Celozzi Baldelli and Elena Baldassarri (Roma: Aracne editrice, 2009), 25-38; Codignola, "Relations between North America and the Italian Peninsula, 1763-1799: Tuscany, Genoa and Naples," in *Rough Waters. American Involvement in the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Silvia Marzagalli, James R. Sofka, and John J. McCusker (St. John's, Nfld.: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2010): 25-42.

<sup>3</sup> Jack P. Greene, "Philip Mazzei: Cultural Broker in America and Europe in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolutions," in *Fra Toscana e Stati Uniti. Il discorso politico nell'età della costituzione Americana*, ed. Anna Maria Martellone and Elisabetta Vezzosi (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 89-110.

twenty-first-century reader for its view that the history of the English nation unfolded thanks to the choices of a small group of enlightened leaders who, just like the author of the book, slowly transformed an isolated island into a world empire.<sup>4</sup>

Another book that stood the test of time is *America at 1750*, a book by Richard Hofstadter, first published in 1971 (Ch. 5). On account of the author's premature death, the incomplete book was published to share the author's findings and interpretations. In spite of this limitation, Hofstadter's book vividly reconstructs the economic development, organization, everyday life and ordeals of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American colonists. A seminal aspect of Hofstadter's book, highlighted by Codignola in his introduction to the Italian edition of *America at 1750* (1983), is the contradictory relationship between Hofstadter's optimistic vision of American society and the tragic events he describes so well.

Codignola's appreciation of classic books continues with William J. Eccles, the leading English-Canadian historian of New France, who was Codignola's thesis director at the University of Toronto in the early 1970s (Ch. 7).<sup>5</sup> This chapter examines a new edition of *Frontenac. The Courtier Governor*, Eccles's first book (1959), republished in 2003 with an introduction by Peter N. Moogk, another of Eccles's students and a New France specialist himself. According to Codignola, despite the biography's age, Eccles's revisionist analysis of Louis de Buade, *comte de Frontenac*, a governor general of New France and until then the hero of historical literature both in French

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<sup>4</sup> On the origin of the British Empire, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1992), Nicholas P. Canny, "The Origins of Empire: An Introduction," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, I: *The Origins of Empire. British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1-33; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Anthony Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Codignola's Master thesis was published as a book as Codignola, *Guerra e guerriglia nell'America coloniale. Robert Rogers e la Guerra dei Sette Anni, 1754-1760* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1977).

and in English, is a fine example of how a new and systematic reading of the primary sources makes new interpretations possible.

His participation in a *festschrift* honouring the memory of another Canadian historian, Pierre Savard, provides Codignola with an opportunity to review and assess Savard's personal and scholarly relationship with Italy (Ch. 8). Savard, a cultural historian, was Codignola's immediate predecessor as President of the International Council for Canadian Studies (1983-5) and a driving force in the development of Canadian studies around the world. Codignola uses Savard's deep and passionate interest in Italy and Italian culture as an avenue to explain the intellectual attraction of French Canadian travellers towards the Italian peninsula and the Eternal City of Rome since the early nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Part I ends with an examination of two prominent representatives of American historiography in Italy, Raimondo Luraghi and Giorgio Spini. Luraghi, a universally acknowledged specialist in the American Civil War, was very supportive of Codignola's early interests in the French America. The chapter on Luraghi (Ch. 6) is notable as an example of how a former student can read his mentor's writings with a critical eye, while at the same time objectively recognizing the value of his scholarly contribution. Indeed Codignola examines the pre-1789 section of Luraghi's *Gli Stati Uniti*, a long survey published in 1974 and a significant editorial success, to explain how Luraghi's interpretation of American history, based as it was on a rigid Marxist framework, created a barrier that prevented him from fully appreciating his own arguments. By contrast, the chapter on Spini (Ch. 9), who also influenced Codignola's early career, is a subjective account of the professional and personal experience through which Spini developed his passionate interest in the Puritans of New England

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<sup>6</sup> For a detailed analysis of the French-Canadian travellers who went to Rome see Matteo Sanfilippo, *Dal Québec alla Città Eterna. Viaggiatori franco-canadesi a Roma* (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 2005). For the experience of an American traveller in Rome, see Codignola, "Francis Parkman's Roman Experience (1844)," *Quaderni d'italianistica. Official Journal of the Canadian Society for Italian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2005): 77-100.

and in the American New Left. These two key themes of Spini's scholarly production on North America, Codignola explains, were intimately linked to his own religious faith, wartime experience, and early work on the British world and English liberties.

Part II, *Catholic Expansion*, focuses on the role and development of the Catholic Church in North America and on missionary activity. The opening chapter (Ch. 10) is a long overview of the sources related to the history of the Catholic Church in Canada preserved in Roman archives, that Codignola has regularly and thoroughly exploited since 1975. (This overview was co-authored by Matteo Sanfilippo, who was mainly responsible for the period after 1846.) Rather than a simple list of archival series, this chapter is a fascinating account of how Roman sources have been known, catalogued, and used, starting from the first historical pioneers at the end of nineteenth century until the beginning of the ambitious research projects that began in the second half the 1960s.

The next chapter (Ch. 11) introduces the reader to battlefield of Jesuit sources, specifically *The Jesuit Relations*, edited by American historian Reuben G. Thwaites, and *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, compiled and edited by Canadian historian Lucien Campeau, SJ. These two seminal collections of documents allow historians to study the Society's main activity in North America without consulting the original manuscript documentation. Through a painstaking examination and comparison, Codignola demonstrates how Campeau's *Monumenta* is far superior to Thwaites's edition because of Campeau's accuracy and precision in transcribing and reproducing the Jesuit relations, and especially thanks to his thorough inclusion of all related documentation. Unfortunately Campeau has not managed to move beyond the early period (1602-61), so that we cannot as yet relegate Thwaites's edition of the Jesuit relations to the shelves of outdated works.

The "battle" between Thwaites and Campeau serves as natural prelude to two chapters, both of them originally written as lengthy book reviews, focusing on Jesuit activity in Canada. The first one concerns Canadian historian Guy Laflèche's fifth volume (1995) of a



series titled *Les saints martyrs canadiens* (1988-95) (Ch. 12). In Codignola's view, despite his thorough research Laflèche's examination of the Jesuits is strongly and negatively affected by his own personal prejudice against Campeau – and more broadly against the Society of Jesus. The second review examines the attempt of Li Shenwen, a Canadian historian of Chinese origin, to compare Jesuit activities in New France and in China, a promising field of enquiry that has for far too long awaited any serious treatment (Ch. 13). Codignola shows that Li's comparison is flawed by his misuse of primary sources and a poor knowledge of the historiography related to New France. Unfortunately, Li's book does not measure up to the potential that could be uncovered in comparing the Society's missionary efforts in different places. Luke Clossey's *Salvation and Globalization* (2008) or Takao Abe's *Jesuit Mission to New France* (2011), comparing New France to Japan, have more recently provided far better examples of how to begin extensive global comparisons.<sup>7</sup>

Shortcomings in the use of primary sources and historical contextualizations also affect the work of Québec literary critic Pauline Dubé on the Franciscan Recollets, Canadians Lawrence A. Desmond (a medievalist) and Donna M. Norell (a literary critic) on the Dominican priest, Charles Dominic French, and French ethnohistorian Joëlle Rostkowski's examination of the conversion process among the sixteenth-century Pueblos and the nineteenth-century Sioux. According to Codignola, who has reviewed all three books, the Desmond and Norell book on French (Ch. 16) is the weakest, because the authors' main argument, French's supposed innocence in regard to the accusations of ecclesiastical and personal misbehaviour that had been waged against him, mainly relies on circumstantial evidence almost invariably produced by one side only of the dispute, and on a flawed document allegedly written by French himself. Similarly, Dubé (Ch. 14) only espouses one side of the

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<sup>7</sup> Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Takao Abe, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

dispute involving Governor Frontenac and the Recollets, and relies on dated secondary literature. Similar flaws, albeit of minor significance, are present in Rostkowski's study, who is much more balanced in the treatment of her main thesis, that is, the fact that a general spread of Christianity among aboriginal peoples did not imply outright conversion (Ch. 19).

Codignola's review of scholarship does not only highlight flaws. Part II also celebrates the strengths of some underrated historical works, and encourages us to place them in their historiographical context. For example, Codignola shows how *Aventuries de la Mission*, by Henry Koren, CSSp (Ch. 15), a somewhat hagiographical account of the Spiritan missionaries in the Americas, should be valued for its foray into new primary research. Likewise, Codignola applauds Eccles's interpretation of the role of the Catholic Church in New France (Ch. 17) for its original approach that avoided the providential view of most French-Canadian historians and the whiggish interpretation of the English-speaking ones. As for more recent historiography, Codignola admires Canadian historians Terrence M. Murphy and Roberto Perin's *Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Ch. 18), an innovative and intensive treatment of a traditional topic that has not been surpassed to this day. Codignola suggests that this volume should serve as a model for a similar study of the United States.

Part III, *European Expansion and the Atlantic World*, engages with the enduring historiographical debates on European expansion into the Atlantic world, or Atlantic history, as this field of investigation is now commonly described. In a short essay (Ch. 20), originally published side by side with another short essay by Atlantic historian John G. Reid, Codignola elaborates on an idea that had characterized his work at least since the early 1980s – well before Atlantic history had become fashionable.<sup>8</sup> According to him, from the late fifteenth

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<sup>8</sup> Codignola, "A World yet to be Conquered. Pacifique de Provins and the Atlantic World, 1629-1648," in *Canada ieri e oggi. Atti del 6° Convegno Internazionale di Studi Canadesi. Selva di Fasano, 27-31 marzo 1985*, III: *Sezione storica e geografica*, ed. Codignola and Raimondo Luraghi (Fasano: Schena, 1986), 59-84;

century to the late eighteenth century across the vast geographic area of the Atlantic Ocean small groups of people in constant contact with each other created specialized networks that influenced both the European and North American shores.

In the past twenty years or so the historiography of European expansion has been progressively transformed by the rise of Atlantic history. American historians Greene and Philip D. Morgan argue that this new paradigm emphasizes one of the most important developments of the early modern era, that is, the emergence and growth, from the fifteenth century onwards, of the Atlantic basin as "a site for demographic, economic, social, cultural, and other forms of exchange among and within the four continents surrounding the Atlantic Ocean."<sup>9</sup> A growing number of English-speaking historians

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Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649* (Kingston, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Codignola, "The Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection in an Age of Revolutions, 1760-1820," in *Le Canada et la Révolution française. Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> colloque du CIEC. 29, 30, 31 octobre 1987*, ed. Pierre H. Boulle and Richard A. Lebrun (Montréal: Centre interuniversitaire d'Etudes européennes/Interuniversity Centre for European Studies, 1989), 115-132; Codignola, "Pacifique de Provins and the Capuchin Network in Africa and America," in *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society. Martinique and Guadeloupe, May 1989/Actes du Quinzième Colloque de la Société d'histoire coloniale française. Martinique et Guadeloupe Mai 1989*, ed. Patricia Galloway and Philip P. Boucher (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), 46-60; Codignola, "Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in English North America, 1610-58. A Comparative Assessment," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies* 65 (1999): 107-124; Codignola, "Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58," *The Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (December 1999): 539-584; Codignola, "Gli imprenditori livornesi Filippo e Antonio Filicchi e il Nord America (1785-1806)," in *Storia e attualità della presenza degli Stati Uniti a Livorno e in Toscana. Atti del Convegno. Livorno 4-5-6 aprile 2002*, ed. Paolo Castignoli, Luigi Donolo, and Algerina Neri (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, Università di Pisa, 2003), 43-66.

<sup>9</sup> Philip D. Morgan and Greene, "Introduction: The Present State of Atlantic History," in *Atlantic History. A Critical Appraisal*, ed. Greene and Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3. The bibliography on Atlantic history is boundless. For an overview on the genesis and application of this concept, see Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and*

have applied the notion of Atlantic history to their own geographical area or chronological framework. In his review (Ch. 21) of American historian Carla Gardina Pestana's *English Atlantic in an Age of Revolutions* (2004), Codignola observes that Pestana draws from both British imperial history and the more trendy Atlantic history. He maintains, however, that the impressive level of scholarship is much more important than the historiographical label one may attach to the book.

Among the many geographical areas touched by Atlantic history, Newfoundland has been favoured by at least two innovative studies: Peter E. Pope's *Fish into Wine* (2004) and Jerry Bannister's *Rule of the Admirals* (2003). In Codignola's view, as expressed in two lengthy reviews (Ch. 22 and Ch. 23), these extensively researched books reconstruct the cultural, economic, and legislative system of Newfoundland, illustrating its significance as one of the key settlements within the North Atlantic system. Whereas Bannister's analysis is most impressive in its method of reconstructing legal practice, Pope's mature analysis shows the failings of past

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*Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Canny, *Kingdom and Colony. Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988); Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); David J. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); John H. Elliott, "Afterword. Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 233-249; Canny, "Atlantic History, 1492-1700: Scope, Sources, and Methods," in *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580-1830*, ed. Horst Pietschmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 55-64; Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History. Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2005); Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 741-757; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007); *Major Problems in Atlantic History. Documents and Essays*, ed. Games and Adam Rothman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008).

historiography in appreciating network mechanisms and the significance of non-economic motivations in shaping the early colonists' lives and deeds.

The seemingly antiquated topic of piracy, revived in the late 1980s by American historian Marcus B. Rediker, is at the centre of Codignola's examination of *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers* (1678) (Ch. 25). Published first in Dutch and then in a number of other languages, this book, allegedly written by French buccaneer Alexandre-Olivier Exquemelin, is a seminal primary source for any investigation on the history of piracy in the seventeenth-century Caribbean. Yet the variety of its editions and the absence of firm information about its author have always cast legitimate doubts on its authenticity and reliability as a primary source. A new edition of Exquemelin's book (2005) was produced by Réal Ouellet, a literary critic and renowned specialist in editing key published accounts of French expansion into the Americas<sup>10</sup>, in cooperation with Patrick-André Villiers, a French maritime historian. According to Codignola, this new edition of *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers* clarifies several outstanding questions, thus setting the agenda for future investigations.

A crucial consequence of European expansion into North America has been the contact between aboriginal peoples and European newcomers. In the last two decades, the historiography of the contact period has been enriched by innovative examinations of the role of aboriginal women. Carol Devens Green-Ramirez's *Countering Colonization* (1992) is one of these groundbreaking books (Ch. 21). Read together with Karen L. Anderson's *Chain Her by One Foot* (1991) – a less satisfying interpretation – *Countering Colonization* shows how aboriginal men and women, who had equal position within

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<sup>10</sup> Gabriel Sagard, OFM Rec, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, ed. Réal Ouellet and Jack Warwick (Montréal: Leméac, 1990); Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Ouellet and Alain Beaulieu (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1990); Baron de Lahontan, *Dialogues avec un sauvage, suivi de Gueudeville-Lahontan; Conversations de l'auteur avec Adario, sauvage distingué*, ed. Ouellet (Montréal: Lux Editeur, 2010).

their societies, reacted differently to Europeans.<sup>11</sup> According to Codignola, in spite of Devens's limited knowledge of the Jesuit literature and lack of firm evidence, she manages to write a honest and well-balanced case explaining how Jesuits reshaped gendered relations and the status of women in Great Lakes aboriginal societies.

Part III closes with an examination of two large-scale treatments of major historiographical issues in the history of French Canada that are directly related to the ebb and flow of the historiography of European expansion in North America. In the first case, the study of the seigneurial regime of New France has been revived in 2008 through the work of Sanfilippo, an Italian historian who was one of Codignola's doctoral students (Ch. 26). Sanfilippo's *Dalla Francia al Nuovo Mondo* (2008), a full revision of his 1989 doctoral dissertation, must be read together with his *Il feudalesimo nella valle del San Lorenzo* (2008), an extensive overview of the historiographical debate. In his lengthy and appreciative assessment of Sanfilippo's books, Codignola intimates that one of their several merits is to demonstrate the similarity between the seigneurial system of New France and the feudal system in France. The second case is the long survey of the New France's early days, from 1598 to 1613, *La France de Henri IV*, written by French historian Éric Thierry (2008). In Codignola's opinion (Ch. 27), Thierry follows the path devised almost half a century earlier by Canadian historian Marcel Trudel, the acknowledged authority in the field of early French expansion into Canada, adding details, but no original interpretation.

Part IV, *American, Canadian, and Other Useful Studies*, provides a long-term overview and assessment of Americanist historiography in Italy and of international Canadianist studies in Europe. The opening chapter (Ch. 28) illustrates the process through which American history was introduced and grew in the Italian academe. By employing the methods of prosopography, Codignola traces this development from the end of World War II until 1978, a year coinciding with the

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<sup>11</sup> For a more recent study on this topic, see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

publication of the proceedings of a major conference held in 1976 celebrating the bicentennial of the American Revolution. He identifies and profiles three schools of thought, namely, the Contribution School, the Liberal School, and the Leftist School. During the thirty-three years considered, these paradigms developed their own theories and approaches to American history, most often in sharp contrast with each other. Rather pessimistically, Codignola maintains that these early years show that, for their own faults and with very few exceptions, none of the three schools succeeded in making their way into American historiography at the international level.

The last two chapters move into international Canadian studies, a field in which Codignola was one of the early protagonists, especially as President of the International Council for Canadian Studies from 1985 to 1987. In both chapters he employs the same prosopographical methods used for his assessment of Americanist historiography. First, he vividly describes the birth and growth of the interest in Canada as a subject of academic research in Europe from 1955 until 1990 (Ch. 29). Before the early 1970s only a few isolated European scholars were interested in Canada. The establishment of associations of Canadian studies signalled the growth of a new interest that eventually enhanced knowledge of Canadian issues throughout most of Europe. A regional approach to the study of Canada, Codignola believes, was often, but not always, a motivation for European scholars.

The concluding chapter provides an insider's view of the first decade (1981-91) of the inner workings of the International Council for Canadian Studies (Ch. 30). This was the international bureaucratic structure that coordinated the networking of existing Canadianists around the world and provided the means to assist the growth of Canadian studies in "new" nations. This provocative chapter provides a *summa* of the first decade of Canadianist activities by describing the achievements, as well as the divergences, the alliances, and the role played by the individual presidents, administrators, and bureaucrats from Canada's Department of External Affairs.

The key themes selected for this collection confront the reader with two crucial issues strictly connected to each other. One issue is how to

describe Dr. Codignola's point of view, that is, how to describe him with regard to the schools of thought and the interpretations examined in his own work. The second issue is whether Dr. Codignola should be considered primarily as a North American scholar, or a European scholar, or a combination of both. The answer to these questions is that Dr. Codignola is first of all an Atlanticist *ante litteram*, who has preceded the explosion of that now trendy field of Atlantic history that started off in the second half of the 1990s. The chapter on the Roman archives and their exploitation (Ch. 10) is possibly the clearest example of the way in which, since the mid-1970s, he had already identified a "Roman" view of European expansion and the Atlantic world. This view has provided a new perspective to a scholarly literature that until then had almost exclusively focused on the activities of the British, the Dutch, the French, the Portuguese and the Spanish.

No less than thirty-six years or so have gone by between Richard S. Dunn's *Sugar and Slaves* (1972) and Kenneth G. Davies's *North Atlantic World* (1974)<sup>12</sup>, the two pioneering books in this area, and *Atlantic History*, the most recent collective assessment edited by Greene and Morgan (2009). The Roman perspective provided by Dr. Codignola has thus widened the borders of Atlantic history and has placed the development of the Catholic Church in North America within a broader context. The Catholic presence in the North Atlantic world, briefly touched upon in Part II of this volume, will be the subject of his next book.

*Matteo Binasco*

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<sup>12</sup> Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972); Kenneth G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1974).



# I.

## HISTORIANS AND HISTORY



# 1. BAVARDAGE INTELLECTUEL, CONNAISSANCE DU CHAMP, MÉMOIRE POUR L'AVENIR : CONTRADICTIONS D'UN HISTORIEN

L'historien cherche à connaître, à comprendre et à expliquer le passé dans toute sa complexité. Pour en arriver là, il peut étudier les mentalités, les lois économiques, les valeurs, les images, les liens entre personnes, etc., bref, toutes les raisons du comportement humain dans le passé. À mon avis, l'effort de l'historien consiste surtout à examiner ce passé à travers les yeux des gens du passé, tout en tirant profit de sa distance des événements et du fait qu'il connaît leur avenir au préalable. L'historien doit surtout connaître les options véritables des gens du passé, parfois pour porter un jugement sur les décisions prises, et toujours pour raconter et expliquer comment ces mêmes décisions ont contribué à modifier leurs vies individuelles et collectives. Par exemple, Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) n'aurait pas pu se considérer inférieur aux Algonquins, non plus que Napoléon (1769-1821) aurait pu utiliser l'aviation à Waterloo en 1815. Tout simplement, ces options, mentales et technologiques, n'existaient pas. D'autre part, il est légitime de se demander si la décision prise par le président américain Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) d'utiliser la bombe atomique au Japon en août 1945 était justifiée, ou si l'était celle du premier ministre canadien Pierre Elliott Trudeau (1919-2000) d'appliquer la *Loi des mesures de guerre* en octobre 1970. En effet, ils auraient pu faire autrement<sup>1</sup>.

En outre, bien que les options des hommes et des femmes du passé changent d'une génération à l'autre, le rapport entre attentes et résultats reste souvent le même. Par exemple, j'avais toujours imaginé que,

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<sup>1</sup> Ce chapitre est une version remaniée d'une communication présentée au Deuxième séminaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en Histoire et économie politique du Québec contemporain, "Écrire l'histoire du Québec et du Canada. Enjeux narratifs et interprétatifs" (Québec, 27 février 2004). Le titulaire de la Chaire est Jocelyn Létourneau, de Université Laval.

pendant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les gens se soient plongés avec enthousiasme dans la révolution technologique qui permettait une réduction importante des temps de voyage. Mais voici, en 1822, un petit group d'Ursulines des Trois-Rivières qui devait se joindre à leur communauté à la Nouvelle-Orléans. Les pauvres soeurs trouvèrent le passage par *steamboat* du Lake Champlain à New York si "pénible", à cause entre autre du "bruit continu de la machinerie", pour ne rien dire de "la foule incommode des passagers de toutes les couleurs & de presque toutes les nations ... un peu de mal de mer & ... l'insomnie"<sup>2</sup>, qu'on leur suggéra d'abandonner le *steamship* et de se servir du paquebot à voile pour se rendre en Louisiane. Le voyage était plus long, mais elles auraient joui d'un billet bien moins cher, tout inclus, sauf vin et service de porteur, et surtout d'une chambre privée<sup>3</sup>. L'enthousiasme pour la nouveauté des voyages rapides, donc, ne dura que l'espace d'un matin. La barre des attentes fut positionnée plus haut et les gens recommencèrent immédiatement à se plaindre. Les options avaient changé, mais le cadre de référence était resté le même.

En étudiant le passé, l'historien s'aperçoit de plus en plus que celui-ci demeure presque inexplicable, parfois inconnaissable et toujours imprévisible. Ce sont les non-professionnels, les gens que vous rencontrez dans l'autobus, chez des amis, dans la salle d'attente du dentiste, qui vous expliquent les *véritables causes et effets* des événements du passé, souvent tout en y ajoutant leurs interprétations de la politique courante et même les prévisions sur l'avenir de la ville, du pays, du monde. Les opinions des historiens professionnels sont d'habitude bien moins tranchées quant au rapport entre causes et effets, bien que, surtout au début de leur recherche, ils nourrissent aussi l'illusion d'avoir tout compris, tout mis en ordre, tout expliqué.

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<sup>2</sup> Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec (AAQ), 7 CM, I, 114, ff. 1rv-2rv, Thomas Maguire à Joseph-Octave Plessis, New York, 12 septembre 1822.

<sup>3</sup> AAQ, 7 CM, I, 110, ff. 1rv-2rv, Louis-Guillaume-Valentin Dubourg à Plessis, St. Louis, 29 juillet 1822; AAQ, 7 CM, I, 113, ff. 1rv, Lewis Willcocks à Philippe Janvier, New York, 11 septembre 1822; AAQ, 7 CM, I, 116, ff. 1rv, Philippe Janvier à [Plessis], Albany, 21 septembre 1822; AAQ, 7 CM, I, 118, ff. 1rv, Janvier à [Plessis], Albany, 2 octobre 1822.

Il s'agit pourtant d'une illusion profonde, car les variables du passé sont infinies, tout comme les participants aux événements. Ces regroupements dits "masses", qui suivent les "lois de l'histoire" et qui sont si chers aux historiens marxistes aussi bien qu'aux historiens de l'école dite *whig* et, plus récemment, aux lecteurs des sondages d'opinion, n'existent que dans les pages des livres et des journaux. En effet, tout regroupement se compose d'individus qui agissent, pensent, décident, se trompent, changent d'opinion. On est à la fois employé, francophone, père, sportif, blond, male, obèse, libéral, nord-américain, consommateur, artiste, catholique et historien. Par ailleurs, combien de mes lecteurs accepteraient de lâcher leur rôle personnel en tant qu'individu, pour se fondre à un plus vaste regroupement, comme une petite outarde qui suit les milliers de ses compagnons dans leurs migrations saisonnières, privée de choix véritables et qui ne s'aperçoit jamais de sa propre individualité ? Sans doute, gardons-nous tous et toutes l'idée, ou au moins l'illusion, de l'indépendance de nos décisions, à court ainsi qu'à long terme. Pourquoi donc ne pas attribuer aux gens du passé la même possibilité de penser et d'agir de façon indépendante ? Voici, par exemple, le cas de migrations humaines. Jusqu'à récemment, nous acceptions cette image d'outardes humaines, masses acéphales destinées à se transférer d'une partie à l'autre du globe pour des causes structurelles qui les dépassent entièrement. Pourtant, les historiens sont maintenant beaucoup plus amenés à revoir l'histoire de ces masses en mouvement comme celle des individus qui les composent. Il s'agissait de gens qui continuaient à garder une possibilité de choix même dans les conditions les plus pénibles, telles que celles des esclaves de provenance africaine.

En outre, si existaient réellement de véritables lois qui expliquent le passé, si donc l'historiographie était une "science" comme on l'a parfois soutenu, nous serions en mesure de prévoir l'avenir. Cependant, à ma connaissance, personne n'a encore été capable de le faire. Les lois du développement historique, si elles existent comme pour les sciences exactes, nous sont encore inconnues. Pour ce qui est du présent, le rapport entre cause et effet de ce qui se déroule sous nos yeux n'est pas évident non plus. Encore une fois, les variables sont

infinies, la documentation impossible à connaître. Comment expliquer autrement les opinions différentes, les allégeances politiques variables, les témoignages discordants portés en cour de justice et même les raisons d'un mariage ou d'un divorce ? L'énorme variété des explications du présent nous amène à la conclusion que, même si nous disposions de la possibilité de nous plonger dans un certain moment du passé dont nous aimerions connaître le "véritable déroulement", disons sur les Plaines d'Abraham le 13 septembre 1759, cette présence physique ne nous aiderait que très peu dans notre illusion d'omnipotence d'historien.

Cependant, il ne faut pas exagérer en remplaçant l'illusion d'omnipotence par le sentiment d'impuissance. J'oserais même dire que les historiens, tout avec leur connaissance défectueuse, connaissent mieux le passé que les gens qui sont en train de le vivre en tant que leur présent. C'est ce qu'écrit le romancier italien Umberto Eco dans une apostille à son *Nom de la Rose* : "Je ne connais le présent que par mon écran de télévision, tandis que j'ai une connaissance directe du Moyen Âge"<sup>4</sup>. Plusieurs événements ou faits du passé sont vérifiables – une date de naissance ou de mort, un mariage, un voyage, une rencontre, une lettre, une guerre, une maladie, la publication d'un livre, le prix des légumes, etc. Cette constatation fait partie du véritable abécédaire du métier de l'historien. Étant donnés l'existence d'une documentation pertinente et d'un contexte logique, nous sommes en mesure d'affirmer, incontestablement, qu'un événement a effectivement eu lieu. Selon l'interprétation positiviste de l'histoire, le devoir de l'historien serait tout simplement celui de repérer cette documentation et de la recomposer en séquences logiques. La variable marxiste, dans toutes ses formes, ajoute à l'interprétation positiviste sa propre vision morale et téléologique d'une humanité en marche vers une société idéale privée de conflits sociaux.

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<sup>4</sup> Umberto Eco, *Il nome della rosa* (Milano: Bompiani, 1989), 511 ("il presente lo conosco solo attraverso lo schermo televisivo, mentre del Medio Evo ho una conoscenza diretta"). Je dois cette citation à Kenneth Landry, de l'Université Laval, car il s'agit d'une addition qui n'était pas dans l'édition originale publiée en 1980.

D'un côté, donc, une vision négative, qui affirme que le passé, le présent et l'avenir sont trop complexes pour être connus, compris et expliqués. De l'autre, une vision positive, voire positiviste, qui soutient le contraire. Mais même dans ce dernier cas, plusieurs questions d'envergure restent ouvertes. Par exemple, penchons-nous sur l'histoire de l'expansion européenne et sur la littérature de voyage. Dans un petit livre à grand succès, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* (1970), l'historien britannique John H. Elliott a bien démontré le danger de trop croire aux descriptions des voyageurs européens au Nouveau Monde, car, selon lui, ceux-ci étaient aveuglés par leurs préjugés : "Even where Europeans in the New World had the desire to look, and the eyes to see, there is no guarantee that the image which presented itself to them – whether of peoples or of places – necessarily accorded with the reality. Tradition, experience and expectation were the determinants of vision ... It is hard to escape the impression that sixteenth-century Europeans ... all too often saw what they expected to see"<sup>5</sup>. Cette mise en garde de Elliott est à l'origine de l'application à l'historiographie de théories venant des milieux sémiotiques et littéraires, plus tard regroupées sous l'étiquette de déconstructionnisme et de post-colonialisme. En privilégiant la représentation au lieu de la réalité, les partisans de ces théories remettent en question toute possibilité de reconstruction événementielle. Curieusement, c'est un critique littéraire, le britannique Philip Edwards, qui nous aide à replacer la question de la vérité historique de la littérature de voyage dans les paramètres du sens commun. Bien qu'il sera toujours impossible de connaître "what actually happened", Edwards écrit que notre triangle interprétatif consistera toujours en trois points : le narrateur, l'événement et le lecteur. Il affirme par conséquent que "[t]hese voyages did happen, outside the narratives that mediate them to us. But (practically) nothing exists except as it is perceived, and nearly four hundred years afterwards nothing is perceived except as it

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<sup>5</sup> John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 21.

is communicated". Voici la conclusion de Edwards : "Historical truth may be unknowable, but there is such a thing as falsehood"<sup>6</sup>.

Confronté à l'impossibilité de recomposer tous les documents qui lui permettraient de connaître les événements du passé, l'historien se rend compte que ces documents sont souvent décevants et trompeurs. De plus, il sait que chaque génération d'historiens et d'historiennes montre une tendance préoccupante à tout réinterpréter et à rejeter les conclusions et même les pièces justificatives des prédécesseurs. Alors, pourquoi donc s'occuper d'histoire ? Pourquoi chercher à connaître, à comprendre et, encore plus, à expliquer, le passé ? Je n'ai aucune intention de m'embarquer dans une discussion sur la philosophie de l'histoire. Je n'ai jamais eu aucun penchant pour la philosophie. D'ailleurs, mon curriculum vitae et la liste de mes publications montrent bien que je me considère un artisan de la profession historique, un chercheur qui se trouve à son aise lorsqu'il est entouré de sources primaires ; je suis celui qui aime le travail d'investigation qui m'oblige à fouiller les archives à la recherche de documents nouveaux et je trouve mon plaisir à lire les lettres et les écrits des autres.

### *Premier ressort : curiosité*

En effet, je n'ai pas honte d'affirmer que, comme bien de mes semblables, je suis curieux des affaires des autres et, comme plusieurs historiens et historiennes, s'éprouve un sentiment de plaisir à faire revivre les morts, ou du moins, leurs écrits. Par exemple, j'ai lu avec passion, parfois avec tristesse, la correspondance de deux prêtres, Denis Chaumont (1752-1819) et Denis Boiret (1734-1814), agents de l'évêque de Québec respectivement à Londres et à Rome à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ils sont des survivants de la

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<sup>6</sup> *Last Voyages. Cavendish, Hudson, Raleigh: The Original Narratives*, ed. Philip Edwards (New York : The Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1988), 9, 14. Voir mon compte rendu dans *The International History Review* 13, no. 2 (May 1991) : 348-350.



Révolution française. Ils ont échappé aux massacres parisiens et ils sont atterrés par la violence et par la rapidité des changements radicaux du monde sous leurs yeux. Leurs lettres nous décrivent "la plus vive douleur" causée par "une grande défection de la foi en Europe, sans même en excepter la capitale du monde chrétien", un pape "bien persecuté [*sic*] par les impies et autres qui se disent Royaumes Catholiques"<sup>7</sup>, aussi bien que par "l'enfer ... déchaîné" qui "fait tous ses efforts pour anéantir l'Eglise"<sup>8</sup>. Leurs lettres nous disent aussi leur amitié de vingt ans,<sup>9</sup> la "grande difficulté pour écrire" qui force Chaumont "d'être laconique"<sup>10</sup>, de même que la vieillesse de Boiret, qui "ne peut plus écrire ... et tombe beaucoup"<sup>11</sup>. Lorsque leur correspondance se termine, nous avons l'impression d'avoir perdu des amis. Voici aussi leur compagnon, François-Emmanuel Bourret (c.1741-1807), grand vicaire à Londres, qui s'excuse auprès de son évêque à Québec de ne pas avoir bien rempli ses devoirs à cause d'une petite brûlure qui l'a obligé à se soigner pendant un mois<sup>12</sup>. Quelques semaines plus tard, la nouvelle inattendue de sa mort arrive à Londres grâce à la plume d'un autre correspondant : "[A]yant eu Le Malheur de se Laisser tomber de L'eau bouillante sur La jambe ... il se fit une plaie considérable ... La suppuration étoit abondante et on prit Le moyen de L'arrêter sans La précaution d'un Cautier, ou d'un vessicatoire [*sic*], pour détourner le Cours des humeurs, ce qui Lui occasionna une inflammation dans Les viscères ... le progrès en furent si rapides que, Malgré tous Les soins des Médecins et des Chirurgiens, il y est enfin succombé ... à 4 heures du matin"<sup>13</sup>. Voilà un autre ami qui s'en va.

C'est en effet l'immense curiosité pour les êtres humains du passé qui amène plusieurs lecteurs vers les livres d'histoire et des centaines de chercheurs improvisés vers la recherche généalogique. Cette

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<sup>7</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 21, ff. 1rv-2rv, Denis Boiret à [Plessis], Rome, 26 juin 1801.

<sup>8</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 74, ff. 1rv-2rv, Denis Chaumont à Plessis, Londres, 1 mars 1809.

<sup>9</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 29, ff. 1rv-2rv, Chaumont à [Plessis], Londres, 24 mai 1805.

<sup>10</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 34, ff. 1rv-2rv, Chaumont à [Plessis], Londres, 23 mars 1806.

<sup>11</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 53, ff. 1rv-2rv, Chaumont à Plessis, Londres, 2 septembre 1807.

<sup>12</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 55, ff. 1rv-2rv, François Bourret à Plessis, Londres, 9 octobre 1807.

<sup>13</sup> AAQ, 90 CM, I, 57, ff. 1rv-2rv, Le Héricy à Plessis, Londres, 26 octobre 1807.

curiosité, qui porte souvent sur la petite histoire, a au moins deux retombées fort utiles. La première est l'abondance de documents que ce type de chercheurs, habituellement des non-professionnels, dévoilent et mettent à la disposition des historiens professionnels. La deuxième retombée est le fait de nous rappeler que, au bout du compte, l'objet final de l'investigation historique est toujours l'individu et non pas les masses, les classes, les ordres, les catégories, etc.

### *Deuxième ressort : comprendre et expliquer le présent*

La curiosité humaine pour la vie des autres, si proche du bavardage intellectuel, n'est pourtant pas suffisante à expliquer l'intérêt professionnel pour le passé. Il y a donc un deuxième ressort, celui du désir chez tout être humain de comprendre et d'expliquer son présent. Dans l'effort d'en retracer les origines, pour ne pas dire les causes, on est souvent obligé de regarder en arrière. Ce sentiment, à l'apparence bien raisonnable, est porteur d'une contradiction frappante qui est pourtant l'essence même du métier de l'historien. D'un côté, nous continuons à fournir à nos lecteurs des explications des faits du passé qui nous paraissent fiables, véritables et souvent définitives. De l'autre côté, nous sommes tous et toutes bien conscients du fait que les interprétations des faits du passé vieillissent précocement et que nous reléguerons bientôt sur les rayons de l'historiographie, voire de la littérature, des ouvrages qui nous avaient paru "définitifs" au moment de leur rédaction ou première lecture.

Ce processus de vieillissement précoce, nous le savons bien, affecte les ouvrages à caractère documentaire aussi bien que les grandes interprétations. Dans le premier cas, puisque la recherche est sans issue et qu'elle ne se terminera jamais, les auteurs se cachent derrière des formules de mise en garde, telles que "à la lumière des documents disponibles", pour justifier leurs conclusions parfois tentatives. En effet, les livres à caractère documentaire vieillissent au fur et à mesure que des nouveaux documents sont dévoilés. Par exemple, tous les ouvrages sur le navigateur florentin-français, Giovanni da Verrazzano

(c.1485-c.1528), ont été instamment oubliés dès que, en 1909, le véritable journal de son voyage sur les côtes américaines a été découvert<sup>14</sup>. De la même façon, l'ouverture des archives russes rendue possible par la fin du régime communiste nous a montré, d'un jour à l'autre, l'accumulation de mensonges sur lesquelles ce régime fondait son historiographie<sup>15</sup>. Il est bien vrai, par ailleurs, que les mystères à résoudre, petits ou grands, sont innombrables : où sont les véritables tombeaux de Samuel de Champlain (c.1580-1635) et de Christophe Colomb (1451-1506) ? Parlant du fondateur de Québec, a-t-il vraiment écrit le "Brief Discours ... aux Indes Occidentales"<sup>16</sup> ? Le but principal des maintes revues soi-disantes "scientifiques" de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle-début XX<sup>e</sup>, telles que le *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* de Québec<sup>17</sup> ou les *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, était surtout de résoudre ces types de mystères et ne consistait en effet qu'en une série de questions et réponses.

Dans le cas des ouvrages d'interprétation (eux aussi, évidemment, fondés sur une documentation pertinente), leur vieillissement précoce vient du fait que la réalité dans laquelle les historiens vivent est en mutation permanente. Nos intérêts changent, et avec eux, les questions que nous posons au passé que nous interrogeons. Voici, par exemple, le grand débat sur la Conquête britannique de 1759-60 et sur la société qui en suivit, qui fut un des motifs conducteurs de l'historiographie canadienne-française depuis François-Xavier Garneau (1809-66)

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<sup>14</sup> Luca Codignola, "Another Look at Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524", *Acadiensis* 29, no. 1 (Autumn/automne 1999) : 29-42, maintenant dans Codignola, *Colombo e altri navigatori* (Genova : Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2007), 115-144.

<sup>15</sup> Il est encore impossible de faire le point sur l'état de la nouvelle recherche. Pour un ouvrage non-scientifique, mais qui remonte au coeur de la question soviétique, voir Martin Amis, *Koba the Dread [Josif Stalin, 1879-1953]. Laughter and the Twenty Millions* (New York : Talk Miramax Books, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> John Carter Brown Library (Providence, RI), Codex Fr 1 [F], Brief Discours des choses plus Remarquables que Sammuel Champlain De brouage à reconneues aux Indes Occidentales Au Voiage quil en a faict en Icelles en Lannée mil vc. iiij.xx et en Lannée mil vjc. j. comme ensuit.

<sup>17</sup> Voir Fernand Harvey, "La politique culturelle d'Athanase David", *Cahiers des Dix* 57 (2003) : 49.

jusqu'à la génération des Michel Brunet (1917-85), Guy Frégault (1918-77), Maurice Séguin (1918-84), Jean Hamelin (1931-98), Marcel Trudel (1917-2011) et Fernand Ouellet. Une conquête providentielle ? Une conquête progressiste ? Ou encore, une conquête colonialiste et donc la nécessité d'une révolution nationale et de l'indépendance de la patrie québécoise ? Il s'agit d'un débat qui était intimement lié à celui sur l'émancipation de la nation canadienne-française. Une fois cette émancipation acquise, au delà des résultats des référendums de 1980 et 1995, le débat sur la Conquête a perdu son intérêt, n'étant plus "actuel"<sup>18</sup>. Les mêmes considérations sur le rapport direct entre historiographie et société peuvent se faire pour d'autres grands ouvrages de synthèse interprétative parus pendant la dernière décennie : *Africa and Africans* de John K. Thornton (1992), *People of New France* d'Allan R. Greer (1997), *American Colonies* d'Alan Taylor (2001) et *Spain's Road to Empire* de Henry Kamen (2002)<sup>19</sup>. Ce sont des livres qui n'auraient pas pu être écrits avant la décennie des années 1990, qui fut caractérisée par les grands mouvements de peuples, les sociétés multiculturelles, la fin des nationalismes et la revalorisation des principes de solidarité et de démocratie de la société occidentale. Pour retourner sur le concept que le présent est aussi inconnaissable que l'avenir, si nous étions en mesure de prévoir la durée de ces livres, nous pourrions aussi prévoir le début des nouveaux grands thèmes qui marqueront la prochaine

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<sup>18</sup> Sur l'historiographie québécoise, voir les ouvrages de Serge Gagnon, en particulier son plus récent, *Le passé composé. De Ouellet à Rudin* (Montréal : VLB Éditeur, 1999); aussi Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec* (Toronto, Buffalo, London : University of Toronto Press, 1997), traduit en français sous le titre *Faire l'histoire au Québec* (Sillery : Septentrion, 1998).

<sup>19</sup> John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992); Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto, Buffalo, London : University of Toronto Press, 1997), traduction en française *Brève histoire des peuples de la Nouvelle-France* (Montréal : Boréal, 1998); Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York, London : Viking Penguin, 2001); Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492-1763* (London : The Penguin Press, 2002).

décennie et sa génération historiographique. Mais nous ne disposons pas de cette faculté.

Le vieillissement affecte donc de façon différente les ouvrages à caractère documentaire et les grandes interprétations. Lorsque je relis mes propres publications, par exemple, je m'aperçois qu'il y en a certaines qui ont vieilli, mais que d'autres ont gardé une certaine solidité. Ce sont surtout des ouvrages liés à la documentation exploitée sur les origines de Terre-Neuve, les premières relations entre le Saint-Siège et le Canada, les voyages de découverte... Personne ne m'a démenti depuis, et la nouvelle documentation récemment dénichée par d'autres historiens paraît avoir confirmé la justesse de mes propos. De ces efforts, je garde donc la fierté d'avoir contribué avec mes propres briques au développement de l'édifice humain. Toutefois, d'autres textes parmi mes publications sont déjà prêts pour les "filiales rondes", les poubelles du savoir. Il s'agit surtout d'audacieux efforts d'interprétation tout azimut sur l'historien américain Francis Parkman (1823-93), sur les origines de la démocratie des États-Unis, sur l'historiographie tendancieuse... La leçon que j'aurais dû en tirer était celle de demeurer tout près des sources et d'éviter les grandes interprétations et conclusions.

Néanmoins, cette leçon je ne l'ai pas complètement suivie, comme, par ailleurs, ne la suivent les centaines d'historiens et historiennes qui, à la fin de leur carrière, aiment offrir "aux jeunes" leurs réflexions sur l'histoire et leurs recettes pour bien l'écrire, recettes jamais suivies par personne. En effet, les années de la maturité professionnelle m'ont stimulé à aller en sens inverse – voici donc un très long manuel d'histoire du Canada et du Québec jusqu'à la Confédération et une brève synthèse de l'histoire de l'expansion européenne dans la région atlantique du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en cours<sup>20</sup>. Je me suis donc embarqué dans ces deux entreprises bien conscient du fait que, dans l'espace d'une génération historiographique, mes grands efforts auraient été relégués aux oubliettes des rayons littéraires et que seulement les propos "politiques" de mes travaux auraient été retenus,

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<sup>20</sup> Codignola et Luigi Bruti Liberati, *Storia del Canada. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Milano : Bompiani, 1999).

c'est-à-dire les raisons d'une rédaction liée aux questions de mon présent, plutôt que les résultats de ma recherche.

J'ajoute que, dans un cas, je n'ai pas dû attendre la fin de ma génération historiographique pour être soumis à une lecture purement "politique" de mon travail. Dans un compte rendu paru en l'an 2000, une historienne attaqua férocement mon interprétation de l'histoire du Québec : "[U]n remaniement si considérable de la mémoire historique des Canadiens que l'entreprise paraît obéir à des fins politiques plus que scientifiques" ; une narration qui ne retient aucune des "dates charnières de l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France" ; un projet dont le seul but est de "ôter toute légitimité à la prétention des Canadiens français de former une nation" ; une interprétation du conflit entre Anglais et Français " profondément déplaisant" à cause de son "côté d'histoire à l'eau de rose" qui prend un "parti pris trop visible ... pour la bonne-entente"<sup>21</sup>. En tant que cible de la critique, j'avoue être en très bonne compagnie. Vous n'avez qu'à lire le compte rendu que cette même historienne a réservé, quelques mois plus tard, à *Passer à l'avenir*, le livre de l'historien québécois, Jocelyn Létourneau. Curieusement, elle introduit sa critique avec une "Mise en garde : ceci n'est pas un compte rendu. Et sans doute, je n'ai pas su rendre pleine justice à la complexité de la pensée de l'auteur". La raison de tout cela ? L'espérance de Létourneau que, au Canada, un "avenir meilleur" soit "celui où ... les rapports entre les deux collectivités principales seraient plus harmonieux"<sup>22</sup>.

Avec la curiosité, j'inscris donc au désir primordial de tout être humain de comprendre et d'expliquer son présent la deuxième raison d'être principale du métier de l'historien. Bien que leurs instruments soient différents, au fond les philosophes, les artistes et les écrivains souffrent d'une pareille motivation. C'est pour cela que d'habitude j'inscris l'histoire au domaine des sciences humaines, plutôt qu'à celui

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<sup>21</sup> Compte rendu de Lucia Ferretti dans *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 8, no. 3 (hiver 2000) : 429-433; réplique de Codignola et Bruti Liberati dans *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 8, no. 4 (printemps 2000) : 631-635.

<sup>22</sup> Compte rendu de Ferretti dans *L'Action nationale* 91, no. 1-2 (janvier-février 2001) : 191-195.

des sciences sociales. Néanmoins, mêmes les hommes de science vivent la même contradiction incontournable : viser une connaissance pleine et incontestable, tout en sachant que celle-ci s'avérera toujours partielle et contestée.

*Troisième ressort : reconstruction d'une mémoire pour l'avenir*

Ma propre motivation se trouve donc dans les deux ressorts du métier de l'historien que j'ai indiqués plus haut, c'est-à-dire la curiosité et le désir de comprendre et d'expliquer. Il existe quand même un troisième ressort qui sous-tend le travail de l'historien et qui constitue souvent la motivation la plus importante, bien qu'elle ne soit pas la mienne : la reconstruction d'une mémoire historique qui fournisse les coordonnées idéologiques d'un projet de justification ou de changement de la société. C'est bien cet aspect de la profession historique qui est au coeur de la réflexion historiographique récente de Létourneau. "[I]l n'a jamais été possible de séparer l'avenir du pays de son passé", Létourneau affirme<sup>23</sup>. Par conséquent, "[I]a fonction de l'intellectuel en général, et celle de l'historien en particulier, est ... de réintroduire, dans la matière du passé ancien et récent, un sens qui se révélera fécond pour construire l'avenir"<sup>24</sup>. Dans *Passer à l'avenir* (2000), il insiste sur le fait que son "objet central ... n'est pas tant le passé lui-même que le défi posé par sa mise en narration dans l'optique de la production d'une société meilleure"<sup>25</sup>.

Létourneau, ne l'oublions pas, connaît bien les instruments du métier. Sa thèse de doctorat porte sur le revenu au Québec des années 1960 (1985), et son premier livre est un manuel de méthodologie

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<sup>23</sup> Jocelyn Létourneau, "Passer à l'avenir. Actualiser la canadienité", dans *The Canadian Distinctiveness into the XXI<sup>st</sup> Century / La distinction canadienne au tournant du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Chad Gaffield et Karen L. Gould (Ottawa : University of Ottawa Press / Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2003), 34.

<sup>24</sup> Létourneau, "L'avenir du Canada : par rapport à quelle histoire?", *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (June 2000) : 239.

<sup>25</sup> Létourneau, *Passer à l'avenir. Histoire, mémoire, identité dans le Québec d'aujourd'hui* (Montréal : Boréal, 2000), 12.

historique (1989)<sup>26</sup>. Pourtant, dès le début des années 1990, il s'est plutôt livré à une réflexion sur l'avenir du Québec, tout en profitant de la tradition de plusieurs pays néo-latins qui garantissent à leur historiens le rôle de commentateurs de la vie politique à travers la télévision, la radio et les journaux. Gérard Bouchard, lui aussi démographe et historien rigoureux des populations rurales du Saguenay, a suivi un itinéraire semblable. En effet, avec leurs opinions divergentes, les deux historiens se situent à l'intérieur du grand débat sur l'avenir de la nation québécoise. Ceci a commencé le jour même de la Conquête britannique et a repris toute sa vigueur depuis les succès politiques du Parti Québécois. L'espérance (ou la peur) d'un nouvel avenir a amené plusieurs chercheurs à une relecture en profondeur du passé : il fallait y noter les succès et les défaites, éviter la répétition des erreurs, surtout y retrouver le fil perdu de la bonne route à suivre, la route des ancêtres, de "nos ancêtres".

Les dangers inhérents à une relecture du passé pour "passer à l'avenir", c'est-à-dire de politiser le passé, sont de toute évidence par rapport à n'importe quel pays. Selon l'historien américain David W. Noble, par exemple, depuis le début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux États-Unis les historiens ont joué le rôle de philosophes publiques et ont contribué à fournir les pièces justificatives à l'exceptionnalisme américain, fondé sur le concept de "timeless harmony of the real America and the intrusion of artificial and alien patterns from abroad"<sup>27</sup>. Létourneau lui-même est bien conscient de ces dangers et prend ses précautions : "En aucun cas la narration historique doit-elle prendre la forme d'une

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<sup>26</sup> Létourneau, "Accumulation, régulation et sécurité du revenu au Québec au début des années 1960" (Thèse de doctorat, Université Laval, 1985); *Le coffre à outils du chercheur débutant. Guide d'initiation au travail intellectuel*, ed. Létourneau (Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> David W. Noble, *Historians against History : The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 4. Noble lui-même, influencé par le climat instable des années 1960, il visait l'avenir de son pays. Dans la conclusion de son livre, il se demandait comment le peuple américain, prisonnier de sa propre idéologie exceptionnaliste, aurait pu affronter "the massive problems of a revolutionary society at home and abroad" (178).



politique identitaire menée rétrospectivement. L'histoire ... n'est pas une question d'équité, mais de rigueur. On ne peut décliner le passé au présent"<sup>28</sup>. "En tant qu'intellectuel", continue Létourneau, "j'avouerai n'avoir qu'une patrie : celle de la pensée responsable ... avoir une ambition unique : celle de rechercher ... ces mots qui rendent aussi justement que possible le passé et l'offrent en héritage aux descendants"<sup>29</sup>.

En lisant les travaux de Létourneau, je me suis aperçu du fait que mon histoire du Canada partage avec lui les grandes lignes de l'interprétation du passé canadien et québécois. Il s'agit d'une conviction qui a été ultérieurement renforcée par la lecture de sa synthèse, *Le Québec. Les Québécois. Un parcours historique* (2004). Dans ce passé, nous y voyons surtout "la dissonance continuelle, les équilibres provisoires, les ambiguïtés et les ambivalences, la nécessité pour les communautés de partager le même territoire, tout comme la recherche constante de solutions qui permettent la vie en commun"<sup>30</sup>.

Nous avons même utilisé, de façon tout-à-fait indépendante, le même concept de "forces centripètes et forces centrifuges tantôt partenaires et tantôt antagoniques, tantôt complémentaires et tantôt contradictoires"<sup>31</sup>. Pour ce qui est de l'expérience canadienne, il nous paraît de toute évidence le fait que les gens du passé, que la chose plaise ou non, ont choisi jusqu'à présent de former une seule Confédération, et que leur histoire ne repose pas sur une trajectoire idéale d'un peuple accablé à la recherche de sa libération finale. Somme toute, nous croyons qu'il n'appartient pas aux historiens et aux historiennes de juger les gens du passé par rapport à un projet politique qui concerne l'avenir d'une société, que nous le partageons ou

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<sup>28</sup> Létourneau, "Avenir du Canada", 253.

<sup>29</sup> Létourneau, "Passer à l'avenir", 12.

<sup>30</sup> Réplique de Codignola et Bruti Liberati à Ferretti, 634.

<sup>31</sup> Létourneau, "Avenir du Canada", 233. Voir par exemple la phrase qui suit : "Sul lungo periodo, il progetto federale rappresentò una soluzione credibile alla dicotomia del periodo precedente, quando alle tendenze centrifughe di tipo regionalistico si opponevano tendenze centripete che sottolineavano invece esigenze di unità e di uniformità continentale" (Codignola et Bruti Liberati, *Storia del Canada*, 446, aussi 343-344).

pas. En général, la différence entre Létourneau et moi ne concerne pas notre interprétation du passé, mais se relie plutôt au fait que Létourneau paraît croire à l'utilité politique de l'histoire pour améliorer l'avenir, tandis que moi je n'y crois pas et que mon effort est plutôt celui de séparer, autant que possible, passé et avenir<sup>32</sup>.

En conclusion, c'est donc le passé qui m'intéresse et j'essaie d'y appliquer une méthodologie aussi rigoureuse que possible. C'est surtout la curiosité qui me pousse, avec l'espérance de contribuer, de quelque façon, au développement de la construction de la connaissance humaine. À quoi cela sert, je n'en ai franchement aucune idée, sinon à mûrir parfois dans le chercheur un sentiment d'humilité envers le fait qu'il ou elle n'atteindra pas les grandes réponses que des milliers d'autres, hommes et femmes du passé, ont cherché avant lui.

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<sup>32</sup> Pour Ferretti, cette différence n'a aucune importance. Dès que nous, à son dire, remanions "la mémoire historique des Canadiens" (c'est-à-dire, celle qu'elle propose pour eux), et que nous prenons parti, à son dire, pour la "bonne entente" et pour la "réconciliation", nous nous transformons d'historiens en adversaires politiques à attaquer à tout prix. Son compte rendu de notre livre ne prend pas la peine de montrer une seule erreur de fait ou d'interprétation. Pour ce qui est de Létourneau, dès le début elle se déclare incompétente à le juger. Dans les deux cas, c'est l'interprétation du passé par rapport au projet pour l'avenir qu'elle attaque.

## 2. FILIPPO MAZZEI AND HIS LETTERS

Filippo Mazzei (1730-1816) was a curious and interesting character even for his troubled times. Nowhere at home, he spent his first 24 years in the Italian peninsula, where he was born. In 1754 he began to wander: the Middle East (1754-6), London (1756-72), Virginia (1773-9, 1783-5), Paris (1779-82, 1785-91). Back to the Italian peninsula for good in 1792, Mazzei spent the remaining 24 years of his life in isolation, except for a short trip to St. Petersburg (1802). During his 38 years "abroad," Mazzei witnessed the beginning of the American Revolution and of the French Revolution, and secured two diplomatic appointments: he was Virginia's agent in Europe (1779-83) and the informer in Paris (1788-91) of King Stanislaus II August Poniatowski of Poland (1732-98). Moreover, throughout his life Mazzei was a compulsive letter-writer. His correspondents were, to name but a few, John Adams (1735-1826), Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), Benjamin Harrison (1726-81), Marquis Marie-Joseph de La Fayette (1757-1834), James Madison (1751-1836), King Stanislaus II and George Washington (1732-99).

Some 1,200 of the Mazzei papers (documents written by or to or about him) are now available in a beautifully printed three-volume edition edited by Margherita Marchione, who teaches Italian literature at Fairleigh Dickinson University. The documents are a selection from 3,000 items relating to Mazzei that Marchione and her associates located in repositories around the world (Italy, the United States, France, Poland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom) and collected in microform at the Salvatori Center for Mazzei Studies at Fairleigh Dickinson University.<sup>1</sup> Published documents are arranged chronologically. Vol. I deals with the United States, vol. II with France and Poland, and vol. III with Mazzei's life in the Italian

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<sup>1</sup> *Philip Mazzei. The Comprehensive Microform Edition of His Papers, 1730-1816: Guide and Index*, ed. Margherita Marchione and Barbara B. Oberg (Milwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1981).

peninsula and his correspondents in Europe and the United States.<sup>2</sup> All volumes are followed by an index (on which more later). Vol. I also has a 25-page introduction, which includes a bibliography, a genealogical chart, and a chronology of Mazzei's life.

Random checks and comparisons of the printed edition with the microform edition and original documents prove that the published items are the ones that most scholars would agree upon to elucidate Mazzei's life and times. The checks also show that the transcriptions from documents originally in English are accurate and that translations into English of documents originally in Italian or French are faithful and well written – no mean achievement on the part of the editors and the translators.

Each document is preceded by a standard heading, usually providing the writer's and addressee's name, and the place of origin, destination, and date of the document. This reviewer would have preferred this information in a more complete form: "To Lafayette" (II: 662) is not enough. Full Christian and family names of the writer/addressee (Marie-Joseph de Lafayette), titles (Marquis de Lafayette), and official capacity at the time the document was written (where applicable), places of origin *and* destination, and full date (in square brackets if the information is not in the original document) would have enhanced clarity and precision. Also, documents are progressively numbered only in the volumes' tables of contents. Had the documents been numbered in the headings, identification would have been much easier, especially in vol. III, where some items with common writers or addressees are compressed together.

Although the editors explicitly chose to cross-reference their documents only occasionally (I: xxv), numbering them would have made the process simpler. Cross-referencing sometimes appears in the text in square brackets and italics (I: 269), more often in the footnotes with cumbersome explanations (I: 131). More cross-references would have been useful. For example, on 30 January 1775 Mazzei

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I: 1765-1788. *Virginia's Agent during the American Revolution*; II: 1788-1791. *Agent for the King of Poland during the French Revolution*; III: 1792-1816. *World Citizen*.

acknowledged Giovanni Fabbroni (1752-1822)'s letter of "8<sup>th</sup> last" (I: 74-75), yet Fabbroni's letter (I: 70) is dated 7 January. Has the letter been lost, or is it a very simple mistake on Mazzei's part?

There is no standard treatment of names and biographical notes of people mentioned in the documents. Entries like "Count de Custine" (Adam-Philippe, comte de Custine, 1740-93, I: 224), "President Täscher" (Philippe-Athanaze Täscher, I: 383), or "Cardinal Doria" (Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, 1751-1816, III: 450) would be acceptable only were the people in question unidentifiable. "Felice Fontana" (I: index) is simply "Abbé Fontana" in one of the two biographical notes (I: 45, 208). Francesco Raimondo Favi receives a biographical note only on third mention (I: 246), and the reader must assemble Lewis Littlepage (1702-62)'s career out of several footnotes (I: 254; II: 21, 215, 313, 344). "Francis M. Dana" (1743-1811, I: 237) becomes "Francis Dana" a few pages later (I: 265) and in the index. Furthermore, this reviewer would have preferred "Filippo Mazzei" to "Philip Mazzei" throughout the book, and particularly in its title. (The genealogical chart tells us [I: xlii] that he was baptized "Pier Filippo.") After all, though a "World Citizen," Mazzei was born and died in the Italian peninsula.

The editors chose not to use "excessive annotation" (I: xxv), yet this reviewer would have preferred more biographical notes and fewer useless explanations such as "Martinica" for "Martinique Island" (I: 176) and "Pesos duros" for "Spanish specie" (I: 351). On the other hand, the state-of-the-art essay on Mazzei that one would expect to find in such an important documentary edition is not there. The Introduction (I: xix-xxii) only sketches Mazzei's career. The many repositories visited are recorded only in the abbreviation list (I: xxvii-xxix). The bibliography distinguishes between books and articles, but not between primary and secondary sources, and a full list of Mazzei's printed works is not provided (I: xxxiii-xxxv).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For the bibliography, see Renata Brugnago, "La fortuna di Filippo Mazzei in Italia. Saggio bibliografico," in Mazzei, *Istruzioni per essere liberi ed eguali*, ed. Marchione and Giuseppe Gadda Conti (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1984), 99-153. For Mazzei's political views, see Edoardo Tortarolo,

All the above flaws would not seriously hamper the usefulness of Mazzei's *Selected Writing and Correspondence*, however, had they not been coupled with a worthless index. The editors give no explanation of the methods employed in compiling the index, or any warning that it is highly selective. Random checking proves that the index is unreliable and incomplete. Some people mentioned in the documents are not indexed.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, some places are omitted from it.<sup>5</sup> Entries indexed in one volume are overlooked in another.<sup>6</sup> A plethora of names is only partially indexed.<sup>7</sup> Places of origin and destinations of documents are never indexed. For a documentary edition, which is seldom read but often consulted, such a poor index poses serious problems.

Marchione's and her associates' interest in Mazzei is due to their conviction that Mazzei is historically important, that he influenced Jefferson, and that he detected dangerous trends in the French Revolution earlier than many of his contemporaries. It is not this reviewer's task to pass judgment on Mazzei or on Marchione's assessment of Mazzei's career. There is no doubt, however, that Mazzei was a first-rate reporter and also a good political analyst. His periodic reports to King Stanislaus II on the daily events of the French Revolution are as vivid and poignant as any good piece of modern journalism. Notwithstanding a worthless index and minor editorial flaws, Mazzei's letters are now available for the first time in a

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*Illuminismo e rivoluzioni. Biografia politica di Filippo Mazzei* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Choisy (I: 224), James Cook (I: 279), Duchaffault (I: 225), Farolfi (I: 485), Flangini (II: 66), Grouvelle (II: 394-395, 485), James Hogun (I: 226), François de Lévis, duc de Lévis (II: 492; III: 39), Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini (I: 583), Cristoforo Pieracchi (II: 60-61), Udini (III: 128)

<sup>5</sup> Canada (III: 466), China (I: 224), Louisiana (III: 364), Nova Scotia (III: 466), Vendée (II: 630).

<sup>6</sup> George-Louis Leclerc, *comte* de Buffon (III: 42), Martinique (III: 392), Miliotti (II: 288, 321, 370), Raimondo Niccoli (II: 361), Bernardo Tanucci (III: 518).

<sup>7</sup> Barbé Marbois, Giuseppe Baretta, Bergasse, the *comte* de Buffon, de Pauw, d'Eprenesnil, the *comte* d'Estaing, Dugnani, Favi, Fontana, Lomax, Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, Mari, Maury, Miliotti, Niccoli, Quarantotti, Raynal, Rochambeau, Salines, Woodford.

comprehensive form. *Selected Writing and Correspondence* is a useful documentary edition that will allow students of the revolutionary eighteenth century to understand better not only Mazzei but the events he witnessed.

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### 3. CARLO BOTTA AMERICANISTA

Di primo acchito, per il lettore di oggi non è di facile lettura questa *Storia della guerra dell'indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America* dello storico e poligrafo piemontese Carlo Botta (1766-1837): capitoli senza titolazione o cronologia, paragrafi infiniti, subordinate a perdere, rarissimi passaggi al tempo presente a sottolineare il precipitare dei fatti, parole ricercate, nomi di luogo e di persona in traduzione, pochissime date<sup>1</sup>. Certo, siamo nel 1806, a soli trent'anni dalla Dichiarazione di Indipendenza (1776), in pieno impero napoleonico e a oltre mezzo secolo dal pieno del Risorgimento – anche se a soli ventun anni dai *Promessi Sposi* (1827) di Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873). Ma proprio in questo quadro un po' antiquato ciò che colpisce lo storico di oggi è la coerenza e la modernità dell'affresco dipinto da Botta, che fa propri e spesso precede tutti i canoni interpretativi dell'Ottocento americano e alla fine, a ben guardare, è del tutto in linea con l'interpretazione che offrono ancora oggi i mezzi di comunicazione di massa e le sintesi scolastiche o divulgative, tanto in Europa quanto negli Stati Uniti.

C'è prima di tutto l'idea che gli Stati Uniti (anzi, l'America, secondo l'accezione di Botta) siano stati popolati da rifugiati religiosi e politici provenienti soprattutto dall'Inghilterra (questo il termine, un po' improprio, usato da Botta), e che questi abbiano addomesticato e reso civile e produttivo il Nuovo Mondo, "domando le fiere, allontanando, o spegnendo gl'insetti malefici, o importuni, le nazioni barbare e feroci che abitavano quelle nuove terre contenendo e frenando; seccando le paludi, drizzando i fiumi, dirandando [*sic*] le selve, solcando una verginal terra, e nel suo seno nuovi e insoliti semi consegnando"<sup>2</sup>. C'è

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<sup>1</sup> Carlo Botta, *Storia della guerra dell'indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America. Ristampa anastatica della prima edizione (Parigi, D. Colas, 1809)*, ed. Antonella Emina (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore per Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Liceo Classico Statale "Carlo Botta" e Fondazione Rubbettino Cosenza, 2010), 4 voll.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I: 1.

poi l'idea guida della narrazione storica americana, codificata quasi un secolo dopo (1893) dallo storico americano Frederick J. Turner (1861-1932), quella dell'americano come uomo che la frontiera ha reso indurito e ostinato, ma anche dotato di senso pratico e di spirito di indipendenza nei confronti delle autorità costituite. Tali caratteristiche negli americani andavano di pari passo con una grande fiducia in se stessi e con un generale ottimismo reso possibile anche dalla fertilità e vastità delle sue terre. Queste infatti assicuravano proventi tali da evitare ai padri di preoccuparsi dell'avvenire dei figli.

Nel creare il suo nuovo mondo e nel ricreare se stesso, l'uomo americano aveva certamente tratto vantaggio dall'allontanamento dalla vecchia Europa, che molti non ricordavano nemmeno più. Di questa, semmai, essi conservavano un ricordo di lontana oppressione. Dal punto di vista morale, nel Nuovo Mondo "erano ignote le distrazioni e gli svagamenti d'Europa", vi erano ben poche reminiscenze di "splendore reale" (I: 4) e dunque poche occasioni di corruzione. Il risultato era che il popolo americano era diventato "generalmente di natura amorevole e dolce" e di "indole pacifica", nonché religioso, di buoni costumi, parsimonioso, temperante e casto: "Là non si vedevano – afferma Botta – le mogli pompose, i mariti randagi, i figliuoli discoli" (I: 18). Dal punto di vista sociale, inoltre, non essendovi tracce di "servitù feudale", in America "non v'era che una sola classe d'uomini" (I: 11), quella dei coltivatori. In essa ognuno era a un tempo "signore, castaldo o lavoratore". Infine, dal punto di vista politico si era ingenerato negli americani un interesse tutto speciale nella gestione della politica e una nuova abitudine alla libertà. Essi leggevano poco ma soprattutto di politica, dappertutto organizzavano "cerchiolini e capannelle" (I: 64) in cui si discuteva di politica e predicavano "le dottrine" (I: 127) nei caffè e nelle scuole. Ecco dunque quello svilupparsi di "opinioni nuove, e qualche volta strane ed esagerate" sui loro diritti, grazie alle quali gli americani non avrebbero mai lasciato passare "un bruscolo in fatto di libertà politica e civile" (I: 179). Nell'unico riferimento alla schiavitù di tutto il libro, Botta arriva a sostenere che, "strana cosa a dirsi", perfino la condizione degli schiavi contribuiva a nutrire negli americani l'amore per la libertà di

cui essi godevano, proprio perché constatavano con i loro occhi la "miserabile condizione dell'uomo ridotto in ischiavitù" (I: 16). Si tratta di un insieme di opinioni sulla natura della diversità americana che Botta esprime soprattutto in introduzione alla sua *Storia*, in quei due capitoli sugli anni dal 1763 al 1767 (libri I-II) che prendono in esame gli anni della Pace di Parigi (1763) e del successivo *Stamp Act* (1765), anni di preludio a quel decennio che portò poi al confronto finale tra i futuri Stati Uniti e la madrepatria. Sono poche pennellate che lasciano spazio a una narrazione serrata degli avvenimenti di quegli anni. Questi, non bisogna dimenticarlo, a soli ventitre anni dalla Pace di Parigi-Versailles (1783), erano allora ignoti ai più. Per organizzare la sua narrazione, Botta segue una traccia documentaria qualitativamente di tutto rispetto: la sua bibliografia, anche se non lunga, contiene fonti documentarie e studi prodotti in lingua inglese e in lingua francese, alle quali egli afferma di aggiungere un numero non meglio precisato di testimonianze dirette ottenute da alcuni partecipanti agli eventi. Da quelle fonti Botta trae non solo il materiale per il suo racconto, ma anche le citazioni, tutte fedelissime, assicura Botta, tranne i rari casi in cui, "usando la facoltà già concessa ad altri storici", egli si è permesso di ricompattare in un'unica citazione cose dette da più persone o che avrebbero "verisimilmente dette", per le quali non esisteva testimonianza (I: V).

Se il quadro interpretativo generale risulta dunque evidente, l'intento narrativo sembra comunque essere preminente, almeno nelle intenzioni dell'autore. Che non si tratti di un'opera a tesi appare infatti confermato dall'assenza di riferimenti, nemmeno impliciti o velati, alla Rivoluzione Francese o al periodo napoleonico, forse a eccezione della seguente lode dell'unità di intenti e di spirito degli americani quale modello ideale del comportamento europeo: "In tutte queste disquisizioni ... non si sentirono, nè [*sic*] minaccie, nè [*sic*] coruccj, nè discordie malaugurose, e pareva, che ognuno, posta in disparte l'ambizione, altro non agognasse, che la prosperità, e la libertà della patria; memorabile esempio di prudenza, di temperanza, e di benevolenza civile, nel quale se risguarderanno gli altri popoli non potranno non vergognarsi ... di essersi in tutti i tempi dimostrati

dall'americano così diversi, e lontani" (II: 329-330). Se proprio si volesse cercare nella *Storia* un segno dell'atteggiamento del Botta del 1806 verso una politica a lui contemporanea, questo lo si potrebbe individuare in un generale moderatismo e in un generico disprezzo tanto della "bordaglia" (I: 211) plebea quanto degli ambiziosi e dei ladroni. I primi, riottosi, ubriachi, impazziti, attori di "mostruosità" e di "condannabili eccessi", causa di "tumultuoso procedere" (I: 116), che chiamano libertà ciò che non è altro che "anarchia popolare", gente da cui gli spiriti nobili, che pur non rinnegavano le loro convinzioni politiche, desideravano distinguersi fino in fondo. Le categorie degli ambiziosi e dei ladroni, pur nella loro distinzione, erano ugualmente disprezzati da Botta. I primi in quanto "peste più esiziale in ogni buon governo" e cagione di "rivoluzioni ed ... potere arbitrario", i secondi perché, "poco curandosi di dipendenza, o di non dipendenza, di libertà, o di non libertà, attendevano a far sacco con popparsi e succiarsi lo Stato" per interesse personale e "amor del guadagno" (I: 205). Plebei, ambiziosi e ladroni non erano prerogativa di alcuna nazione in particolare e neppure i virtuosi americani ne erano esenti.

Che cosa successe dunque, nell'opinione di Botta, a far precipitare quei contrasti che da sempre erano esistiti tra la madrepatria inglese e i coloni americani, e a rendere impossibile quell'aggiustamento tra le due parti che avrebbe evitato il lungo e sanguinoso conflitto, nonché la separazione definitiva tra le due nazioni? Quale fu dunque l'"esca" che avrebbe appiccato quel "fuoco", poi divenuto il "manifesto incendio", di una rivoluzione che avrebbe messo i figli "contro i padri loro, i cittadini contro i cittadini, e, come dicevan gli Americani, gli amici della libertà contro gli oppressori, contro gli stabilitori della tirannide" (I: 344)?

Ecco, nella narrazione di Botta, un crescendo di azioni e di reazioni, e soprattutto di ostinazioni e di errori, nel corso dei quali alla fine gli americani avrebbero portato a compimento quel loro ruolo di "ribelli" (I: 313, 319) che, in principio, non ne accettavano nemmeno il nome. Da una parte vi era una corona che tra il 1660 e il 1763 non vide nelle sue colonie che un mezzo per il suo egoistico arricchimento e che

dalla Pace di Parigi in poi varò una serie di misure a carattere essenzialmente economico. Queste, viste le reazioni americane, furono seguite da ulteriori proibizioni, gabelle e tasse, nonché da "inumane ed esacerbanti leggi" (II: 359) a carattere sostanzialmente repressivo. Così facendo, ricorda Botta, la corona britannica non soltanto non fece tesoro degli esempi delle precedenti rivoluzioni di Svizzera e Olanda, ma per timore di "una notevole diminuzione della dignità del governo" continuò sprezzantemente ad agire "come i fanciulli fanno, i quali intorno ad un argine si trastullano; che ora a questa, ora a quell'altra buca corrono, dove l'acqua ha rotto, per riturarle". Insomma, ai ministri della corona, spiega Botta, mancarono "l'ingegno per prevedere", magari ritornando su qualche errata decisione. Quando poi la guerra effettivamente scoppiò, essi fecero un nuovo e più fatale errore, quello di credere di poter sconfiggere i ribelli soltanto "colla vista, colla voce e con un po' di romore d'armi" (III: 64). Non intervenendo militarmente con sufficiente decisione, "i tumulti d'America ... tanto ingrossarono, che come un fiume gonfiato dalle insolite piogge i non sufficienti argini ed i tardi impedimenti sopravanzarono tutti, e strabocchevolmente superarono". L'entrata in guerra della Francia, resa baldanzosa dalle difficoltà inglesi, a fianco degli americani (1778) rappresentò, secondo Botta, l'elemento decisivo della guerra. Dall'altra parte vi erano gli americani, i quali fin dall'indomani della Pace di Parigi, ormai "ricchi e potenti" (II: 277) e privi di nemici esterni (con gli indiani ritenevano di poter fare da soli), cominciarono a trattare l'Inghilterra alla stregua di un regime liberticida che aveva in animo di sovvertire tanto la "costituzione inglese" quanto la "libertà americana" (I: 132). Quella che fu all'inizio una semplice reazione a misure di carattere economico, quali si erano spesso viste in passato, diventò l'occasione per i "libertini" ("così chiameremo – spiega Botta – con vocabolo antico coloro che amano, o fanno professione di amar la libertà") (I: 180) di attizzare il fuoco della ribellione tra la gran parte degli americani. La strada della ribellione faceva il suo corso ("siccome suole accadere nei moti popolari, chi ne diceva di più, questo n'era più applaudito"; "quando si riscaldano tra gli uomini le cose, eglino negli antichi limiti non si

contengono, ma procedono per l'ordinario più oltre"). Rapidamente la memoria dei benefici della colonizzazione inglese lasciò il posto al risentimento generalizzato verso le "angherie inglesi" (I: 64). Certo, ammette Botta, molti titubavano, ma, "isbigottiti dal consenso e calore universale degli altri" (I: 263), e guidati sulla strada della rivoluzione dal gruppo dirigente "dei libertini americani prima colle segrete mene, poi con aperti andari, e finalmente con una molto opportuna e molto ardita risoluzione" (II: 359), anche gli incerti si mossero sulla strada della piena indipendenza sulla quale l'avevano guidata uomini eccezionali come Benjamin Franklin (novello Socrate), Robert Morris (1706-90) (l'uomo delle finanze), e soprattutto George Washington, "prudente ... di mente gagliarda ed invitta" (II: 58). Attento, da storico obiettivo, a non prendere posizione per l'una o l'altra parte, Botta non riesce a nascondere la sua ammirazione per la nuova repubblica che, nata da una rivoluzione giovanile verificatasi contemporaneamente ai suoi irrequieti anni di gioventù, era già nel 1806 diventata un importante attore sulla scena internazionale e si avviava a divenire un "grande e possente Stato", se soltanto avesse evitato due pericoli: "la corruzione degli animi per la via dell'amore dell'eccessivo guadagno" e "il discostamento da quei principj che la fondarono" (IV: 448).

Abbiamo detto della coerenza e della modernità dell'affresco interpretativo con il quale Botta spiega la Rivoluzione Americana ai suoi contemporanei. Premesso, com'è ovvio, che qualsiasi storico va valutato in base alle fonti disponibili e al metro interpretativo del suo tempo e mai in base a fonti e a esigenze ideologiche disponibili successivamente (e sono da allora passati due secoli), appare sorprendente come la sintesi di Botta, nelle sue grandi linee, sia non soltanto adeguata ai suoi tempi, ma addirittura largamente accettabile e, comunque, condivisa dai più ancora oggi.

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#### 4. WINSTON CHURCHILL E I POPOLI DI LINGUA INGLESE

La *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* dello storico e uomo politico britannico Winston L.S. Churchill (1874-1965) si sta rapidamente avvicinando al suo mezzo secolo di vita, e si sa quanto rapidamente invecchino i libri di storia. Ciò è ancora più vero quando, come in questo caso, si tratti di una sintesi, cioè di uno scritto che abbraccia, tratteggiandone le grandi linee, un arco temporale molto vasto e che quindi privilegia l'interpretazione rispetto all'analisi dettagliata. Le eccezioni a questa regola sono poche. La *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* è una di queste. L'opera ha mantenuto intatti tutti i pregi che aveva nel 1956 quando uscì il primo dei suoi quattro volumi, e continua ad affascinare il lettore per la prosa rapida, i giudizi netti, la forte tinteggiatura degli sfondi e l'appassionata partecipazione agli eventi. Essa ha anche mantenuto intatti tutti i difetti che i recensori, pur titubanti nel criticare uno dei più grandi personaggi positivi del loro tempo, gli riconobbero fin dall'inizio: la poca fedeltà al titolo, l'attenzione fuori misura agli avvenimenti militari, l'insistenza sui tratti caratteriali dei grandi personaggi, e il silenzio sulle vicende dell'uomo comune. La *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* resta un grande libro, così come lo fu al momento della sua prima pubblicazione. Il lettore sbarca in Inghilterra insieme alle legioni romane nel 55 a.C., e, attraverso l'era vichinga a partire dal 789, l'invasione normanna succeduta al 1066, la rottura con la Santa Sede del 1532, la creazione del primo impero coloniale a partire dal 1607, la sconfitta nella Guerra per l'Indipendenza Americana (1775-83), il conflitto con la Francia rivoluzionaria e napoleonica (1789-1815), e la lunga età vittoriana (1837-1901), giunge fino alla Guerra Anglo-Boera (1899-1902). È qui che Churchill, ormai attivo partecipante e quindi non più imparziale

studioso, sceglie di chiudere la sua *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*<sup>1</sup>.

A prima vista, si direbbe che Churchill si sia seduto alla scrivania del suo studio e abbia composto la sua opera di getto, quasi a memoria. La realtà fu ben diversa. Il critico letterario britannico Keith Alldritt, che ha studiato a fondo gli scritti di Churchill, definisce la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* "il lavoro che fu, più di ogni suo altro, il risultato di una scrittura collettiva", e sostiene addirittura che "qualunque significato si voglia dare a tale parola, non possiamo considerare che Churchill ne fu l'autore, nel senso di colui che, una frase dopo l'altra, ne ha organizzato la storia"<sup>2</sup>. Il giudizio di Alldritt ci sembra però più legato alla sua familiarità con la biografia del personaggio piuttosto che non allo scritto in quanto tale. Infatti la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* affascina il lettore proprio per l'unità della narrazione, il senso di direzione e la compattezza del progetto politico che la sottintende. È indubbio comunque che la genesi dell'opera non fu né rapida, né semplice, né compatta, ma anzi lenta, complessa, e soprattutto a più mani. Il contratto con la Cassell & Company Ltd., l'importante casa editrice londinese, fu firmato nel 1933. Churchill aveva allora cinquantanove anni e contava già al suo attivo una serie di libri pubblicati con editori diversi. Alcuni sulle vicende africane alle quali aveva partecipato, tra cui il suo primo volume, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force: An Episode of Frontier War* (1898), un romanzo, *Savrola: A Tale of the Revolution in Laurania* (1900), una biografia del padre (1849-95), *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), e un'autobiografia, *My Early Life* (1930). Proprio nel 1933, l'anno in cui egli firmò il contratto per la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*, la casa editrice George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. di Londra diede alle stampe il primo volume di quella che è forse l'opera più nota di Churchill, la biografia del suo illustre antenato, John Churchill,

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<sup>1</sup> La *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* uscì in italiano per la prima volta a Milano, presso Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, tra il 1956 e il 1958, nella eccellente traduzione di Bruno Maffi (voll. I-III) e Bruno Oddera (vol. IV).

<sup>2</sup> Keith Alldritt, *Churchill the Writer: His Life as a Man of Letters* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 148, 158.



primo duca di Marlborough (1650-1722), il grande condottiero inglese della fine del Seicento. *Marlborough: His Life and Times* fu successivamente completata da altri tre volumi, usciti tra il 1934 e il 1938<sup>3</sup>.

Churchill aveva anche al suo attivo un ragguardevole numero di scritti di carattere politico. Nonostante infatti i suoi maggiori successi politici risalgano a un'epoca posteriore, al momento della firma del contratto con Cassell Churchill era da tempo un attivo partecipante delle vicende del suo paese. Nato il 30 novembre 1874 a Woodstock, nell'Oxfordshire, egli era stato eletto alla Camera dei Comuni nel 1906. Tra le sue responsabilità di governo, Churchill era già stato sottosegretario al Dipartimento delle Colonie (Colonial Office, 1906-8), presidente della Camera di Commercio (Board of Trade, 1908-10), ministro degli interni (1910-1), ministro della marina (1911-5), ministro delle munizioni (1917-9), ministro della guerra e dell'aviazione (1919-21), ministro dell'aviazione e delle colonie (1921), ministro delle colonie (1921-2) e ministro degli affari economici (1924-9).

Nonostante la firma del contratto, e il congruo anticipo che ne derivò<sup>4</sup>, Churchill non si mise immediatamente a lavorare alla *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. Tra il 1933 e il 1938 infatti egli fu impegnato nella produzione dei restanti volumi della biografia del duca di Marlborough; in una sceneggiatura per un film su re Giorgio V (1865-1936), commissionatagli dal regista di origine ungherese Alexander Korda (1893-1956); e nella stesura di una serie di brevi biografie di alcuni suoi celebri contemporanei, *Great Contemporaries* (1937), uscita presso l'editore londinese Thomas Butterworth. Tra l'altro, il grande successo di tale raccolta contribuì in maniera decisiva a far uscire Churchill dai seri problemi finanziari in cui si era dibattuto

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<sup>3</sup> Per la bibliografia completa e ragionata delle opere di Churchill, vedi Frederick Woods, *A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill KG, OM, CH* (London: Kaye and Ward Ltd., 1969) (prima ed.: Nicholas Vane, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> Tra le 16.000 e le 20.000 sterline. Vedi Woods, *Bibliography*, 138; e W. Churchill a Clementine Hozier Churchill, Chartwell, 2 febbraio 1937, in *Speaking for Themselves: The Personal Letters of Winston and Clementine Churchill*, ed. Mary Soames (London: Stoddart, 1998), 426.

nell'ultimo quinquennio. Gli impegni letterari andavano inoltre di pari passo con la sua attività politica e giornalistica, in quegli anni incentrata sulle crisi derivate dal matrimonio e dalla successiva abdicazione (1936) di re Edoardo VIII (1894-1972) e, naturalmente, dalla crescente minaccia nazista<sup>5</sup>.

In quegli anni, il lavoro di ricerca della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* venne affidato a una *équipe* di cui faceva parte un nutrito gruppo di giovani di diversa provenienza<sup>6</sup> oltre ad alcuni studiosi già di chiara fama o che lo sarebbero presto diventati<sup>7</sup>. Visto che tra la firma del contratto (1933) e la pubblicazione del vol. I (1956) passarono ben ventitré anni, ci si può rendere conto di come tale *équipe* abbia subito notevoli variazioni. Buona parte dei collaboratori fu in seguito esplicitamente ringraziata in apertura di ciascun volume. Finalmente, il 2 febbraio 1937, Churchill cominciò a pensare seriamente alla redazione della sua grande opera, che, come scrisse alla moglie, Clementine Hozier Churchill (1885-1997), "perché si renda giustizia a un tema così enorme, comporta[va] una vastissima quantità di letture e di riflessione solitaria"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Alldritt, *Churchill the Writer*, 119-121.

<sup>6</sup> Tra loro l'ultimo segretario privato di Churchill, Anthony M. Browne; F.W.D. Deakin, allora specialista dell'età vittoriana, poi contemporaneista e parte dell'*équipe* delle memorie di guerra di Churchill; J. Hurtsfield (University College, London); Denis Kelly (che come Deakin fu utilizzato sia per la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* che per *The Second World War*); Maurice Shock (University College, Oxford); e C.C. Wood.

<sup>7</sup> Tra loro Maurice Ashley, uno specialista del Seicento; Asa Briggs, storico sociale dell'età contemporanea; Alan L.C. Bullock, poi biografo di Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), Josif Stalin ed Ernest Bevin (1881-1951), responsabile delle sezioni relative ai grandi paesi del Commonwealth; Keith G. Feiling, storico del partito conservatore; Frank Freidel, biografo di Franklin D. Roosevelt; Alan Hodge, contemporaneista e codirettore del mensile *History Today*; l'americanista britannico Maldwyn A. Jones; il trecentista Alec R. Myers; Donald H. Pennington, lo studioso del movimento puritano; lo specialista di storia del Rinascimento John H. Plumb (1911-2001), lo studioso elisabettiano Alan L. Rowse (1903-97); John S. Watson, uno specialista dell'era di Giorgio III (1738-1820); e lo studioso vittoriano George Malcolm Young.

<sup>8</sup> W. Churchill a C. Hozier Churchill, Chartwell, 2 febbraio 1937, in *Speaking for Themselves*, 426-427.

A partire dal 1 agosto 1938, Churchill si impose una *routine* giornaliera di 1.000 parole al giorno. Il lavoro proseguì spedito e senza interruzioni, e l'8 gennaio 1939 egli annunciò a Clementine di avere superato le 221.000 parole, con ben 63 giorni di vantaggio sulla tabella di marcia<sup>9</sup>. Entro l'anno Churchill presentò all'editore una serie di testi corrispondente già al 70 per cento circa di quella che sarebbe poi stata la lunghezza definitiva dell'opera<sup>10</sup>, primo risultato del lavoro di gruppo che fino ad allora egli aveva diretto e, in una misura difficilmente quantificabile, redatto egli stesso. Le peraltro rare note inserite da Churchill al momento dell'ultima revisione per la stampa, indicano sovente che un certo paragrafo era stato "scritto" nel 1938 o nel 1938-9, mostrando fino a che punto la strutturazione del testo operata prima della Seconda Guerra Mondiale non consentisse una sua ulteriore sostanziale ristrutturazione.

I nuovi incarichi di governo e la sua conduzione della politica britannica durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale allontanarono Churchill dal progetto della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*<sup>11</sup>. Egli venne nominato ministro della marina il 3 settembre 1939, e, meno di un anno dopo, primo ministro di un governo di coalizione (10 maggio 1940-26 luglio 1945). Inaspettatamente, con la vittoria degli Alleati arrivò anche la bruciante sconfitta del partito conservatore alle elezioni generali del 26 luglio 1945. Dopo avere trionfalmente guidato il paese per oltre cinque anni, Churchill venne relegato al suo nuovo ruolo, tanto importante quanto amaro, di leader dell'opposizione conservatrice al governo laburista di Clement R. Attlee (1883-1967). Dopo oltre sei anni, egli tornò al governo ancora come primo ministro per l'ultima volta (26 ottobre 1951-5 aprile 1955), assistendo tra l'altro in tale veste all'incoronazione della nuova regina, Elisabetta II (1953).

Tra il 1940 e il 1945 Churchill non aveva pubblicato che scritti a carattere occasionale e politico. Subito dopo la guerra egli si gettò a

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<sup>9</sup> W. Churchill a C. Hozier Churchill, Chartwell, 19 dicembre [1938] e 29 dicembre 1938, in *ibid.* 442, 446.

<sup>10</sup> Cinquecentomila parole secondo Churchill (I: 7), 450.000 secondo l'editore. Vedi Woods, *Bibliography*, 138-139.

<sup>11</sup> Alldritt, *Churchill the Writer*, 148.

capofitto nella redazione della sua storia della Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Si trattava di un'opera esplicitamente concepita dallo stesso Churchill come una memoria a illustrazione del suo personale contributo alla vittoria. I sei volumi di *The Second World War* uscirono a Londra a partire dal 1948 presso la casa editrice Cassell, che di buon grado accantonò il progetto relativo alla *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* in favore dell'immediata pubblicazione delle ben più attuali memorie dello statista britannico. Il risultato finale fu un'opera monumentale di quasi 5.000 pagine. Insieme alla sua precedente produzione, essa valse a Churchill il Premio Nobel per la Letteratura proprio nel 1953, l'anno in cui uscì l'ultimo volume di *The Second World War*<sup>12</sup>.

Fu allora, a ormai ottant'anni, che Churchill si decise a porre mano alla sistemazione della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. Già durante la convalescenza per le conseguenze dell'infarto che lo aveva colpito il 23 giugno 1953 al pranzo in onore del presidente del consiglio italiano, Alcide De Gasperi (1881-1954), Churchill aveva cominciato a rivedere il manoscritto e le relative bozze<sup>13</sup>. Circa due anni più tardi, all'indomani dalle dimissioni da primo ministro, egli cominciò freneticamente a scrivere, rivedere e soprattutto coordinare i suoi collaboratori nella produzione dell'opera. I dubbi circa i testi redatti prima della guerra passarono in secondo piano. Dopo una così lunga gestazione, la fase finale si dimostrò rapidissima. Nel corso di poco più di un anno, tra il 15 gennaio 1956 e il 10 febbraio 1957, Churchill licenziò e appose la sua firma ai quattro volumi che avrebbero costituito la versione finale della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. La casa editrice li mise sul mercato tra il 23 aprile 1956 e il 14 marzo 1958<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> "Dodici mililacento sterline esentasse. Niente male!", fu il commento privato di Churchill. Vedi W. Churchill a C. Hozier Churchill, Londra, 16 ottobre 1953, in *Speaking for Themselves*, 575.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 569; W. Churchill a C. Hozier Churchill, Londra, 19 agosto 1954, ibid. 586.

<sup>14</sup> Alldritt, *Churchill the Writer*, 158-159; Woods, *Bibliography*, 136-142; *Speaking for Themselves*, 595n.

Le speranze della Cassell, il cui ulteriore sostanzioso anticipo dimostrava quanto lo statista e premio Nobel britannico rappresentasse ormai un autore di sicuro successo commerciale, non andarono deluse. Il vol. I uscì immediatamente in 130.000 copie, mentre la prima tiratura dei tre volumi seguenti fu portata a 150.000 esemplari. In totale, soltanto della prima edizione britannica furono tirate circa 720.000 copie, cui vanno naturalmente aggiunte le edizioni economiche, le versioni ridotte, le copie stampate dalle case editrici dei paesi del Commonwealth o degli Stati Uniti e le innumerevoli traduzioni<sup>15</sup>. Insomma, la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* fu subito, e ha continuato a essere fino ai giorni nostri, un grande successo di pubblico. La critica storica fu invece po' più tiepida, anche se i recensori preferirono smussare i loro strali professionali per evitare di offendere, o anche soltanto di amareggiare, l'ormai ottantatreenne statista britannico. Per esempio, dopo avere equamente diviso lodi e critiche, lo storico americano Wallace Notestein (1878-1969) concluse la sua recensione al vol. I con la poco scientifica affermazione che "non bisogna[va] chiedere troppo al più grande uomo di azione del suo tempo"<sup>16</sup>.

Oggi, a trentacinque anni dalla morte del suo autore, e a quarantadue dalla pubblicazione del vol. IV, perché dunque rileggere la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*? Diciamo subito che i quattro volumi si leggono con grande piacere. Come abbiamo sottolineato più sopra, a dispetto del fatto che molti abbiano collaborato alla stesura dell'opera e che un numero imprecisato di pagine non siano uscite dalla penna di Churchill, l'unità della cifra stilistica e il senso del progetto politico rendono la lettura estremamente facile e piana. È chiaro che Churchill non ha paura di formulare le sue risposte ai grandi problemi della storia e non teme il recensore. Egli sa che il suo lettore è soprattutto chi gli ha già dato fiducia durante la guerra e vuole ora trovare nella *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* un ulteriore motivo per dimostrarli la sua ammirazione.

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<sup>15</sup> Woods, *Bibliography*, 136-140.

<sup>16</sup> *The American Historical Review* 52, no. 1 (October 1956), 95.

Quale storico impregnato della correttezza politica di fine secolo oserebbe affermare che l'Anglia, già cristiana, "ripiombò nel paganesimo" (I: 76); definire "una scelta veramente grottesca" quella di quei vescovi che imitavano "il costume druidico di tosare i capelli dal centro alle orecchie lasciando una frangia sul davanti" (I: 80); descrivere arabi e scandinavi come "infedeli" e "banditi d'acqua salata, pirati infami se mai l'oceano ne produsse" (I: 92, 97); accusare di "metodi di una scandalosa imprudenza" gli ebrei che si accaparravano la terra messa in vendita (I: 258); accusare Caterina d'Aragona (1485-1536), prima moglie di Enrico VIII (1491-1547), di essere "maturata e invecchiata precocemente" perché "tipica spagnola" (II: 53); o bollare re Giorgio I (1660-1727) di "caporale ottuso ed ostinato, dal cervello tardo e dai gusti grossolani", che aveva portato con sé alla corte il "tipico armamentario dei principotti tedeschi" e i "tetri cognomi delle favorite tedesche" (III: 105, 107)? E chi avrebbe oggi il coraggio di iniziare un capitolo con la seguente immagine: "Un rosso tramonto; una lunga notte; una pallida alba velata di foschia! ... La notte era scesa sulla Britannia. L'alba si levò sull'Anglia" (I: 76); di dipingere re Riccardo I, detto Cuor di Leone (1157-1199), come "alto e di forme delicate; forte di muscoli e nervi, di una gran destrezza nell'uso delle armi ... vedeva nei nemici, senza malizia, gli strumenti necessari della propria fama" (I: 207); o, con un bell'esempio di *understatement*, di descrivere il popolo inglese come "'gente molto tranquilla' ... soprattutto quando piove" (IV: 76)<sup>17</sup>.

"Questo libro non pretende di rivaleggiare" con le opere degli storici professionisti, afferma Churchill nella prefazione al vol. I (I: 8). Ed effettivamente l'utilizzazione della produzione monografica viene raramente esplicitata a riprova della ricerca effettuata, secondo l'uso dello storico professionista che si cautela dai possibili attacchi dei colleghi. Una rapida occhiata alla scarsissima bibliografia della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*, relegata in occasionali citazioni nel testo e in una trentina di note, se da una parte conferma la dipendenza di Churchill da coloro che appaiono nei ringraziamenti in apertura di

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<sup>17</sup> La prima parte della citazione deriva da Arthur Wellesley, duca di Wellington (1769-1852), la seconda è di Churchill.

ciascun volume, dall'altra ne mostra il legame con alcuni grandi classici della storiografia dell'ormai lontano passato (da John Emerich Dalberg, barone Acton (1834-1902) a Thomas Carlyle – 1795-1881, William E.H. Lecky (1838-1903), Thomas B. Macaulay (1800-59), fino al plurimenzionato Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) – e con le più recenti sintesi di Herbert A.L. Fisher (1865-1940) – John Richard Green (1837-83) e George M. Trevelyan (1876-1962), oltre che con la serie nota come "Oxford History of England". Un po' più recente, ma sempre di carattere sintetico e non monografico, la storiografia relativa all'espansione inglese e alla storia degli Stati Uniti: Godfrey Elton, barone Elton (1892-1973), e James A. Williamson (1886-1964) per la prima, Charles A. Beard (1874-1948) e Mary Ritter Beard (1876-1958), Henry S. Commager (1902-98) e Samuel E. Morison (1887-1976) per la seconda.

Fin dagli anni 1950 gli storici professionisti, soprattutto quelli di formazione non anglosassone, hanno avuto buon gioco nel criticare alcune delle scelte di Churchill. Per esempio, l'insistenza aneddotica sui problemi matrimoniali di Enrico VIII nel vol. I; il titolo impreciso del vol. II, visto che di "Nuovo Mondo" praticamente non si parla<sup>18</sup>; l'insistenza sui fatti d'arme del vol. III, forse causati dell'ossessiva presenza del duca di Marlborough; o la mancanza di equilibrio del vol. IV, che è in realtà composto da due libri, uno sulla Guerra Civile americana, l'altro su tutto il resto. Concepita negli anni 1930, la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* è fondamentalmente una storia politica vista dal punto di vista della *leadership*, impostata sullo scontro tra i grandi personaggi, e attenta tutt'al più alla storia costituzionale. Si veda, per esempio, l'*incipit* del capitolo dedicato al flagello della peste: "Mentre fatti d'arme e nobili imprese tenevano occupate le menti degli inglesi, un ben più mortale nemico viaggiava attraverso i continenti, apportatore di orribili sciagure" (I: 310)<sup>19</sup>. Niente di più

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<sup>18</sup> Giustamente la traduzione italiana ha reso con "Libertà e stato sovrano" l'originale "The New World" ("Il nuovo mondo").

<sup>19</sup> Un flagello che "ridusse la popolazione del mondo di almeno un terzo quando questo non era certo sovrappopolato". Vedi W. Churchill a C. Hozier Churchill, Chartwell, 28 agosto 1955, *Speaking for Themselves*, 598.

lontano dalla nuova storiografia, attenta piuttosto alla storia economica e sociale (di rivoluzione agraria e industriale, pilastri della storiografia di quegli anni, Churchill quasi non parla se non nel vol. IV), ai temi socio-religiosi (la pietà medievale è inesistente, il puritanesimo poco presente), o a un approccio globale che comprendesse anche scienza, architettura, filosofia, arte e letteratura (praticamente assenti).

Per parte loro, gli storici degli anni 1990, così attenti alla disgregazione delle unità politiche ottocentesche piuttosto che non alla loro unità<sup>20</sup>, non possono che mettere in evidenza la minima attenzione prestata alle vicende irlandesi e scozzesi, per non parlare di quelle canadesi, australiane e neozelandesi. Churchill non ne discute che quando queste siano legate alle vicende dell'antica madrepatria, e comunque (si veda il vol. IV) in posizione ampiamente subordinata a essa<sup>21</sup>. La storia dei "popoli di lingua inglese" è in realtà una storia del contributo dell'Inghilterra, o più propriamente della nazione inglese, alla storia del mondo, un contributo offerto all'umanità tanto attraverso un messaggio di buon senso e un contributo di sangue, quanto attraverso l'espansione fisica e politica.

Soltanto gli Stati Uniti, perlomeno a partire dalla Guerra per l'Indipendenza, hanno molta parte nella *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. Ma qui entrano in gioco non soltanto l'innegabile presenza

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<sup>20</sup> Si vedano per esempio, *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-1850*, ed. Laurence Brockliss e David Eastwood (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); e la serie "History of the Modern British Isles" dell'editore Blackwell di Oxford, di cui sono per ora usciti David Lawrence Smith, *The Double Crown 1603-1707* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); e Mark Nicholls, *The Two Kingdoms 1529-1603* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Fra i tanti esempi possibili, si vedano i giudizi su re Enrico II (1133-1189), sotto il quale "l'Inghilterra divenne infine e per sempre un regno unito ... [e] stabili per primo fra Inghilterra, Scozia e Irlanda un rapporto comune" (I: 183-184); o su re Edoardo I (1239-1307), che "compì il primo grande passo verso l'unificazione dell'isola" (I: 264); o sui risultati della Legge di Unione (*Act of Union*, 1707), che aprì la strada alla fruttuosa collaborazione tra Scozia e Inghilterra, fino alla "pace, la prosperità e il senso di partecipazione alla vita pubblica ... a tutt'oggi vivi" (I: 71).



americana nella storia contemporanea, ma anche la recentissima esperienza bellica. Churchill, cittadino onorario degli Stati Uniti dal 1963, così la ricorda nella prefazione al vol. I: "Per la seconda volta nel nostro secolo, l'Impero Britannico e gli Stati Uniti hanno affrontato insieme i pericoli della guerra ... e, da quando i cannoni hanno cessato di rombare e le bombe di scoppiare, la coscienza del nostro comune dovere verso la razza umana si è fatta in noi più viva. La lingua, le leggi e i processi ai quali dobbiamo la nostra esistenza forni[scono] una base unica al quadro sintetico di una missione concorde" (I: 7).

È dunque agevole esercizio quello di mostrare come la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* non sfugga alla prima regola professionale dello storico, quella di accettare che la sua opera sia soggetta a continue revisioni legate tanto alle mutate questioni storiografiche poste dai tempi nuovi, quanto al dilatarsi del patrimonio delle conoscenze umane. A prima vista, parrebbe dunque opportuno trasferire la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* dallo scaffale della storia a quello della letteratura.

Eppure ci sono almeno due buoni motivi per cui, almeno per ora, l'opera di Churchill va mantenuta nello scaffale originario. Il primo è che ancora oggi la sua interpretazione degli eventi del passato viene fatta propria da coloro che lo leggono, cosa che accade per ben pochi storici dopo la loro morte. Ne deriva l'ancora notevole funzione formativa della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* sulle generazioni del presente, secondo l'auspicio, che fu di Churchill stesso, che essa servisse a "rafforz[are] i popoli di lingua inglese di oggi"<sup>22</sup>. Il secondo motivo è che attraverso la *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* gli storici hanno a disposizione una finestra privilegiata per scrutare e comprendere il retroterra culturale, filosofico e psicologico che informò le decisioni del grande leader. E si tratta di una finestra che è tanto più interessante in quanto essa non è in alcun modo legata, a

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<sup>22</sup> La traduzione di Maffi ("rafforzi gli uomini d'oggi" [I: 18]) è in questo caso imprecisa e non corrisponde all'originale ("fortify the English-speaking peoples of to-day").

differenza degli scritti occasionali stimolati dalle vicende politiche, alle necessità del momento.

È indubbio che le preoccupazioni metodologiche non sembrano essere in cima ai pensieri di Churchill. Egli si preoccupa soltanto di mettere saltuariamente in guardia il lettore dal confondere la prospettiva di lungo periodo, che è propria dello storico, con quella del partecipante ai fatti narrati, che non riesce a vedere al di là di un lustro, tutt'al più di un ventennio, e che perciò raramente percepisce la portata delle trasformazioni in corso (I: 56, II: 37).

Secondo una prospettiva abbastanza in voga tra le due guerre, Churchill usa soltanto colori forti nel dipingere i personaggi che attirano la sua attenzione e che vengono soprattutto giudicati, nel bene e nel male, per il ruolo che essi hanno avuto nella formazione e nel progressivo miglioramento della nazione inglese. È però vero, allo stesso tempo, che tali personaggi sembrano avere una ben limitata possibilità di decidere di tale ruolo. Valgano per tutti i casi del leader rivoluzionario Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), uno dei personaggi più detestati da Churchill per il suo estremismo dottrinario, e di re Giorgio III, cui egli attribuì tanta responsabilità nella gestione della crisi americana. Ebbene, secondo Churchill, Cromwell risultò alla fine essere "davvero il Lord Protettore dei diritti inalienabili della Vecchia Inghilterra", perché senza di lui, "non ci sarebbero forse stati né un passo avanti, né un collasso, né una ripresa. Fra le rovine di ogni istituto sociale e politico che aveva fin allora guidato la vita dell'Isola, egli si adese gigantesco, corrusco, indispensabile, unico fattore che permettesse di guadagnare tempo per curare il male, e rifiorire" (II: 301; anche 278). E, sempre secondo Churchill, l'inettitudine di Giorgio III fu forse "un bene, alla lunga, per le libertà dell'Inghilterra", poiché dai "disastri che ne seguirono emerse il sistema parlamentare di governo come lo conosciamo ora" (III: 162).

Colui che si avvicini alla storia dei popoli di lingua inglese per il tramite di Churchill non può fare a meno di formarsi l'opinione che la storia del mondo occidentale (e, di conseguenza, dell'intero genere umano) sia una sorta di percorso che si svolge lungo un'inevitabile linea retta fatta di valori ritenuti fondamentalmente cristiani, quali

libertà e individualismo, ma anche proprietà e certezza del diritto. Su questo percorso ciascuna epoca, ciascuna comunità e ciascun personaggio lascia in eredità il suo piccolo o grande contributo. Anche durante il lunghissimo preludio romano e medievale, per esempio, perfino i conquistatori venuti dall'oltremare – romani, cristiani, vichinghi, sassoni e normanni – impararono a riconoscere come propria, diventandone parte integrante, la nuova terra, arricchendola della loro originale presenza.

Churchill identifica soprattutto nella creazione e nel perfezionamento della Common Law la sintesi più compiuta del contributo inglese al miglioramento dell'umanità. Questa, basandosi sulla somma dei precedenti giudiziari, e quindi su secoli di accumulata saggezza, avrebbe consentito all'Inghilterra di abbandonare rapidamente il sistema inquisitoriale di derivazione romana e successivamente di esportare quel sistema oltreoceano, nei "pascoli del Middle West, i campi di petrolio della California e le miniere d'oro dell'Australia, o [le terre] dei Maori" (I: 202, anche II: 181). Secondo Churchill, i perfezionamenti avvenuti nei secoli alla forma della Common Law non ruppero mai con il passato, intaccandone i principi essenziali (I: 273). "Se un nativo di Chester, nella Britannia romana, potesse ridestarsi oggi, troverebbe leggi che sono il diretto prolungamento di quelle a lui già note" (I: 52), afferma Churchill nell'apertura dell'opera.

Perfino laddove la storia obbligò i popoli di lingua inglese a violente rotture, come nel caso della Guerra per l'Indipendenza Americana, l'apparente contraddizione dell'adozione di una costituzione scritta da parte dei nuovi Stati Uniti non fece che fare riaffiorare l'antica esigenza di una corte suprema che si ergesse contro i potenziali dispotismi di corona e parlamento (II: 313). In realtà, spiegava Churchill, la Dichiarazione di Indipendenza (1776) "riaffermava i principi che avevano ispirato la lotta dei Whigs contro gli ultimi Stuart" (III: 186). Per parte sua, la Costituzione non era che l'"antica dottrina inglese, riformulata in modo da rispondere ad imperiose esigenze americane ... una riaffermazione di fede nei principi faticosamente sviluppati nel corso dei secoli dai popoli di

lingua inglese, [che] codifica[va] antichissime idee britanniche di giustizia e libertà" (III: 249).

Nonostante la sua insistenza sul ruolo trainante della Common Law, il lettore non può fare a meno di notare come, secondo Churchill, ciò che davvero accomuna i popoli di lingua inglese non sia stato tanto l'esplicitazione di una teoria, quanto piuttosto il pragmatismo di basso profilo con il quale essi hanno saputo confrontarsi con la storia. Si veda, per esempio, la differenza tra la Rivoluzione Francese e la Gloriosa Rivoluzione inglese. La prima, fomentata dagli "scritti sovvertitori dei filosofi francesi" (III: 249), fu "una rottura completa col passato" (III: 268) che provocò "terribili sommovimenti" e agitò "le menti di tutti gli uomini" (III: 244). La seconda, utilizzando la pratica del compromesso e "il gioco di una feconda assimilazione" (III: 270), si realizzò come "mutamento dignitoso ed ordinato ... nel debito rispetto della tradizione" (III: 268). E, poco più tardi, mentre "l'Europa soccombette a[lle] terribili convulsioni" degli anni 1840, ecco che "le questioni di partito a Westminster seguivano un placido corso" (IV: 74). Insomma, fu la capacità dei suoi leader migliori di operare "per adattamento, per graduale e quasi insensibile trasformazione di forme antiche, più che per brusca innovazione" (II: 34)<sup>23</sup> ciò che fece dell'Inghilterra, e successivamente dei popoli di lingua inglese, l'avanguardia del mondo occidentale. Niente di più lontano dallo spirito inglese, dunque, delle grandi formulazioni di principio. Nella Magna Charta invano "cercheremmo la formulazione grandiosa dei principi del Governo democratico o dei diritti dell'uomo" (I: 230). Libertà di stampa e di parola nacquero "per motivi che non avevano nulla di grandioso" e si svilupparono in modo "graduale, tecnico, non spettacoloso e tuttavia efficace" (III: 166-167). Ben più importante nel forgiare il carattere dei popoli di lingua inglese l'azione sotterranea dei bravi funzionari statali (i *civil servants*), tanto nell'epoca dell'amministrazione romana ("la politica di Roma era elaborata da funzionari di Ministeri di grande competenza" [I: 33]), quanto nel bel mezzo delle tragedie della Rivoluzione Francese ("È

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<sup>23</sup> La citazione si riferisce a re Enrico VII (1457-1509), ma esemplifica il concetto fondamentale di positività applicato da Churchill a tutta la storia inglese.

uno spettacolo curioso quello della tranquilla banalità della politica inglese, operante come nel vuoto" [III: 244]).

Ecco, dunque, l'immagine che resta negli occhi del lettore affascinato dalla narrazione della *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. Quella di una nazione che fin dall'antichità più profonda ha saputo procedere sul giusto cammino del miglioramento del suo popolo, che ha scelto di evitare le grandi rotture per privilegiare i piccoli passi, e che attraverso la Common Law ha portato al mondo un messaggio di equità e di buon senso. L'immagine di leader, di cui pochi in fondo di eccezionali capacità, i quali, sospinti dalla corrente di una storia che procedeva in un'unica direzione, hanno tutti portato un contributo, piccolo o grande, allo sviluppo della loro nazione. L'immagine di una regione appartenente a una piccola isola che prima ha sintetizzato al suo interno contributi diversi, e poi si è proiettata oltremare per offrire all'umanità il suo fondamentale contributo al suo progressivo miglioramento.

È a partire da questo retroterra culturale, filosofico e psicologico che Churchill dissemina nella sua *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* i molti e variamente espliciti riferimenti al mondo di cui egli fu non semplice storico, ma principale protagonista. Nei ventiquattro anni che trascorsero tra la firma del contratto (1933) e la firma apposta alla prefazione del vol. IV (1957), lo statista britannico combatté in prima persona contro il "pacifismo ... ignominioso" di entrambi i partiti politici del suo paese (II: 177)<sup>24</sup>, contro i nazifascisti occidentali e orientali, portatori di "barbarie animalesca" (I: 208; anche I: 193), che utilizzavano il "terrorismo in massa mediante lo spettacolo del sangue e dell'assenza di pietà" (I: 156; anche I: 329), e, da ultimo, contro il comunismo. Il discorso che Churchill tenne a Fulton, nel Missouri, il 5 marzo 1946, in cui egli coniò la fortunata immagine della Cortina di Ferro "da Stettino nel Baltico a Trieste nell'Adriatico", trova infatti la sua eco puntuale nella conclusione, in verità affrettata e insoddisfacente dal punto di vista stilistico, della sua opera: "Si profila dinanzi a noi una nuova fase nella quale l'alleanza verrà una volta di

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<sup>24</sup> La citazione si riferisce a Giacomo I, ma la polemica politica è più che trasparente. Vedi anche III: 34.

più posta alla prova e nel cui corso le sue formidabili virtù potranno conservare la Pace e la Libertà" (IV: 388).

È dunque da protagonista, e non da storico, che Churchill affronta le sfide dei suoi tempi. L'idea di una storia che, come una corrente, procede in un'unica direzione e trae vantaggio anche dalle malefatte dei suoi protagonisti negativi, nonostante un richiamo più retorico che sostanziale ("In epoche dure o malinconiche, gli uomini liberi traggono sempre conforto dalla grande lezione della storia che le tirannie non possono durare, se non fra popoli servili. Gli anni che sembrano interminabili a chi li sopporta non sono che un breve incidente lungo il cammino" [II: 285]), lascia il posto ad accorati appelli alla milizia attiva a difesa di quello che, dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale, i popoli di lingua inglese avrebbero definito "mondo libero". A loro, e non ad altri, spetta il compito di "additare la via se le cose vanno bene, e naturalmente difendersi ... se vanno male" (I: 8). Nulla infatti garantisce "il perdurare [delle] conquiste" (II: 141), ammonisce Churchill, e quello stesso nativo della Britannia romana che abbiamo già incontrato si risveglierebbe in "una società minacciata" da "un'improvvisa invasione di forze barbariche" (I: 53). Suo "primo dovere" sarebbe quello "di morire e uccidere per la terra in cui viv[e]" (I: 40), nella speranza, che è quella dell'umanità intiera, che egli abbia "altrettanto successo" del mitico Cassivellauno dei tempi di Giulio Cesare (I: 32).

Se nella *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* appaiono sovente i suoi augusti antenati, la scelta di terminare la narrazione con il regno della regina Vittoria (1819-1901) esime Churchill dal definire e giudicare, quantomeno in tale sede, il proprio ruolo. Se lo avesse fatto, egli avrebbe probabilmente definito "notevole" il fatto che "i suoi servigi gli [avessero] meritato scarsa gratitudine" (III: 235) e gli elettori lo avessero escluso dal governo del paese all'indomani della grande vittoria della Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Avrebbe altresì ricordato come fosse stato il suo ruolo quello di "[c]hiamare alla vita ed all'azione l'anima depressa e languente della Gran Bretagna, fonderne tutte le ricchezze materiali e umane in un solo strumento di guerra" senza "calcolare mai le spese in sangue o in oro", infondendo tale

spirito "in tutte le classi, ammiragli e semplici artigiani, grandi commercianti e piccoli bottegai, negli ufficiali più giovani, che sentivano come ... l'insuccesso poteva ottenere il perdono, l'esitazione mai" (III: 148-149). Ma ancor più avrebbe apprezzato che gli storici del futuro così lo descrivessero: "[U]no di quegli inglesi che conoscono alla perfezione l'uso del tempo e delle circostanze. È un tipo che ha prosperato, nella nostra Isola. Gli inglesi tendono ad ammirare gli uomini che non cercano di dominare gli eventi o di modificare il corso del destino; che sanno attendere, compiendo il loro dovere un giorno dopo l'altro, senza grandi voli, finché non sia dubbio se la marea cresce o cala, per poi, con tutte le apparenze di una grande dignità e di una completa abnegazione, con solide, robuste qualità di condotta se non di cuore, marciare a passi lenti, cauti, ma decisi, verso quella che è la chiara meta di tutta la nazione" (II: 307)<sup>25</sup>.

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Publicato originariamente come "Introduzione" a Winston L.S. Churchill, *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese* (Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1999), 4 voll., I: *Nascita dell'Inghilterra*, I-XVI.

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<sup>25</sup> Si tratta naturalmente di tre citazioni che si riferiscono a personaggi storici. La prima a William Petty, conte di Shelburne e poi marchese di Lansdowne (1737-1805), la seconda a William Pitt, detto Il Vecchio ("the Elder"), conte di Chatham (1708-78), e la terza a George Monck, duca di Albemarle (1608-70).





## 5. RICHARD HOFSTADTER E L'AMERICA COLONIALE

Nel 1750 un organista tedesco, Gottlieb Mittelberger, maestro di musica nel ducato di Württemberg, ricevette l'incarico di consegnare un organo ai suoi concittadini emigrati a New Providence, nella Pennsylvania. Dei molti che partivano dall'Europa per raggiungere il Nuovo Mondo, non tutti arrivavano a posar il piede sul suolo americano. Di questi, ben pochi raccontarono la loro storia. Mittelberger fu uno di questi, e la sua storia è terribile. Il viaggio dell'organista tedesco e dei quattrocento emigrati che partirono con lui fu di una lunghezza infinita. Partito da Heilbronn all'inizio di maggio, Mittelberger non raggiunse Filadelfia che alla fine di ottobre. Sette settimane durò il viaggio dalla partenza a Rotterdam, e altre quindici dall'Olanda al Nord America, con lunghe soste tanto in Olanda quanto in Inghilterra. "Durante la navigazione", racconta Mittelberger, "la nave è piena di miserandi segni di sofferenza – cattivi odori, esalazioni, brividi, vomiti, varie forme di mal di mare, febbre, dissenteria, dolori di testa, vampe di calore, stitichezza, pustole, scorbuto, cancro, piaghe alla bocca e consimili malanni, tutti causati dal deterioramento e dall'eccessiva salatura delle vivande, specie della carne, nonché dall'acqua pessima e sporca, cose che provocavano la misera consunzione e la morte di molti". I passeggeri erano coperti di pidocchi, pasti caldi venivano serviti non più di tre volte alla settimana, le gallette (spesso l'unico cibo negli ultimi giorni di traversata), erano "piene di vermi rossi e nidi di ragni", l'acqua era "molte volte veramente nera, spessa per la polvere e piena di vermi, di modo che nessuno riusciva a berla senza esserne disgustato, neppure con la più grande sete". Le frequenti tempeste rendevano ancora più miserevole la situazione dei viaggiatori. "Spesso le onde s'innalzano come montagne, una dopo l'altra, e precipitano sulla nave, e ognuno ha paura di colare a picco ... non si può né camminare, né sedere, né sdraiarsi, e nelle affollate cuccette i passeggeri vengono scagliati uno contro l'altro ... i malati così come i sani, ciascuno è convinto che la

nave con tutto il carico è destinata ad affondare. In tale frangente tutte le persone a bordo pregano e gridano insieme in maniera pietosa". Neppure l'arrivo a destinazione mise fine alle pene degli emigranti. I servi a contratto vennero assegnati ai loro padroni e i *redemptioners* venduti al miglior offerente. Le famiglie furono divise, i bambini di età inferiore ai cinque anni assegnati a un padrone fino al compimento della maggiore età, i sopravvissuti costretti a pagare, in anni di servitù, anche per i familiari morti durante il viaggio. Nell'attesa di un compratore, molti furono lasciati morire sulla nave che li aveva portati fino in vista della terra promessa<sup>1</sup>.

Era questa l'America del 1750? Fu dunque questo il sogno americano che spinse tanti europei a lasciare un ambiente familiare per un Nuovo Mondo lontano e ignoto? Come vivevano gli americani, vecchi o nuovi, bianchi o negri che fossero? L'esperienza di Mittelberger è rappresentativa della realtà della storia coloniale americana? È quanto si chiede lo storico americano Richard Hofstadter (1916-70) nel suo libro *L'America coloniale*. Diciamo subito che la data scelta da Hofstadter è in realtà un termine *a quo* di comodo, e non indica altro che la metà di un secolo. Anzi, nel 1750 non successe in America alcunché di significativo. Ciò rappresenta un vantaggio, in quanto consente a Hofstadter di fotografare una situazione e ripercorrerne le origini nel tempo passato senza essere legato a fatti contingenti che distolgano l'attenzione da una visione globale. Basta fare pochi passi indietro, infatti, e si arriva al 1748, cioè all'anno della fine della Guerra di Successione Austriaca, che si combatté tanto in Europa quanto in America. Pochi passi avanti, e siamo al 1754, all'inizio della Guerra dei Sette Anni in America, una guerra che più di ogni altra mutò il volto al Nuovo Mondo, decretando (1763) la fine dell'impero francese in America e la conquista dell'immenso Canada. Un bambino che fosse nato nel 1750, poi, avrebbe visto, al compimento del suo venticinquesimo anno di età, lo

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<sup>1</sup> Il racconto di Gottlieb Mittelberger è ampiamente citato da Richard Hofstadter. Quanto non è in *L'America coloniale* è ripreso dalla versione antologizzata, *America before the Revolution, 1725-1775*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 6-10, 42-44.

scoppio di una guerra, in seguito nota come Rivoluzione Americana, che avrebbe portato all'indipendenza delle tredici province unite dell'America Settentrionale. Il 1750 sembra dunque il momento più propizio per congelare il tumultuoso sviluppo delle colonie britanniche d'America e descriverne la società e la realtà di ogni giorno con cui ogni americano si trovava a contatto.

Il 16 settembre 1748, il naturalista svedese Pehr Kalm (1716-79) annotava nel suo diario di viaggio come la Pennsylvania, che nel 1681 "non era altro che una landa desolata, ... ora rivaleggia per il numero di abitanti con molti regni d'Europa". E di quella stessa Filadelfia, alla quale Mittelberger sarebbe approdato due anni più tardi, Kalm scriveva che "per bellezza, bontà dei regolamenti, piacevolezza del sito, vantaggi della natura, commercio, ricchezza e potere non è assolutamente inferiore alle città di Europa, nemmeno a quelle più antiche"<sup>2</sup>. La formidabile crescita demografica delle province britanniche d'America è certamente uno dei fatti più significativi della storia americana, ed è proprio con un capitolo dedicato a "Popolamento e immigrazione" che Hofstadter apre il suo libro. Si pensi, ricorda Hofstadter, che mentre nel periodo 1700-60 l'Inghilterra e il Galles aumentarono la loro popolazione del 23 per cento, nello stesso periodo la popolazione delle colonie aumentò del 600 per cento: esse contavano 250.000 abitanti nel 1700, 1.700.000 nel 1750, per arrivare a cinque milioni alla fine del secolo. Soltanto una parte degli americani era nata in America. Il resto veniva dall'Europa, tutti con l'idea che in America ci fosse terra per tutti e con la speranza di ritagliarne una fetta per sé. Che la terra fosse abbondante e che nessuno che lo volesse ne restasse privo è certo uno dei miti più persistenti della storia americana, e Hofstadter descrive minutamente il sistema di appropriazione della terra, spesso opponendo al mito la realtà dei fatti. Tra l'altro, nonostante il sogno americano e l'intensa propaganda, di europei in America ne arrivarono sempre troppo pochi:

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<sup>2</sup> *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America. The English Version of 1770. Revised from the Original Swedish and Edited by Adolph G. Benson, with A Translation of New Material from Kalm's Diary Notes*, ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York: Dover, 1966), I: 33.

la soluzione al problema venne trovata nella massiccia importazione di schiavi negri e di bianchi non liberi.

Proprio ai bianchi non liberi è dedicato il secondo capitolo, "I servi bianchi". Un fatto che si tende spesso a dimenticare è che, se non si tiene conto dell'emigrazione puritana verso il New England degli anni 1630-40, meno della metà di coloro che raggiunsero le colonie erano uomini liberi che avevano pagato intieramente il proprio passaggio. Il resto era fatto di servi a contratto, *redemptioners* e criminali. Il servo a contratto si impegnava a servire un padrone in America per un periodo di circa cinque anni in cambio del pagamento del biglietto di viaggio e del mantenimento fino al termine del contratto stesso. I *redemptioners* pagavano soltanto in parte il loro passaggio, e si impegnavano a lavorare sotto padrone per integrare la differenza dovuta. I criminali, che avevano preferito l'America al patibolo o al carcere, erano naturalmente costretti a lunghi periodi di lavoro forzato. I dati che Hofstadter riporta a proposito della realtà della vita dei servi a contratto sono impressionanti. Su dieci servi a contratto, otto morivano durante il contratto, o tornavano in Inghilterra, o (nella migliore delle ipotesi) diventavano bianchi poveri. Dei restanti due, uno diventava artigiano, l'altro (uno su dieci!) riusciva a diventare un piccolo proprietario di terra. Uno studio posteriore al libro di Hofstadter mostra come, su un campione di 275 servi a contratto del Maryland, soltanto 158 sopravvissero fino alla fine del contratto, e di questi ultimi 81 (cioè il 28 per cento del totale) riuscirono a diventare piccoli proprietari, dei quali 14 (cioè il 5 per cento) morirono benestanti<sup>3</sup>. Insomma, il destino di più della metà di coloro che riuscivano ad arrivare sul suolo americano era, nella grande maggioranza dei casi, segnato in partenza.

Al tema del commercio e della schiavitù in generale sono dedicati il terzo e il quarto capitolo del libro, che certo rappresentano il momento più drammatico del grande ritratto di Hofstadter. Se l'esperienza della traversata dell'Atlantico era già penosa per i bianchi, essa fu terribile

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<sup>3</sup> Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status, Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth Century Maryland", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 30, no. 1 (January 1973): 37-64.

per i negri, e non soltanto per le inumane condizioni in cui essi venivano deportati (in realtà, come ricorda Hofstadter, la mortalità fra gli equipaggi delle navi, le guarnigioni bianche sulla costa africana o i servi a contratto era ben più alta), ma soprattutto per l'allontanamento forzato dalla loro terra e il terrore dell'ignoto che li aspettava. Nel 1737, un negro (da tempo schiavo) salì su una nave che era appena attraccata nell'isola caraibica di St. Kitts con un nuovo carico di schiavi, e, credendo di scherzare, disse ai suoi compagni di sventura che sarebbero stati accecati, torturati, infine mangiati. Folli di paura, più di un centinaio di loro si gettarono in mare cercando la morte, e trentatré riuscirono a porre fine alle loro sofferenze. Da sempre abituati a considerare l'istituzione della schiavitù come un tratto caratteristico della società americana, spesso dimentichiamo, ci ricorda Hofstadter, due fatti altrettanto importanti. In primo luogo, che soltanto il 5 per cento dei nove o dieci milioni di negri che vennero deportati in America raggiunse gli attuali Stati Uniti (cioè circa 400.000/500.000), mentre la maggior parte di loro finì nelle Indie Occidentali o in Brasile. In secondo luogo, che l'istituzione della schiavitù non fu un fatto economicamente rilevante per le colonie britanniche del Nord America che a partire dall'inizio del Settecento.

Nel descrivere la società americana, alcuni storici hanno negato che vi fossero presenti sostanziali differenze di classe, per utilizzare invece categorie onnicomprensive quali popolo o nazione. Altri hanno preferito definire gli americani a partire dal loro essere geografico (gli americani sono tali perché vivono in America e vengono forgiati dall'ambiente naturale che li circonda, che è diverso da quello europeo). Altri hanno utilizzato la categoria di classe sociale, ma hanno messo l'accento sul sostanziale consenso esistente tra le varie classi (è questa una interpretazione della storia americana con cui Hofstadter ha molto a che fare). Altri ancora hanno negato l'esistenza di tale consenso, mettendo in luce invece la costante conflittualità sociale della storia americana (e invero della storia di ogni paese). Si tratta di punti di vista molto diversi tra loro, che Hofstadter ha ben presenti quando scrive il quinto capitolo del suo libro, "Il mondo della borghesia". Il titolo del capitolo è la soluzione che Hofstadter propone

al problema. L'America è, nelle sue parole, un "mondo di classi medie", dove ci sono "preoccupati governatori regi, ma non una Corte ... personaggi ricchi e influenti consiglieri, ma non una nobiltà ... varie chiese ... ma non una Chiesa che avesse una completa panoplia gerarchica". Non è che non esistessero altre classi, una sostanzialmente più ricca (una sorta di aristocrazia senza titoli) e una sostanzialmente più povera (un proletariato dai confini molto vaghi), quanto piuttosto, spiega Hofstadter, che il peso delle classi medie era significativamente superiore all'Europa, e che sia i poveri che i ricchi guardavano alle classi medie come a una classe di cui condividevano scelte e aspirazioni.

Nel Seicento, secondo lo storico gallese Kenneth G. Davies (c.1924-94), "il New England rappresentò l'unico esempio ... di una colonia fondata con il proposito cosciente di creare una società diversa da ciò che ci si era lasciato alle spalle in Europa"<sup>4</sup>. Nel Settecento ci fu un altro caso ben presto risoltosi in un fallimento, quello della Georgia. Poiché in quei tempi le ipotesi di fondazione di società diverse si traducevano soprattutto in diverse concezioni religiose, ciò significa che (contrariamente a un ben radicato luogo comune) la grande maggioranza degli europei che arrivavano in America erano indifferenti in materia di religione, o quantomeno non emigravano per motivi religiosi. Ciò non significa, peraltro, che gli americani non fossero religiosi, o che l'appartenenza a una denominazione piuttosto che a un'altra non fosse un fatto importante nella loro vita. Fu però proprio l'indifferenza in materia di religione (a paragone con l'Europa) a creare un sostanziale regime di tolleranza e a consentire l'incredibile proliferare delle denominazioni più diverse. Kalm, al suo arrivo a Filadelfia, non poté fare a meno di notare il grande numero di chiese diverse che erano state erette nella città, "poiché, in questo paese, Dio si onora in tanti modi": una chiesa anglicana, una chiesa svedese, una chiesa luterana, due chiese presbiteriane, una chiesa riformata tedesca,

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<sup>4</sup> Kenneth G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, e London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 197.

una nuova chiesa riformata, due centri di culto quaccheri, uno anabattista, una chiesa cattolica e una dei Fratelli Moravi<sup>5</sup>.

Gli ultimi tre capitoli del libro di Hofstadter sono appunto dedicati all'organizzazione religiosa delle colonie britanniche e a quello degli americani nei confronti delle istituzioni e delle idee religiose. Hofstadter mette in particolare l'accento sul significato del Grande Risveglio (Great Awakening), quel movimento che scosse l'America tra gli anni 1720 e 1740, e che, rigettando il materialismo e la vuota irritualità dell'ufficialità religiosa, contribuì a rendere l'America "la più protestante delle civiltà protestanti", e, nel campo della morale, "la società più borghese dell'emergente mondo borghese". Un'America, insomma, ancora più americana. Quando, il 24 ottobre 1970, Hofstadter morì, stroncato dalla leucemia, *L'America coloniale* non era ancora finito. Ecco perché una serie di temi che a questo punto il lettore si aspetterebbe di trovare nel libro di Hofstadter non ci sono, anche se certamente facevano parte del piano originario dell'autore: le guerre imperiali, i rapporti tra colonie britanniche e Canada (e forse un paragone tra le due esperienze)<sup>6</sup>, la politica britannica nei confronti delle colonie, il rapporto tra le élite provinciali e la madrepatria, il rapporto tra la struttura sociale delle colonie e la vita politica delle stesse. *L'America coloniale*, dunque, è un libro incompiuto. Come ci dice la moglie dello storico, Beatrice Kevitt Hofstadter, nel maggio del 1969 egli aveva proposto all'editore il piano di una grande opera, da scrivere nel corso dei diciotto anni successivi, che avrebbe in tre volumi raccontato la storia degli Stati Uniti dal 1750 ai nostri giorni, una sorta di "storia politica del popolo americano".

Quando morì, un anno e mezzo più tardi, Hofstadter aveva già terminato, del primo volume previsto, i capitoli sulla religione (VI, VII, VIII), sulla schiavitù negra (III, V), sulla servitù bianca (III), e sul

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<sup>5</sup> *Kalm's Travels*, I: 20-24.

<sup>6</sup> Tale paragone è raramente affrontato dagli storici americani, e più spesso da quelli canadesi. Per un ottimo articolo in proposito, vedi in italiano William J. Eccles, "Nuova Francia e colonie britanniche d'America: somiglianze e diversità", in *Canadiana. Aspetti della storia e della letteratura canadese*, ed. Luca Codignola (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1978), 27-40.

mondo delle classi medie (V), considerandoli completi. Tanto il capitolo su popolamento e immigrazione (II) quanto l'introduzione (l'ultima cosa che scrisse, nell'agosto 1970) non possono invece essere considerati completamente terminati. Le note sulle élite coloniali erano ancora troppo informi per essere pubblicate, e i previsti capitoli sulla politica coloniale e sulle guerre imperiali non erano nemmeno cominciati. Durante la sua carriera di storico (era nato a Buffalo, nello stato di New York, il 6 agosto 1916), Hofstadter scrisse molto e venne molto letto (*L'America coloniale* è il suo quinto libro a essere tradotto in italiano), contribuendo a influenzare il pensiero di generazioni di storici. A Hofstadter viene generalmente attribuita la paternità di quella interpretazione della storia americana nota come "consensus history" (la tesi secondo cui la storia americana è caratterizzata non dal conflitto tra le componenti civili ma dal sostanziale consenso tra le stesse)<sup>7</sup>. Storico delle idee e storico della politica, Hofstadter aveva finito con l'occuparsi soprattutto della cultura politica americana, piuttosto che della storia delle organizzazioni politiche. Di questa sua tendenza, *The American Political Tradition* (1948), *The Age of Reform* (1956) e *The Idea of a Party System* (1969) sono opere particolarmente significative<sup>8</sup>. Del suo incontro con le scienze sociali, e in particolare con la sociologia (vedi il suo *Sociology and History*, del 1968, scritto con Seymour Martin Lipset [1922-2007])<sup>9</sup> e la psicologia sociale egli utilizzò, se non le tecniche di indagine e ancor meno il vocabolario, le nuove possibilità offerte alla ricerca storica

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<sup>7</sup> Vedi in proposito Arnaldo Testi, "Richard Hofstadter, uno storico liberale tra conflitto e consenso", *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 3 (1971-2): 175-241.

<sup>8</sup> Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Knopf, 1948), trad. it. *La tradizione politica americana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1960); Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D. Roosevelt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), trad. it. *L'età delle riforme* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962); Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

<sup>9</sup> *Sociology and History: Methods*, ed. Martin Seymour Lipset e Hofstadter (New York: Basic Books, 1968).



tradizionale. Il suo particolare interesse per gli impulsi irrazionali della vita americana lo portarono a scrivere saggi quali *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) e *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1965), e a curare, insieme a Michael Wallace, *American Violence* (1970)<sup>10</sup>. La sua attrazione per le élite culturali e la loro ideologia sottintende opere quali *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, la sua tesi di dottorato (1944), *The Development of Higher Education* (1952) e *The Development of Academic Freedom* (1955)<sup>11</sup>. La sua continua attenzione alla storiografia americana lo convinse della necessità di una revisione critica di una scuola storiografica, quella degli storici progressisti, che tanta influenza aveva avuto sulla sua formazione e su quella di tanti storici della sua generazione: *The Progressive Historians* (1968) rimane ancora oggi una delle sue opere più lette, insieme al manuale *The American Republic*, scritto insieme a William Miller e Daniel Aaron (1959) e alla raccolta documentaria *Great Issues in American History* (1958)<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963), trad. it. *Società e intellettuali in America* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1968); Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965); *American Violence: A Documentary History*, ed. Hofstadter e Michael Wallace (New York: Knopf, 1970).

<sup>11</sup> Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944); Hofstadter e Charles De Witt Hardy, *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); Hofstadter e Walt Metger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

<sup>12</sup> Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1968); Hofstadter, William Miller e Daniel Aaron, *The American Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1959); *Great Issues in American History: A Documentary Record 1765-1969*, ed. Hofstadter (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), trad. it. *Le grandi controversie della storia americana* (Roma: Opere Nuove, 1966), 2 voll.; un altro volume, *1584-1776*, venne in seguito (1969) curato assieme a Clarence L. VerSteeg. Vedi anche, su Hofstadter, i seguenti articoli apparsi in occasione della sua morte: Comer Vann Woodward, "Richard Hofstadter 1916-70", *The New York Review of Books* 15, no. 10 (3 December 1970): 10; Woodward, "Richard Hofstadter 1916-70", *American Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (June 1971): 957-959; Alfred Kazin, "Richard Hofstadter 1916-70", *American Scholar* 40, no. 3

Come ben si coglie dalla sua produzione scientifica, Hofstadter non è uno storico d'archivio, un ricostruttore di vicende a partire da nuovi dati o da verifiche documentarie. Egli si trova piuttosto a suo agio nel trattare grandi temi e nel porli nel loro contesto culturale e sociale, in ciò aiutato anche dalla sua vicinanza con le scienze sociali e dalla sua grande capacità di sintetizzare e generalizzare i risultati della ricerca specialistica condotta da altri. Hofstadter non è nemmeno uno storico dell'età coloniale, avendo rivolto la sua attenzione soprattutto alla fine dell'Ottocento e alla prima metà del Novecento. *L'America coloniale* non può quindi essere visto come una sintesi di precedenti sue ricerche di carattere monografico, quanto piuttosto come una introduzione a quel grande ritratto della società americana che egli avrebbe voluto condurre fino ai giorni nostri. Evidentemente, nell'ideare il suo ambizioso progetto, Hofstadter aveva avvertito il bisogno di mettere alla prova dei fatti e di verificare sul lungo periodo tutte quelle idee che egli era venuto elaborando nel corso della sua vita. Come valutare, dunque, un libro che sappiamo incompiuto e che è molto diverso da quanto lo stesso Hofstadter aveva scritto precedentemente?<sup>13</sup>.

*L'America coloniale* è certamente un libro di storia sociale. Vi si parla infatti di sviluppo economico, di numero di immigranti, di differenziazione etnica, di divisione della terra, di aggregazione e organizzazione sociale. Da questo punto di vista, molti dei "fatti" presenti nel libro di Hofstadter sono noti agli storici: l'importanza dell'immigrazione per lo sviluppo economico delle colonie, la limitatezza del commercio degli schiavi negri, le scarse possibilità di successo materiale dei servi a contratto, l'importanza della religione nella formazione ideologica della società americana alla vigilia della Rivoluzione Americana. Ciò che è di più nuovo discende dall'interesse particolare dell'autore per la psicologia sociale. Tale interesse fornisce

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(Summer 1971): 397-401; George Juergens, "Richard Hofstadter: A Memorial", *Journal of American History* 48, no. 2 (September 1971): 312-315.

<sup>13</sup> Due importanti recensioni al libro di Hofstadter sono quelle di Stanley N. Katz, in *Journal of American History* 49, no. 2 (September 1972): 407-409; e di Robert Middlekauff, in *American Historical Review* 77, no. 5 (December 1972): 1502.

infatti all'analisi di Hofstadter una prospettiva che supera la semplice enumerazione di dati e li pone in un contesto "umano": quello delle speranze degli emigranti, del terrore dei negri deportati, dei sentimenti dei predicatori evangelici, dei valori borghesi della società americana in genere. Hofstadter procede dunque su un duplice binario: le sensazioni e le immagini da una parte, e la "realtà" dall'altra. Ma qual'è dunque, nel suo complesso, questa "realtà" americana per Hofstadter? Nonostante quanto detto finora, le pagine di *L'America coloniale* non ci consentono una risposta semplice, chiara e definitiva.

Da una parte, e con la sola eccezione del quinto capitolo, non c'è pagina di Hofstadter che non metta l'accento sulla conflittualità inerente alla società americana e alla sua storia. Le esperienze tanto degli schiavi quanto dei bianchi non liberi sono dipinte in termini drammatici, sullo sfondo di un paese che si fonda sull'uguaglianza tanto sociale quanto politica. Anche nel campo della religione, l'accento è messo sul trauma che il Grande Risveglio rappresentò, sul frazionamento delle denominazioni, e sulla rivolta contro l'autorità ecclesiastica stabilita. Settarismo religioso, violenza, razzismo, scarsa mobilità verso l'alto, una vita, comunque, sempre molto dura. Ecco il quadro complessivo della società americana del Settecento che Hofstadter tende a delineare. Dall'altra, però, dappertutto nel volume, ma in maniera più coerente nel quinto capitolo, ecco l'immagine, sostanzialmente ottimista, di un solido "mondo di classi medie", di una società che è "fondamentalmente felice, produttiva, prospera, materialista, pluralista e in costante miglioramento"<sup>14</sup>. Un mondo, insomma, nel quale "un buon numero di coloro che iniziavano la vita al di sotto della classe media non solo ne condividevano le aspirazioni, ma avevano notevoli possibilità di realizzarle prima di morire". Se i termini del discorso ("un buon numero", "notevoli possibilità") sono vaghi, il suo senso è molto chiaro.

La contraddizione tra il pessimismo di quei "fatti" che è Hofstadter stesso a dipingerci con tanta crudezza, e quella "sensazione" di ottimismo che pervade l'intero volume non si risolve. Forse, se Hofstadter avesse potuto portare a termine il suo progetto, egli

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<sup>14</sup> Katz, recensione a *America at 1750*, 408.

l'avrebbe superata. Appare più probabile, però, che l'ambiguità del volume derivi direttamente da un atteggiamento ambiguo dello stesso Hofstadter nei confronti della società americana in genere e di quella coloniale in particolare. Proprio negli anni precedenti la stesura di *L'America coloniale* infatti, la storiografia americana (si vedano soprattutto gli studi di Philip Greven, Kenneth A. Lockridge, John Demos e Michael W. Zuckerman, tutti usciti nel 1970) aveva mostrato, con sempre maggiore sicurezza, come il Settecento fosse un periodo di crescente ineguaglianza sociale ed economica, e aveva contribuito ad allontanare ulteriormente il mito di un'America tranquilla, pastorale, pacifica e prospera, che si avvicina a grandi passi all'apoteosi della rivoluzione e dell'indipendenza (un mito che, sia detto per inciso, proprio Hofstadter aveva cominciato a intaccare anni prima). Nonostante mostri di conoscere bene tali studi e (con i frequenti riferimenti ai risultati da loro raggiunti) di approvarne le conclusioni, Hofstadter non muta sostanzialmente la sua visione generalmente ottimista della storia della società americana. Si ha dunque l'impressione che proprio quando lavorava a *L'America coloniale* Hofstadter stesse riflettendo su questi problemi. L'incompletezza del suo libro ci offre quindi non una soluzione, ma dei problemi ancora aperti che spetterà agli storici che seguiranno tentare di risolvere.

Chi, dopo la sua morte, ha scritto di Hofstadter e della sua vita, ha detto della sua profonda umanità, del suo carattere schivo, della sua attenzione ai problemi umani del mondo in cui viveva e del mondo passato, del suo disinteresse per le autorità del suo tempo che, curiosamente, andava di pari passo con il suo interesse di storico per le élite politiche del passato. Lo storico Stanley M. Katz ha definito il suo *L'America coloniale* "un testamento alla sua forza intellettuale, alla sua onestà e alla sua vivacità"<sup>15</sup>. La decisione di pubblicare *L'America coloniale* nonostante la sua incompletezza venne probabilmente presa dopo la morte di Hofstadter, e fu certamente una decisione giusta. Il libro, che uscì negli Stati Uniti nel settembre 1971 (a poco meno di un anno dalla morte dell'autore) è infatti dotato di una

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

straordinaria unità e non presenta salti o cesure apparenti. Ci accorgiamo delle sue mancanze (o meglio, delle sue assenze) soltanto quando arriviamo all'ultima pagina, e vorremmo che il libro continuasse. Abbagliati dal "sacro esperimento" dei Puritani del New England e dai trionfi della Rivoluzione Americana, dimentichiamo spesso che tra quei due estremi cronologici trascorrono centocinquanta anni. Hofstadter, con il suo *L'America coloniale*, ci consente di conoscere e meglio comprendere proprio quella notevole varietà di "esperienze americane" che quei centocinquanta anni hanno prodotto.

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Publicato originariamente come "Introduzione" a Richard Hofstadter, *L'America coloniale. Ritratto di una nazione nascente* (Milano: Mondadori, 1983), VII-XVII, edizione italiana di *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York: Knopf, 1971).



## 6. RAIMONDO LURAGHI'S COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA: AN INNOVATIVE MARXIST AT ODDS WITH HIMSELF?

I met Professor Raimondo Luraghi for the first time in the afternoon of 20 January 1972 at the bottom of the stairwell leading to the Department of History of the Università di Genova. He asked me to walk with him to the railway station nearby, where he was to take his usual train for Turin. The stroll to the station was (and is) his favourite way to meet people students, colleagues, friends and avoid the hassle of his office. That time I was the chosen one. Luraghi had been a member of the committee that had recently evaluated my application for a Fulbright Fellowship and had been specially interested in my topic, the conflict between the French and the English in early North America. So he had quite simply picked up the telephone, an uncommon occurrence among Italian university professors, and invited me to meet him at his office. I accepted his offer with some awe. To me, a 24-year-old history graduate recently discharged from the Italian army, Luraghi was the great author of an imposing 1,395-page book on the Civil War which my father, Luciano Codignola, knowing my penchant for American history, had given me at the time of its publication (1966).<sup>1</sup>

Luraghi explained to me that my topic was worth pursuing, and that a continental vision of the development of early North America was just what he had in mind for a textbook history of the United States that he had recently been asked to write. According to him, the history of North America had been all too often interpreted as the history of a single group, the Puritans of New England, whereas there were in fact many Americas – the South, the aboriginal peoples, the blacks, the Spanish, and the French. Only a comparison of their experiences and an analysis of their interplay could explain the history of the United

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<sup>1</sup> Raimondo Luraghi, *Storia della guerra civile americana* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1966).

States and, for that matter, of Canada. Luraghi suggested that I topped my "must" reading list with two books. The first was Roy H. Pearce's *Savagism and Civilization*, a book first published in 1953 which had some years previously been revised (1965). This would help me place the American aboriginal peoples in the main framework of American history. The second was Alan Simpson's *Puritanism in Old and New England*, a slim book issued in 1955 which had also been reissued (1967). This was, according to Luraghi, a good antidote to the Puritan mythology.<sup>2</sup> As it happened, I was not awarded the Fulbright Fellowship that had brought me to the attention of Luraghi. Before the end of the year however, I was informed that a Canada Council fellowship would allow me to pursue my studies, on the same topic, at the University of Toronto. Luraghi had written one of the two letters of recommendation.

In the summer of 1974 I visited him at La Salle, in Valle d'Aosta, where he resided whenever he was not home in Turin, on teaching assignment at Genoa or, as it was very often the case, on extended research leave around the world. He showed me the very thick manuscript copy of the textbook whose project he had mentioned to me two years earlier. The textbook "will make big waves among historians, and will turn our concept of American history upside down," Luraghi told me with his trademark confidence. The book was ready on 16 April 1974, when he signed and dated his preface, and eventually appeared in print in the autumn as vol. 16 of the prestigious series "Nuova storia universale dei popoli e delle civiltà" of the Turin publishing house, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese (UTET). (The series included a volume on Latin America by Marcello Carmagnani and one by Pedro Bosch-Gimpera on pre-Columbian America, but none on Canada.)

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<sup>2</sup> Roy H. Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) (1<sup>st</sup> ed.: *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1953]); Alan Simpson, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967) (1<sup>st</sup> ed.: 1955).



*Gli Stati Uniti* certainly was an editorial success.<sup>3</sup> It was lavishly produced and two editions were rapidly sold out. It has now been purchased and read by students and lay readers for over twenty years. It did not, however, completely replace the much cheaper and handier paperback textbooks available on the Italian market, although these were outdated at the time of their translations into Italian even for American standards. Nor did *Gli Stati Uniti* make the "big waves" Luraghi expected, as most reviewers, while praising the book, did not grasp its novelty. And yet they well should have, as I then believed and had the opportunity to state in a review written for a Rome daily newspaper, for "the interpretation offered by Luraghi's book is profoundly different from that of the traditional American historiography."<sup>4</sup> But was it really? Were I to write the same review today, some twenty years later, would I still praise the book as I did at the time of its publication?

All history books age, and syntheses (such as Luraghi's) tend to age more quickly than research monographs. In fact, given their vast chronological and topical range, they mostly rely on secondary literature and, furthermore, they usually start with answers, rather than with questions. Let us discuss both instances with regard to the colonial and revolutionary era. To be sure, early North American history never was the focus of Luraghi's own interest and, to my knowledge, he never did any extensive archival research in that field. Yet I believe that his treatment of the formative era of the United States and Canada is specially revealing of his more general concept of history and of his own interpretation of their historical development. Furthermore, while after *Gli Stati Uniti* he continued to publish extensively on other topics and focused on military history,

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<sup>3</sup> Luraghi, *Gli Stati Uniti* (Torino: UTET, 1974).

<sup>4</sup> Luca Codignola, "Gli Stati Uniti ieri e oggi. Dalle origini dell'America al dramma di Watergate. Dalla nascita dell'America all'era di Nixon nella ricostruzione di Raimondo Luraghi," *Paese Sera*, 13 December 1974, 11 ("[I] criterio interpretativo che informa il libro di Luraghi è profondamente diverso da quello che ci offre la tradizionale storiografia americana").

Luraghi did not publicly reject or even revise his 1974 portrayal of early North American history.

As for the reliance on secondary literature, there is no doubt that, were Luraghi to revise his book, he would probably change his appraisal of some of his heroes. His words of praise would be somewhat toned down for French explorer and governor Samuel de Champlain ("his formidable intuition and his ingenious greatness"), Virginia's governor John Smith (1579-1631) ("the real rescuer of the colony"), the governor of New France, Louis de Buade, *comte de Frontenac* (1622-98) ("quick intelligence, indomitable courage, moderation and self-control ... undiscussed ingeniousness"), and the two military commanders of the 1759 battle at the Plains of Abraham at Québec, French Marquis Louis-Joseph de Montcalm (1712-59) ("the last great Frenchman in America") and British James Wolfe (1727-59) ("an immense imagination, an extraordinary physical courage, an ingenious intuition").<sup>5</sup> Yet new research always brings to the fore new data and corrects old errors, and Luraghi cannot be reproached for siding with judgments that were, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, almost commonplace among historians, or for not espousing new interpretations that had yet to be tested by time.

Luraghi would also probably update his bibliography, which, for the colonial and revolutionary era, was somewhat dated even for his own times. The clues to his reading list are far and between in *Gli Stati Uniti*, as the series did not allow for footnotes. There is then no way to know exactly what books or articles he read and used, although the list was obviously quite extensive. One way to get around this problem is to glance at the eight pages devoted to the secondary sources used for the colonial and revolutionary era within his forty-one-page general bibliography.<sup>6</sup> Another way, possibly more

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<sup>5</sup> Luraghi, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 48, 58, 77, 114, 117 ("l'intuito formidabile e la geniale grandezza," "il vero salvatore della colonia," "intelligenza pronta, coraggio indomito, moderazione e controllo di se stesso ... indiscutibile genialità," "l'ultimo dei grandi francesi in terra d'America," "una immensa immaginazione, un coraggio fisico straordinario, una intuizione al livello del genio").

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 655-696. Early North America is at 675-682.

revealing, is to check the direct references to some contemporary authors (often followed by lengthy quotations) with which Luraghi interspersed his own narrative. For example, Pearce's *Savagism and Civilization* and Simpson's *Puritanism*, the two books Luraghi suggested to me upon our first meeting, are cited four and three times respectively. Arthur L. Morton (1903-87), the author of *A People's History of England*, also tops the list with four citations, whereas three are awarded to Bernard DeVoto (1897-1955)'s *The Course of Empire* and to Tiziano Bonazzi's *Il sacro esperimento*.<sup>7</sup> Yet very few authors mentioned by Luraghi were published after 1965. Of the post-World War II historians cited, six are from the 1940s,<sup>8</sup> six from the 1950s,<sup>9</sup> and two only from the period 1960-4.<sup>10</sup> Of the seven authors of the period post-1965, one is not a colonial historian (Eugene D. Genovese); four are Italian colleagues (Nicola Matteucci [1926-2006], Giorgio Spini [1916-2006], Bonazzi and Itala Vivan); and the only two North American colonial historians cited are Jesse Lemisch and James A. Henretta.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Arthur L. Morton, *A People's History of England* (London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1948); Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), Italian translation *La corsa all'impero* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1963); Tiziano Bonazzi, *Il sacro esperimento. Teologia e politica nell'America puritana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1970).

<sup>8</sup> John H. Franklin (1943), 94; Morton (1946), 71, 85, 86, 87; John Collier (1947), 11, 99; Clarence H. Haring (1947), 25; Lewis Hanke (1949), 25; and Wesley F. Craven (1949), 75, 80. Dates in brackets refer to the publication date of the first edition of the book Luraghi has most likely used for his citation or quotation, although he might have used other works by the same author.

<sup>9</sup> DeVoto (1952), 37, 52, 108; Pearce (1953), 98, 99, 100, 101; Wallace Notestein (1954), 86, 90; Lawrence H. Gipson (1954), 124; Simpson (1955), 85, 89 (twice); and Douglas S. Freeman (1957), 141.

<sup>10</sup> William Brandon (1961), 99, 100; and Richard Hofstadter (1962), 130.

<sup>11</sup> Nicola Matteucci (1965), 135; Jesse Lemisch (1967, an article), 133; Giorgio Spini (1968), 85; Eugene D. Genovese (1969), 66, 81; Bonazzi (1970), 89, 90, 91; Itala Vivan (1972), 99; James A. Henretta, 129. In the latter's case, most probably Luraghi makes reference to one of his articles, rather than to his first book, *"Salutary Neglect:" Colonial Administration under the Duke of Newcastle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

So much for details and minor revisions. But what about the aging of the book in terms of questions asked and answers given? A serious synthesis such as Luraghi's is an attempt to assemble in a coherent fashion the overall ideas that the author has shaped in his or her mind about the development of his or her topic, in this instance a whole continent. Whereas research monographs start with questions and then probe the primary sources in order to answer them, almost invariably modifying the initial questions along the way, syntheses are written, from their very beginning, within a given general interpretive framework that is very clear in the author's mind from the outstart because it is built upon many years of primary research and secondary reading. There are two sides to it. The first is the way in which the author conceptualizes the process of historical development. To put it is simplistically, do facts and people interplay in a casual fashion, or there do exist some laws that govern their relationship? The second side is the actual contents of the author's interpretation.

As for Luraghi's concept of history, as far as the colonial and revolutionary era are concerned *Gli Stati Uniti* is thoroughly and unabashedly a Marxist book. There are structures and superstructures, contradictions and modes of production. The process of primitive accumulation is there together with the anarchy of the mercantile system, the surplus and the role of ideology. There is plenty of dominant classes, feudal class, seigneurial élite, bourgeoisie, petite-bourgeoisie, rich peasants, proletariat and cheap labour. Finally, there also is an explicit plea for a "deeper scientific analysis of the historical phenomena" which should do away with a "concept of history based on abstractions such as, for example, 'liberty' and 'absolutism,' and replace it with a "deeper class analysis." In Luraghi's book, these "abstractions" become classes, or, rather, "forces" in conflict.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the book is pervaded by a sense of causality in the historical development that allows little room for unexpected

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<sup>12</sup> The most explicit examples are in Luraghi, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 7-8, 24, 36-37, 40-41, 44, 49, 56-57, 65-69, 72, 84, 86, 93, 110, 124, 128, 134-135 ("approfondita analisi classista dei fenomeni storici ... una concezione della storia in termini di astrazioni ('libertà' e 'assolutismo', per esempio) ... una approfondita analisi classista" [24]).

occurrences, because the bourgeoisie replaces the feudal class and mercantile capital is replaced by industrial capital.

The 1960s and early 1970s were the rampant years of the allegedly Marxist interpretation of history. Younger historians rushed towards "progressive" topics (mainly working class history) or, more rarely, towards a Marxist treatment of more traditional ones. Since I, for one, took the Marxist framework for granted, Luraghi's Marxism did not strike me as odd. Thus I did not even mention it in my 1974 review of *Gli Stati Uniti*. What is paradoxical, however, is that in those years rumours among leftist students went as far as to accuse Luraghi of being on the payroll of the Central Intelligence Agency, quite simply because he taught American history and often visited the United States. (One should add that the same rumours went around with regard to Spini, the dean of Italian Americanist historians, who was indeed a card-carrying socialist.) To be sure, those were the times of presidents Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-73) and Richard M. Nixon (1913-94), and, above all, of the Vietnam War. In those years Luraghi took special pleasure in expressing views on the American political establishment and its foreign policy that were not commonplace among Italian intellectuals and certainly were not shared by his Americanist colleagues, most of whom regarded themselves as Marxists and openly anti-American. Yet, had Luraghi's critics taken the time to read his books, or, for that matter, his award-winning essay "The Civil War and the Modernization of American Society" (1972),<sup>13</sup> they would have been puzzled to find in their alleged agent of United States imperialism a most thorough practitioner of the Marxist interpretation of history.<sup>14</sup> We will later return to Luraghi's alleged

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<sup>13</sup> Luraghi, "The Civil War and the Modernization of American Society: Social Structure and Industrial Revolution in the Old South before and during the Civil War," *Civil War History* 18, no. 3 (September 1972): 230-250.

<sup>14</sup> Luraghi's own depiction of "people's wars" is also quite striking, given the context of the Vietnam War. His description of the guerrilla war waged by the American revolutionists in the American War of Independence could be applied, *verbatim*, to the Italian Resistance War against the Nazis and the Fascists during World War II, in which Luraghi took a very active part, as well as to North Vietnam's own campaigns ("Un popolo insorto è invincibile" [Luraghi, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 157]).

Marxism. For the time being, let us focus on the actual contents of his interpretation. For, in spite of the need for a re-evaluation of some historical figures and a somewhat outdated bibliography, Luraghi's book was in 1974 a thoroughly innovative book which was about a generation ahead of most of the American textbooks, let alone the European ones. This is true of at least four major fields of investigation.

There is, above all, Luraghi's concept of North America as a land of many nations, or, as one would call them twenty years later, of many ethnic groups – the northern colonies, the South, French Canada, the blacks, and the aboriginal peoples. He maintains that the history of the North American continent is in fact the history of how one single group, the so-called Puritans of New England, slowly but surely subdued the others – first the aboriginal peoples, then the French, then the South.<sup>15</sup> This interpretation is now taken for granted, but it was not so in the 1960s and 1970s. Anything not within the borders of present-day United States was considered a doomed historical anomaly, and the history of North America was explained exclusively in terms of "modernization."

In Luraghi's book, the aboriginal peoples are made to abandon their role as stilted caricatures of the wilderness to become, for the first time, very much actors in the history of early North America. According to him, they were neither better nor worse than the Europeans, but, quite simply, different. To be sure, there is too much of the American Indian as the perfect ecologist ("He lived in a perfect ecological balance, in a symbiotic relationship with all his land") and too much economic determinism in the "explosive, revolutionary" transformation of the same American Indian into would-be capitalists brought about by European artifacts. Yet, according to Luraghi, they regarded themselves as masters of their own destiny and were able to choose their allies, albeit always the wrong ones – they sided with the French against the British, and with the British against the

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<sup>15</sup> This is explicitly stated over and over. See, for example, *ibid.* 65-66, 84, 93, 123-124, 161.

Americans.<sup>16</sup> All this is also often taken for granted today, but it was not so twenty years ago.

As for the French, there again some idealized depictions of their colonizing ways should be revised. See for example their "utopian and grandiose, visionary and magnanimous plan of an immense French-Indian American empire." Or the French colonists' sentiment of brotherhood with the aboriginal peoples and their ability in leading them to war. Yet the importance of the French for the development of early America, much greater than their numbers would allow, is for the first time recognized and put in the more general context. The appraisal of the French goes side by side with the appraisal of the Spanish in early North America. In both instances Luraghi recognizes the significant role their empires ("all too often neglected and minimized") played in mitigating the perverse attitude of English America, a society based on greed and cash.<sup>17</sup>

Lastly, the South, according to Luraghi, had more in common with New France than, say, North and South Carolina had with New England. The South was a "peculiar society ... analogous" to Spanish-American and French-American societies, dominated by a seigneurial class based upon an "agrarian and pre-capitalistic regime" naturally given to consumption, not to profit.<sup>18</sup> This concept had already been developed in Luraghi's *Storia della guerra civile americana* and would have been further investigated, along with slavery, in his *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South* (1978).<sup>19</sup> The South was not really one thing with the rest of the United States until it was defeated

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 11, 12, 36-37, 45, 65, 82-83, 89, 109-110, 147 ("Egli viveva in perfetto equilibrio ecologico, in simbiosi, con l'intera sua terra" [11]; "una serie di trasformazioni esplosive, rivoluzionarie" [36]). Luraghi has a similar concept of African history prior to the arrival of "mercantilism" (82-83).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 8, 12, 22, 29-30, 38, 40-41, 45, 47, 52, 56-57, 102, 107, 121 ("disegno utopistico e grandioso, visionario e magnanimo, di un immenso impero franco-indiano d'America" [44]; "troppo spesso negletti o minimizzati" [8]).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 66, 79, 81, 123-124, 126, 135, 161 ("società peculiare" [81]; "le altre società analoghe d'America" [81]; "un regime agricolo pre-capitalistico" [126]).

<sup>19</sup> Luraghi, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1978). See also *La guerra civile americana*, ed. Luraghi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1978).

and conquered in 1865, but a different nation with very little in common with the North, except the language and little else. This idea was of course at the time becoming quite fashionable among some American historians. Yet it had not as yet been accepted by all and was certainly new for those European historians who were not familiar with Luraghi's previous publications.<sup>20</sup>

Twenty years after its publication, any overall review of Luraghi's treatment of early North America must assess whether the concept of history that he espoused at the time overrules the actual contents of his interpretation. In other words, whether his very orthodox and rigid Marxist framework hides the novelty and the originality of *Gli Stati Uniti*. My own contention is that it does not, and that the general framework is very much an external item imposed upon a narrative that would have no difficulty in standing on the strength of its own arguments. At times, even Luraghi is ill at ease with the constraints that he has build around the flow of his own ideas. He shows special attention to what Marxists would call "superstructure" (that is, anything that is not directly and clearly linked to economic causation) and openly concedes that the relationship between "superstructure" and "structure" is "among the most difficult to investigate and define in history."<sup>21</sup>

In fact, Luraghi puts so much emphasis on "superstructures" that his whole "structural" analysis is voided of most of its significance. On the one side there is the linear and unavoidable economic development of the European bourgeoisie. Yet, on the other, there were not only "powerful forces of clear medieval origin" (absolute monarchies, military aristocracies, the universal church), but also reason of state, the spirit of adventure, a true and sincere desire to convert the pagan aboriginal peoples, and the search for the Northwest passage. When he explains the relationship between the ideology of the Puritans and the class interests they embodied, Luraghi's stresses his point with utmost

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<sup>20</sup> See for example the explicit reference to the scholarly debate in Luraghi, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 66n.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 86 ("i rapporti tra base e sovrastruttura sono tra i più difficili da indagare e da definire nella storia").



clarity: "People do not fight and die for reasons that are purely economic; always a great ideological inspiration ('religious' would be the best way to describe it) incites the warrior, strengthens the martyr, and arms the conqueror."<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, there is no doubt that Luraghi's *Gli Stati Uniti* has aged and shows that it is now some twenty years older than it was in 1974. So has its author and its readers, for that matter. But the book has aged well. In the process it has become more confident and has lowered the defences it had built around itself in order to hide its essence from critics and reviewers. Its qualities have now become self-evident and have been shared by the most innovative North American historiography. *Gli Stati Uniti* is today, and has been for the past twenty years, the best general introduction to early North American history available on the Italian market. It points readers in the right directions. This is what good textbooks are made to do.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 8, 20-21, 23, 32, 48-49, 86 ("poderose forze, di chiara origine medievale" [8]; "la gente non va alla lotta e alla morte per dei puri moventi economici; è sempre un grande afflato ideologico ('religioso', nel vero senso della parola) quello che suscita i combattenti, rafforza i martiri, arma i conquistatori" [86]).



## 7. MONSIEUR LE COMTE D'ECCLES AND GOVERNOR FRONTENAC: THE DEMOLITION OF A MYTH

In his *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* (2004), James S. Pritchard, one of the earlier students of William J. Eccles (1917-98), described his mentor's *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* as "a demolition of the myth created by Francis Parkman" in 1877.<sup>1</sup> The book, based on Eccles's McGill University doctoral dissertation (1955) and published in 1959, shattered the myth of Governor General Louis de Buade, *comte de Frontenac* (1622-98), and most of Parkman's credibility with it. It launched a rewarding career that spanned forty-five years, from Eccles's earliest article (1955), to his last, which came out posthumously in 2001. (Born in England in 1917, Eccles moved to Montréal in 1928 and died in Toronto in 1998.) This new edition of *Frontenac* is identical to the original, including the three typographical errors, except for the page size, which is now larger, and the more appealing appearance.<sup>2</sup> Peter N. Moogk, another Eccles student, has added to it a short, but accurate and affectionate, introduction. He has not attempted to assess, revise, and correct Eccles's interpretation. He has, instead, wisely chosen to provide the reader with the perspective of a student who spent many years working with his professor. Most of what Moogk writes is known only to him or to a selected few. Eccles was "an intensely private man",<sup>3</sup> whose far from jovial manner did not win many friends in academe. So far, the only general assessment of his work is contained in a

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<sup>1</sup> James S. Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 242 n42.

<sup>2</sup> William J. Eccles, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor*, ed. Peter N. Moogk (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 103, 132, 226.

<sup>3</sup> Moogk, Introduction to *Frontenac*, x.

special section of the *British Journal of Canadian Studies*.<sup>4</sup> A *Festschrift* is long overdue.

*Frontenac* should be required reading in all courses where the historical craft is taught. First, Eccles poses sensible questions (124, 337-339). Then, he critically assesses the available evidence, looking at events "according to the lights of the time" (186), but also profiting from the "benefit of hindsight" (241). Lastly, in the case of a biography such as this, he wonders how much of what happened was due to the direct agency of the person being investigated (294). Finally, he reaches fair conclusions (28, 95, 112, 123, 197, 199, 202, 212, 243, 307, 337). I have not counted how many times the word "evidence" is used in *Frontenac*, but I have certainly been left with the impression that it is in constant use – not to the detriment of the overall narrative, as so often happens when dissertations become books. The book is almost entirely based on archival sources. Its sparse bibliography – listing a mere twenty-three items published between 1940 and 1957 – is mainly used for background.

Yet Eccles's book is a long way from being relegated to the library's historical literature or methodology section, where Parkman rightly belongs, and not only because nothing has been written on Frontenac since. Although somewhat unacknowledged by the historical literature in French (one of Eccles's own personal disappointments), most of the ideas that he put forward in the book have long become "tame stuff"<sup>5</sup>, so much so that we tend to forget that in 1959 these were as innovative as they were radical, both in French and in English. Aside from his revolutionary interpretation of Frontenac and Parkman, Eccles emphasizes the absence of aboriginal records (and consequently of their point of view) (100), the fundamental role of aboriginal alliances (124), the lack of French control in the West (340), the capital importance of the Peace of Montréal in 1701 (333),

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<sup>4</sup> A *Forum on W.J. Eccles*, ed. Luca Codignola, special section in the journal *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 1 (1996): 66-89, with articles by John A. Dickinson, Matteo Sanfilippo, Philip P. Boucher, Pritchard and Codignola. See also "Apology and Errata," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 2 (1996), 371.

<sup>5</sup> Moogk, Introduction, ix.

the military character of New France's establishment (212), the significance of prestige in *ancien régime* society (59), and the constant internal bickering of the clergy (16, 74).

Whenever one of his books was mentioned to Eccles, he took pleasure in putting his interlocutor off balance by stating bluntly that the book "had to be completely rewritten." However, he greatly resented being criticized by others. As Moogk explains, Eccles "recognized that historians are the products of their upbringing and time," yet he did not "apply that rule to himself."<sup>6</sup> On a number of background matters the book echoed commonplace view of his time, which Eccles revised in his later works, sometimes substantially – the central importance of the fur trade for both aboriginal wars and the colony's economic survival (9, 77, 333), the middleman role sought by the aboriginal nations (261), the dominant role of the *coureurs-de-bois* (15-16), and the competitive role of the English and Dutch traders vis-à-vis the aboriginal peoples (66, 96, 99). Eccles's later attacks on political economist Harold A. Innis (1894-1952) or on anthropologist Bruce G. Trigger, whose views he apparently shared in *Frontenac*, became legendary. Given his stubbornness and the pleasure he took in causing controversy, one wonders, however, whether Eccles would have agreed to revise a number of statements that today we regard as "politically incorrect," if not unacceptable – New France's "foreign affairs" were not really such (3), "since they consisted of nothing more than the colony's relations with the Indian tribes" and little else; "individualism and ... total lack of discipline" were "traits inherent in the Indian character" (103); and the French were "always a quarrelsome race, not given to compromise" and charged with an "aggressive individualism" (16).

A book such as this is not only a secondary source for the study of the French governor, but it is also a primary source for the future Eccles biographer. In terms of his historical interpretation, the book is especially interesting because it contains ample evidence of the importance young Eccles already attributed to the effects of the imponderable in historical events. Frontenac was appointed governor

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., v.

for no other reason but his "great personal charm" (30). This must have compensated for his "egoistic and tempestuous character" (50), as he possessed no other qualities. In fact, "an evening spent with Frontenac would have been most diverting," whereas one spent with Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville (1673-1710), a much better commander, "would have been very tedious" (173). Furthermore, the latter "lacked one quality all too essential for a military commander in times of war, namely, good luck" (197). Frontenac, on the contrary, was "rather fortunate" (340). "Fortuitous timing" allowed him to be recalled to France "before his ineptitude in the face of the Iroquois threat became apparent" (339). This circumstance allowed for his later reappointment, whose reasons remain "very obscure" (198). As for imponderables, one may recall that one of Eccles's last articles was titled "Stupidity as a Major Factor in the Anglo-French Struggle for Dominance in North America" (1999).<sup>7</sup>

The book also contains a number of staple Eccles "societal" topics which were particularly dear to him, such as disgusting aboriginal recipes (86), ghastly tortures (100-101), the essentiality of wine (244), and love life at court (28-29). Combat experience in the World War II and proximity with the US troops had also nourished in Eccles a visceral anti-Americanism, here showing in a chapter's title ("The American Assault on Canada") and in the comparison between "easy-going Canadians" and "the bleak puritan atmosphere of New England and New York" (269), the latter a commonplace of later publications. His war experience, as Moogk shows, also made Eccles scornful of high civil administrators and military commanders (213) and partial to subordinate officers (272) and the "shadowy officials who carried out the routine work" (4). (The archival sources he had used in Paris were mainly drafted by these mostly unknown lower bureaucrats.) The book's treatment of the Iroquois also seems to reflect what Moogk

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<sup>7</sup> Eccles, "Stupidity as a Mayor Factor in the Anglo-French Struggle for Dominance in North America," in *Le stelle e le strisce. Studi americani e militari in onore di Raimondo Luraghi*, ed. Valeria Gennaro Lerda (Milano: Bompiani, 1999), II: 161-168.

describes as Eccles's uneasiness with the "appeasement of the fascist powers," which, according to him, "was merely delaying the conflict," so that he "greeted with relief the 1939 declaration of war against Nazi Germany."<sup>8</sup> "Many in the colony mistook this uneasy calm for peace," Eccles writes in *Frontenac* (192). Yet it "should have been apparent ... that the only thing the Iroquois respected was strength; any attempt to appease them they interpreted as weakness, which merely served to encourage their aggressiveness" (124). In fact, simply on the basis of these sentences and of a chapter's title ("The Iroquois' Total War"), an Eccles biographer will have little difficulty in identifying Frontenac's deadly enemies with Nazi Germans, Eccles's own wartime deadly enemies. Eccles describes the defeated Iroquois as accepting "the final outcome of their struggle without a whimper" (333). Although this is nowhere to be found in Eccles's writings, I well recall his great respect for the German military, during and after the war.

The introductory chapter of the book ends on a *parkmanesque* note. This is Eccles's view of the French-Canadians, a people whose language and culture he had learned to love ever since he arrived as an expatriate boy on the Island of Montreal and, later, as a summer lumberjack in the north: "They were a unique product of their racial temperament and their environment: quarrelsome, impulsive, quick to resentment, headstrong, with amazing powers of endurance, sometimes cruel; but yet generous, with an easy-going attitude towards life and, from all accounts, possessed of a native courtesy and dignity that impressed everyone" (17). This is, indeed, Eccles's self-portrait, or, rather, the way he would have liked to be painted. Anyone interested either in the *comte* de Frontenac or in Eccles, known in the Department of History of the University of Toronto as "Monsieur le Comte" for his haughty manners, should have a copy of this book.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., vi.





## 8. PIERRE SAVARD ET L'ITALIE

La première fois que j'ai rencontré l'historien canadien Pierre Savard (1936-98), le 20 septembre 1977, dans son bureau de directeur du Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française à l'Université d'Ottawa, j'ai eu l'impression qu'il était véritablement un "amoureux de l'Italie", tel que le dit son ami et collègue, l'historien Marc Lebel<sup>1</sup>. À Québec, le 4 juin 1989, sous une pluie battante, lors d'une visite aux alentours de l'Assemblée nationale, il montra à un petit groupe de visiteurs européens les statues qui ornent le Palais législatif et qui représentent les grands personnages de l'histoire du Canada français : les Frontenac, Elgin, Montcalm, Lévis<sup>2</sup>, ainsi que la *Famille d'Abénaquis*, œuvres du célèbre Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917)<sup>3</sup>. À cette occasion, Savard nous expliqua comment Hébert avait découvert sa vocation d'artiste pendant le séjour qu'il fit à Rome en 1869 avec les zouaves pontificaux, et comment ces mêmes zouaves avaient produit le premier corpus considérable de récits canadiens-français sur l'Italie<sup>4</sup>. Les lettres de Savard font souvent référence à des

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<sup>1</sup> Marc Lebel, "Pierre Savard (1936-1998)", *L'Agora des idées des débats* 6, no. 3 (mai-juin 1999): 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> Louis de Buade, *comte* de Frontenac; James Bruce, Earl of Elgin (1811-63); Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm; François-Gaston, duc de Lévis (1719-87).

<sup>3</sup> Il s'agissait des historiens français Claude Fohlen (1922-2008) et Jeannine Fohlen, de Luca Codignola et Tea Bo Codignola, ainsi que de Richard G. Seaborn, haut fonctionnaire du ministère des Affaires extérieures du Canada, et de l'épouse de Pierre Savard, Susan Warder Savard.

<sup>4</sup> Pour lire ce que Savard avait déjà écrit à propos de Louis-Philippe Hébert, voir Pierre Savard, "Littérature et société, vers 1880", dans *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, ed. Pierre de Grandpré (Montréal : Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1967-9), I : 1534-1900, 274; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages canadiens-français en Europe de 1850 à 1960", dans *Mélanges de civilisation canadienne-française offerts au professeur Paul Wyczynski* (Ottawa : Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1977), 252; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese dell'Ottocento", dans *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, ed. Codignola (Venezia : Marsilio Editori, 1983), 92.

auteurs ou à des ouvrages italiens. La couverture verte d'un livre auquel il avait collaboré lui rappelait la "couleur du pêcheur de Pinocchio", le roman de Carlo Collodi (1826-90)<sup>5</sup>. C'était encore à Pinocchio qu'il se référait quand, après une chute qui, le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1984, avait entraîné la fracture des deux bras, il écrivait aux amis en expliquant que le médecin lui avait remis "les bras en état de fonctionner comme Gepetto [*sic*] a refait l'étourdi Pinocchio qui s'était brûlé les extrémités". En une autre occasion, une rivalité académique lui fit craindre pour son avenir : "[J]e ne veux pas périr brûlé vif ni empoisonné comme dans la Florence de la Renaissance"<sup>6</sup>. Et il comparait l'atmosphère de l'Université Laval de la fin des années 1950, "ce petit monde d'autrefois", au *Piccolo mondo antico* de l'écrivain italien Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911)<sup>7</sup>. À Ottawa, il aimait amener les visiteurs italiens dans les cafés où il leur offrait des crèmes glacées italiennes ou des "vrais" *espresso*.

Bien sûr, Savard avait une connaissance de la culture et de l'histoire de la péninsule italienne qui allait bien au-delà d'un sentiment de sympathie que nous pourrions définir d'exotique ou de folklorique et qui est commun à plusieurs Nord-Américains. Il s'agissait, au contraire, d'un *leitmotiv* fondamental, non seulement de sa vie personnelle mais aussi d'un itinéraire de recherche qui l'accompagna pendant toute une vie, à tel point qu'il est parfois difficile de distinguer l'homme qu'il était du monde que l'historien a tant étudié et décrit, voire le Canada français du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et le Québec des années 1950 et 1960. Comment ne pas reconnaître des aspects de Savard dans l'abbé Benjamin Pâquet (1832-1900), "un modéré peu porté aux croisades de l'esprit", qui possédait "des qualités d'observation des hommes qui laissent deviner le tempérament plus politique que philosophique", un homme qui avait "réfléchi et vécu, d'où des commentaires généralement plus mûris que ceux qu'on trouve" chez

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<sup>5</sup> Savard aux chers amis, Ottawa, janvier 1985, letter circulaire manuscrite, 1. Voir Carlo Collodi [pseudonyme de Carlo Lorenzini], *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (Firenze: Libreria Editrice Felice Paggi, 1883).

<sup>6</sup> Savard à Codignola, Ottawa, 8 janvier 1997, message manuscrit par télécopieur.

<sup>7</sup> Savard, "Philippe Sylvain et nous", *Les Cahiers des Dix* 49 (1994) : 10.

les étudiants ?<sup>8</sup> Ou dans l'abbé Pierre-Télesphore Sax (1822-84), qui à Rome "sillonn[ait] inlassablement la ville à pied agissant volontiers comme *cicerone* ... de Canadiens de passage", "infatigable visiteur de la Ville Éternelle"<sup>9</sup> ?

C'est par le biais de l'antiquité que Savard arrive à l'Italie<sup>10</sup>. Fils de Limoilou, Savard avait étudié au couvent des Servantes du Saint-Cœur de Marie (1942-9), qu'on appelait à l'époque "le cours préclassique", d'où il était passé au Petit Séminaire de Québec (1949-57). À la sortie du Séminaire, il était donc un jeune homme de 21 ans qui avait été nourri pendant la plupart de sa vie par des images classiques. Dans ses réflexions et souvenirs sur ses années d'école, Savard rappelle que le grec et surtout le latin étaient enseignés par des "maîtres les plus chevronnés ... sans les ménagements d'aujourd'hui". Les élèves arrivaient à connaître les écrivains classiques, Tacite, Cicéron et Virgile, à force de thèmes et de versions, tout en se promenant "en compagnie d'Ulysse ou d'Achille"<sup>11</sup>, en passant par "la France classique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et celle, catholique et bourgeoise, du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, sinon par la Rome du XIX<sup>e</sup> et du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. On découv[r]ait les Horace à travers Corneille"<sup>12</sup> et la vie quotidienne de l'antiquité par l'entremise des historiens français Jérôme Carcopino (1881-1970) et Henri-Irénée Marrou (1904-77)<sup>13</sup>.

C'était l'humanisme pédagogique des collèges classiques du Québec, transmis à travers les lettres grecques et latines, partagé par des générations de jeunes Canadiens-français en communion avec les

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<sup>8</sup> Savard, "Le journal de l'abbé Benjamin Pâquet étudiant à Rome, 1863-1866", *Culture* 26 (1965): 52; Savard, *Aspects du catholicisme canadien-français au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montréal : Fides, 1980), 48.

<sup>9</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX jugée par un prêtre québécois", *Annali Accademici Canadesi* 6 (1990): 14, 29.

<sup>10</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien, l'Italie d'hier et l'Italie d'aujourd'hui chez Pierre Savard", manuscrit non publié, 1<sup>er</sup> août 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Savard, "Étudier au Séminaire dans les années cinquante. Réminiscences d'un externe," *Cap-aux-Diamants* 4, no. 1<sup>er</sup> (printemps 1988): 34.

<sup>12</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada français", *Cultures du Canada français* 2 (automne 1985): 9, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien", 1.

jeunes de tout l'Occident, comme le souligne Savard lui-même<sup>14</sup>. Pierre Savard n'était pas parmi le "[n]ombre d'élèves [qui se plaignaient]" et, reconnaissant que cette formation fournissait "les bases de leur culture", il ne la regretta jamais<sup>15</sup>. Bien au contraire, cet héritage classique sera toujours présent dans son esprit. Les collègues et amis de Savard se rappellent de son "impressionnante culture" qui lui permettait, "mieux que quiconque, d'identifier les références gréco-latines, bibliques, humanistes, présentes à l'arrière-plan des écrits des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles au Canada français"<sup>16</sup>, de "citer de mémoire un mot célèbre ou quelque passage approprié à la circonstance"<sup>17</sup>, de nommer "Trinacrie" la Sicile pour "stigmatiser" leur ignorance<sup>18</sup>, d'inclure dans un rapport sur sa participation à un congrès que sa séance de clôture avait eu lieu "dans le palais médiéval Corvaia" de Taormina<sup>19</sup>, ou encore de citer la plaque qu'identifie la maison du poète italien Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) à Ferrare pour confirmer aux amis que "La famille Savard habite toujours la petite maison du 3242 Southgate Rd. Parva sed mihi disait l'Arioste (?)"<sup>20</sup>. Pourtant, Savard était loin d'être un érudit pédant. C'est que sa curiosité inégalable le poussait à solliciter son interlocuteur à travers des références à un monde du savoir qu'il croyait commun à tous. (Dans mon cas, ses sollicitations restaient souvent sans réponse, car ma formation de collègue classique avait laissé beaucoup moins de traces que dans la sienne.)

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<sup>14</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada", 9.

<sup>15</sup> Savard, "Étudier au Séminaire dans les années cinquante", 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> Stéphane Stapinski, "Le porteur de flambeau", *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 10 (1999): 17-20, citation 8.

<sup>17</sup> Lebel, "Pierre Savard", 41; voir aussi Cornelius J. Jaenen, [Nécrologie], Société historique du Canada, *Bulletin* 25, no. 1 (1999): 7.

<sup>18</sup> Guy Laperrière, "De Québec à Ottawa : un historien du Canada français ouvert sur le monde, Pierre Savard", *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 10 (1999): 7-12.

<sup>19</sup> Savard, "Le quatrième Congrès international de l'Association italienne des études canadiennes (Messine, 25-28 mars 1981)", *Bulletin du Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française*, no. 23 (décembre 1981): 37.

<sup>20</sup> "Parva sed apta mihi, sed nulli obnoxia, sed non sordida : parta meo sed tamen aere domus", voilà l'inscription originelle. Voir Savard aux chers amis, 1.

"[P]ersonne n'a échappé à sa jeunesse, aventure personnelle et collective à la fois", écrira Savard vers la fin de sa vie<sup>21</sup>. Mais le jeune Savard comprit très vite qu'il avait eu le privilège de partager cette formation classique, "langage commun et monde de référence commode", avec des générations d'hommes qui avaient fait partie "de la petite élite du Canada français", et que sa génération avait tout probablement été la dernière à en jouir. Pendant ses études sur l'élite culturelle canadienne-française du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui sera un champ de recherche pendant toute sa vie, il ne manqua jamais de montrer comment la formation de cette élite ne fut pas "le produit des seuls climat et sol de la vallée du Saint-Laurent"<sup>22</sup>. Au contraire, les hommes et les rares femmes qui la composaient avaient aussi trouvé leur inspiration dans "le monde ancien et les vestiges que celui-ci a laissés, par exemple, dans la toponymie, l'architecture, la peinture, la littérature, etc." de cette société. Déjà, au tout début des années 1960, comme l'explique Lebel, Savard avait amorcé "une réflexion et une enquête plus large sur la place et la portée du monde ancien dans le passé et le présent de la culture laurentienne"<sup>23</sup>. Trente ans plus tard, il prévoyait encore un "travail copieux ... sur la Rome classique dans l'éducation et la culture d'ici"<sup>24</sup>.

Encore une fois, dans cette réflexion sur l'influence de l'antiquité, il est parfois difficile de distinguer l'historien Savard du monde et des personnages qu'il étudie. Les collègues classiques formaient "l'honnête homme" et le *vir peritus discendi* suivant l'idéal des Anciens repris par la Renaissance ... Quatre années de langue grecque et six années de latin, sans parler de la philosophie aristotélicienne ... marquent durablement les adolescents qui formeront l'élite professionnelle, religieuse et politique du Canada français"<sup>25</sup>. C'était un monde nourri par le *Traité des études ou De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les*

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<sup>21</sup> Savard, "Pour l'histoire des jeunes", *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 2 (été 1994):128.

<sup>22</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada", 12.

<sup>23</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien", 1.

<sup>24</sup> Stapinski, "Le porteur de flambeau", 19.

<sup>25</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada", 5.

*Belles-Lettres par rapport à l'esprit et au cœur*, du Révérend Charles Rollin (1661-1741), un manuel à travers lequel les élèves apprenaient à connaître l'histoire de l'antiquité et en particulier l'histoire de Rome, "la plus riche de toutes les histoires en grands événements et en grands exemples"<sup>26</sup>. Il s'agit là de commentaires qui pourraient s'appliquer au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle aussi bien qu'aux années 1940 et 1950. Les lettres québécoises fournissent des exemples d'écrivains épris des classiques. Le journaliste Étienne Parent (1802-74) s'est nourri de lettres gréco-latines qu'il évoque volontiers "pour ses considérations sociales et politiques sur le Canada français des années 1840 et 1850"<sup>27</sup>; le journaliste et diplomate Hector Fabre (1834-1910) aimait comparer les politiciens de son époque aux personnages anciens<sup>28</sup>; le juge Adolphe-Basile Routhier (1839-1920) est un admirateur "passionné de la Rome antique et chrétienne, [dont] il décrit abondamment paysages et monuments"<sup>29</sup>; le premier ministre Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919), dans un célèbre discours de 1883 devant 900 anciens élèves du Collège de L'Assomption, parsème son texte de citations de Virgile et d'Horace, établit des parallèles entre le Canada et la Grèce et propose à son auditoire le modèle d'Ajax<sup>30</sup>; et enfin, l'abbé Lionel-Adolphe Groulx (1878-1967) rédige un journal intime qui "contient une trentaine de citations de Virgile, une douzaine d'Horace, dix d'Homère, quatre d'Ovide et deux d'Hésiode"<sup>31</sup>.

Le passage de l'Antiquité à l'Italie est presque automatique, dans Savard aussi bien que dans les personnages du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'il évoque. Comme le mentionne un manuel de géographie étudié par Savard, qui s'adresse aux étudiants canadiens-français des années 1930, l'Italie est "remarquable par ses arts, ses monuments anciens et

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<sup>26</sup> Savard, "L'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie", dans *Aspects de l'enseignement au Petit Séminaire de Québec (1765-1945)*, ed. Lebel et al. (Québec : La Société historique de Québec, 1968), 91.

<sup>27</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada", 9.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français en Italie au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Vie française* 26, no. 1-2 (septembre-octobre 1961): 16-17.

<sup>30</sup> Savard, "L'antiquité dans la culture du Canada", 9.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 5.

par les souvenirs historiques ou religieux que son sol nous rappelle. Nulle part la peinture, la musique et la sculpture n'ont atteint une telle perfection"<sup>32</sup>. La nature y est "d'une douceur inconnue"<sup>33</sup>. C'est l'"Italie éternelle ... des ruines antiques, des paysages incomparables, des villes témoins d'âges glorieux"<sup>34</sup> qui "parlent tant à ces fils de l'humanisme gréco-latin"<sup>35</sup>. En outre, des *maestri* qui provenaient de la péninsule italienne répandaient au Canada français les mélodies des compositeurs contemporains, de Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713) à Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924)<sup>36</sup>. Des peintres tels que Théophile Hamel (1817-1870) ou Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-89) partaient du Québec pour des séjours plus ou moins prolongés dans les États italiens<sup>37</sup>, en même temps que plusieurs sculpteurs italiens venaient travailler dans les églises canadiennes-françaises<sup>38</sup>. Les voyageurs canadiens-français connaissaient bien cette Italie même avant de s'y rendre personnellement. Ils avaient l'impression que son patrimoine leur appartenait aussi et qu'ils étaient arrivés chez eux<sup>39</sup>.

Dans la péninsule italienne, c'était surtout Rome, "prestigieuse capitale de la Chrétienté"<sup>40</sup>, qui occupait une place de choix dans l'esprit des Canadiens-français et les amenait, surtout à partir des années 1960, vers la péninsule italienne<sup>41</sup>. Comme l'explique Savard à propos d'un de ces voyageurs, l'abbé Sax, Rome était la véritable "métropole religieuse du Canada français"<sup>42</sup>, une "seconde patrie" des

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<sup>32</sup> Savard, "Les 'caractères' nationaux dans un manuel de géographie des années 1930", *Recherches sociographiques* 23, no. 1-3 (1982): 210.

<sup>33</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 93.

<sup>34</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 15; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 251, 253.

<sup>36</sup> Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 94-95.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 95-96.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 92-93, 106; Savard, "Le journal de l'abbé Benjamin", 62.

<sup>40</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 15.

<sup>41</sup> Savard, "Le repli traditionaliste (1860-1900)", dans *Histoire*, ed. de Grandpré, I : 196; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 252.

<sup>42</sup> Savard, "Les 'caractères' nationaux", 210; Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 6.

catholiques<sup>43</sup>. "Évêques et prêtres connaiss[aient] le chemin de Rome"<sup>44</sup>, mais certains laïques n'étaient pas moins ultramontains ou mieux "romains", ajoute Savard<sup>45</sup>. Le journaliste Jules-Paul Tardivel (1851-1905), que Savard a beaucoup étudié, exprime les sentiments communs à la plupart de ses concitoyens quand il affirme qu'à Rome "un saisissement indéfinissable s'empare de l'esprit ; dans l'âme surgissent des pensées qu'aucun langage ne saurait rendre". C'est que Rome, explique Tardivel, "est véritablement le centre du monde et qu'elle l'a toujours été depuis deux mille ans"<sup>46</sup>. Le juge Routhier partage la même opinion : "Cette ville est notre ville ... Rome appartient à tous"<sup>47</sup>. Dans son étude sur l'éloquence canadienne-française de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Savard ne manque pas de citer des longs extraits des allocutions du coadjuteur de l'évêque de Trois-Rivières, Louis-François Richer, dit Laflèche (1818-98), qui en 1868 salua à Montréal le départ d'un contingent de zouaves pontificaux en invitant les jeunes volontaires à aller "jusqu'à Rome, sur ce théâtre des grands événements de l'histoire, sur ce sol arrosé du sang des saints, dans cette ville dont le nom rappelle l'éternité"<sup>48</sup>. Savard n'oublie non plus le discours prononcé en 1869, à Montréal, par l'avocat et homme de lettres Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau (1820-90), qui, à l'occasion du 50<sup>e</sup> anniversaire du sacerdoce du pape Pie IX (1792-1878), déclama: "Il y a dans le monde une ville plus célèbre, plus connue des pauvres et des ignorants qu'aucune autre ville, une ville qui ... étend son empire dans toutes les régions que le soleil éclaire dans sa lumière, qui ... exerce une influence constante, indiscutable, universelle sur les idées, les opinions, les mœurs de tous les peuples, dont le nom, comme celui de Jérusalem qui lui fut

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<sup>43</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

<sup>44</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale: Jean Bruchési en l'Europe de l'Est en 1929", *Les Cahiers des Dix* 50 (1990): 235.

<sup>45</sup> Savard, "Le journal de l'abbé Benjamin", 62.

<sup>46</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 18; Savard, *Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les États-Unis 1851-1905* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967), 434.

<sup>47</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 19.

<sup>48</sup> Savard, "L'éloquence", 288.



autrefois soumise, est le cri de ralliement des nations, une ville où l'art, la science, les lettres, la philosophie, groupés autour de la religion, sont parvenues et se maintiennent à leur apogée, une ville que de toutes les parties du monde on vient vénérer comme un temple, admirer comme une merveille, étudier comme un livre ; cette ville, c'est Rome!"<sup>49</sup>.

Savard était convaincu qu'il est impossible de comprendre la mentalité des Canadiens-français sans en comprendre cette dimension italienne, voire romaine, et que l'héritage artistique et idéologique de Rome est encore très présent dans la culture canadienne-française<sup>50</sup>. La visite du pape Jean Paul II (1920-2005) au Québec en 1984, souligne-t-il, "a joué un rôle de révélateur de ce trait de mentalité qu'on sous-estimait depuis la décléricalisation et la laïcisation consécutives à la Révolution tranquille et le concile de Vatican II"<sup>51</sup>.

Personnellement, Savard avait pris assez tôt le chemin de Rome. À 21 ans, l'expérience du Séminaire derrière lui, il avait participé à une réunion internationale de scouts qui se tint à Londres pendant l'été de 1957. Il en profita pour aller visiter la Ville éternelle, où son cousin Guy Fortin (1916-87), un père du Saint-Sacrement, vingt ans plus âgé que lui, résidait depuis quelque temps. À la mort du père Fortin, Savard lui-même écrit un bref, mais très touchant, souvenir privé de son cousin dans lequel il avouait : "C'est Rome qui nous fit rencontrer et communier d'emblée"<sup>52</sup>. Ce souvenir montre bien le rôle clé joué par le père Fortin dans l'intérêt de Savard pour Rome, un intérêt qui dura pendant toute sa vie. Entre 1957 et 1969, Savard visita Rome à maintes reprises, par exemple en 1958, quand il fut récipiendaire d'une bourse du Service universitaire canadien d'outre-mer et, pendant les vacances de Noël de 1960-1, avec son épouse américaine, Susan Warder Savard, avec laquelle il s'était marié quelques mois auparavant (le 6 juin 1960) dans la cathédrale catholique de Baltimore. (Ils s'étaient rencontrés à l'Université Laval où Susan suivait des cours de

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 290.

<sup>50</sup> Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 106.

<sup>51</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 6.

<sup>52</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy' que j'ai connu", texte dactylographié, 1987, 2.

français)<sup>53</sup>. Le père Fortin était un inconditionnel de Rome, et Savard l'a suivi dans cette voie. Savard et son cousin visitaient la ville et ses alentours, où le père Fortin explorait "des coins moins connus ou revo[yait] pour la XI<sup>ème</sup> des endroits fameux". Voilà les catacombes de Sainte-Priscille, le théâtre antique d'Ostia, les quartiers du Testaccio et de l'Aventin, mais aussi une course dans les Monts Albains et une messe célébrée par le pape Jean XXIII (1881-1963) à Saint-Pierre<sup>54</sup>. En même temps, Savard suivait des cours de langue et de littérature italiennes<sup>55</sup>. En 1960-1, Savard remplit les exigences françaises pour un diplôme d'études supérieures (histoire) à l'Université de Lyon où, sous la direction des historiens André Latreille (1901-84) et André Fugier, il rédigea un mémoire complémentaire sur le Sénat romain au temps de Septime Sévère<sup>56</sup>. C'était encore le monde classique, mais déjà pendant ses visites romaines il demandait au père Fortin de l'emmener non seulement "dans les lieux choisis pour satisfaire [s]es souvenirs antiques", mais aussi de le faire "marcher dans les pas de [s]es voyageurs canadiens du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle"<sup>57</sup>.

Savard était certainement plus curieux et moins conformiste que ces voyageurs du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont les itinéraires, comme il le remarquait souvent, manquaient d'originalité<sup>58</sup>. Ceux-là visitaient la Ville

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<sup>53</sup> Claude Galarneau, "Pierre Savard", *Les Cahiers des Dix* 53 (1999): 12-14. Savard en avait gardé un heureux souvenir: "Connaissez-vous Baltimore ? Une ville magnifiquement renovée que j'ai redécouverte après plus de 20 ans. Susan y a fait ses études au College of Notre Dame of Maryland et notre mariage a eu lieu à la cathédrale en 1960" (Savard à Luca Codignola et Gabriella Ferruggia Codignola, [Ottawa, janvier 1985], carte postale).

<sup>54</sup> Le Concile Vatican II, convoqué par Jean XXIII, eut lieu quelque temps après, de 1962 à 1965. Il suscita les "plus grands espoirs" chez le père Fortin, qui s'inquiétait pourtant de la Révolution tranquille au Québec et qui assista depuis à des profondes ruptures dans sa communauté religieuse. Voir Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 4-5.

<sup>55</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien", 2.

<sup>56</sup> Son mémoire principal portait sur les mandements et lettres circulaires des archevêques de Lyon de 1870 à 1900. Voir Savard, "Un Québécois en France", *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 7 (printemps 1997): 143.

<sup>57</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 2.

<sup>58</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 17; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

éternelle pour des raisons religieuses évidemment, mais aussi parce que son côté païen attirait "les touristes lettrés". Donc un pèlerinage aux lieux sacrés comprend obligatoirement l'audience de Pie IX ou Pie XII (1876-1958)<sup>59</sup>, mais aussi le Colisée, le Panthéon, le Forum, Rupe Tarpea, Villa Adriana à Tivoli et le Lac de Nemi<sup>60</sup>. En plus, il faut inclure quelques grandes villes, telles que Padoue, Venise, Turin, Gênes et Naples<sup>61</sup> et surtout des lieux de pèlerinages, qu'ils soient religieux ou laïques, dont Loreto, Assisi, Monte Cassino et Castelfidardo<sup>62</sup>. À son époque, l'historien Henri-Raymond Casgrain (1831-1904) avait été le seul à descendre au sud de Naples<sup>63</sup>. Savard, au contraire, était d'une curiosité presque sans bornes. Lors de ses voyages en Italie, remarque Lebel, il "parcourt en compagnie de leurs récits ou d'un guide d'époque, les lieux et les sites qu'ils [les voyageurs canadiens-français] affectionnent. Le collectionneur de guides savoure les minutieuses (et interminables) descriptions d'un vieux Baedeker".<sup>64</sup> De retour d'un colloque de l'Association italienne d'études canadiennes en Sicile (23-27 février 1983), il m'écrit : "Ci-joint la belle page sur les Catanaises que je vous ai promise quelque part entre Piazza Armerina et Syracuse". Il s'agissait d'un article de Paul de Musset (1804-80), le frère de l'écrivain français Alfred de Musset (1810-57), écrit en 1845 et réimprimé dans une collection de récits publié en 1914<sup>65</sup>.

Pourtant, les voyageurs canadiens-français étudiés par Savard n'allaient pas en Europe "pour voir les Européens", et, "[m]ieux

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<sup>59</sup> Savard, "L'Antiquité dans la culture du Canada français", *Culture du Canada français* 2 (automne 1985): 12.

<sup>60</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253, 257; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 93.

<sup>61</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 18, 24; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253, 255; Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 13.

<sup>62</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

<sup>63</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 17.

<sup>64</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien", 3.

<sup>65</sup> Le guide était *Rome et l'Italie méridionale. Vues par les grands écrivains et les voyageurs célèbres. Rome-Naples-Sicile-Sardaigne-Malte* (Paris : Mercure de France, 1914), récit, 244-245. Voir Savard à Codignola, 17 mars 1983, carte postale manuscrite.

préparés à goûter les Anciens que les Modernes et les contemporains, il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils se tournent surtout vers les premiers"<sup>66</sup>. Ils cherchaient l'Italie "éternelle" et non pas l'Italie contemporaine<sup>67</sup>. Pour ce qui est de Rome, dès le deuxième quart du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais surtout depuis la prise de Rome par les troupes du Royaume d'Italie (1870), deux villes s'ouvraient devant leurs yeux, "celle des papes et celle des souverains de la maison de Savoie"<sup>68</sup>. La République romaine (1849), la réduction et la conquête de l'État pontifical, la prise de Rome et la "question romaine" qui en suivit suscitèrent parmi les Canadiens-français des réactions surtout favorables à l'Église qui montraient, au Québec même, la division profonde entre radicaux et modérés<sup>69</sup>. Même au niveau des fêtes, c'était seulement les cérémonies religieuses et non les occasions profanes qui intéressaient un visiteur, par ailleurs intelligent et curieux, comme l'abbé Sax, un des voyageurs ecclésiastiques les plus appréciés par Savard<sup>70</sup>. Voilà pourquoi, explique l'historien, il faut aller jusqu'en Colombie-Britannique pour trouver un parc provincial nommé en l'honneur du général Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82), et l'on chercherait inutilement des villages ou des rues au nom du premier ministre piémontais, Camillo Benso, comte de Cavour (1810-61), ou du maire de Rome, Ernesto Nathan (1845-1921). Bien au contraire, les saints et saintes abondent dans la nomenclature québécoise, qui présente bien des Pie IX, Léon XIII (1810-1903), des *zouaves pontificaux* et des Mentana, ce dernier en souvenir de la victoire française sur Garibaldi de 1867<sup>71</sup>. Par conséquent, rares sont les commentaires des voyageurs sur des sujets

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<sup>66</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 258.

<sup>67</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 22; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 93.

<sup>68</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 252; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 93.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 98-101, 106; Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 23.

<sup>70</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 23.

<sup>71</sup> Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 103-105.

qui n'ont pas de rapport avec la question romaine en général, et ceux qui sont favorables au nouvel ordre<sup>72</sup>.

Tout au contraire de ces Canadiens-français, Savard était fasciné par l'histoire de la péninsule italienne, et il la connaissait bien. Lebel écrit que sa "curiosité ne tarde pas à déborder l'histoire religieuse, puis à remonter et à descendre le cours de l'histoire italienne". Le philosophe Giovanni Battista Vico (1668-1744) et le leader du régime fasciste, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), ne l'intéressent pas moins que Pie IX<sup>73</sup>. Il lisait les travaux du spécialiste en droit ecclésiastique, Arturo Carlo Jemolo (1891-1981), pour décrire la politique religieuse du premier ministre Francesco Crispi (1818-1901)<sup>74</sup>. Il entretenait une relation avec plusieurs historiens italiens, tels que le jésuite Giacomo Martina et Fiorella Bartocchini, spécialistes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle romain<sup>75</sup>. En 1981, il réfléchissait sur un plaidoyer en faveur du présumé terroriste, le physicien Franco Piperno (1942), paru dans *Le Devoir*<sup>76</sup>. Deux ans plus tard, il lisait les mémoires de la sociologue Maria Antonietta Macciocchi (1922-2007) "pour m'instruire et m'amuser"<sup>77</sup>. À l'occasion d'un colloque organisé en avril 1991 par l'École française de Rome sur l'encyclique *Rerum novarum*, publiée par Léon XIII en 1881, Savard fit partie d'un groupe de participants qui fut reçu par le pape Jean Paul II. Un de ses trois enfants, François Savard, était avec lui. Savard fut son *cicerone*, comme le père Fortin l'avait été avec lui 34 ans plus tôt. Voilà encore un Savard historien qui a une interaction avec les personnages de son histoire : "On va à Rome pour voir le pape ... les moindres audiences sont racontées avec force détails et effusions", écrit-il à propos de ces pèlerins du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 254 n54; Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 24.

<sup>73</sup> Lebel, "Le monde ancien", 2.

<sup>74</sup> Savard, *Jules-Paul Tardivel*, 287 n159.

<sup>75</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 5-6 n1.

<sup>76</sup> Pierre Boucher et Pierre Desbiens, "L'affaire Piperno: un cas de harcèlement ?", *Le Devoir*, 19 octobre 1981 ; Savard à Codignola, Ottawa, 27 octobre 1981, lettre manuscrite.

<sup>77</sup> Savard à Codignola, Ottawa, 8 août 1983, carte postale manuscrite.

<sup>78</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

Savard connaissait donc l'histoire de la péninsule italienne et aimait l'Italie de son temps, Rome de manière spéciale. Le portrait qu'il peint du père Fortin pourrait s'appliquer aussi bien à lui-même : "Tout en faisant certaines réserves sur certaines mœurs italiennes, il se révèle un inconditionnel de la Ville éternelle"<sup>79</sup>. Pour sa part, le père Fortin admettait volontiers : "Malgré le bruit, le trafic épouvantable, le désordre canonisé ... je suis de nouveau tombé en amour avec Rome... plus que jamais! Cette Rome me colle à la peau et au cœur"<sup>80</sup>. Le lecteur qui a eu la chance de connaître personnellement Savard le revoit avec un sourire moqueur sur ses lèvres pendant qu'il rapporte, loin de la rectitude politique des années 1990, les opinions des Canadiens-français du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle sur la population italienne. "Quelle race infâme", s'exclame Tardivel<sup>81</sup>. "Quelle nation de menteurs, de voleurs et de déguenillés", confie l'abbé Pâquet à son journal intime<sup>82</sup>. Il était "impossible de compter sur la parole de ces misérables canailles de Romains", déclare-t-il, tout en observant qu'il n'y avait que les Américains qui les rivalisaient dans ce vice<sup>83</sup>. Les guides qu'ils rencontraient étaient "importuns, souvent malhonnêtes"<sup>84</sup>. Les Italiens étaient plus portés au "farniente"<sup>85</sup> qu'au travail<sup>86</sup>. Le genre de vie des habitants du sud, des "grands enfants" selon l'abbé Casgrain, choquait les voyageurs canadiens-français. L'abbé Jean-Baptiste Proulx (1808-81) observe que le froid du Canada produisait "moins de légumes, mais aussi moins de lézards et plus d'énergie"<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 2.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 17.

<sup>82</sup> Savard, *Aspects du catholicisme canadien-français*, 58; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 254 n56.

<sup>83</sup> Savard, *Aspects du catholicisme canadien-français*, 58, 61.

<sup>84</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 17; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

<sup>85</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 14.

<sup>86</sup> Savard, *Aspects du catholicisme canadien-français*, 58.

<sup>87</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 21.

C'est que, explique Savard, l'Italien "qu'on nous décrit est un être folklorique"<sup>88</sup>, tel qu'il était encore présenté dans les manuels de géographie des années 1930 : "sobres, gais, intelligents ; ils excellent dans la musique, la peinture et la sculpture, mais ils sont vindicatifs, insoucians ... ils manquent d'audace ou d'énergie pour les grandes entreprises ; ils ont, en général, une imagination vive et brillante, l'émotion facile et changeante. L'Italien est un artiste, et ce n'est pas un savant ni un inventeur"<sup>89</sup>.

Il s'agissait là du résultat immédiat de la rencontre entre la fascination que des septentrionaux nord-américains éprouvent pour un "pays du soleil"<sup>90</sup> et l'antipathie envers le tempérament italien, antipathie qui, selon l'historien, était "révélatrice de la mentalité "septentrionalisée" du Canadien français"<sup>91</sup>. Les voyageurs de Savard restaient des Canadiens-français "jusqu'à la moëlle", au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle aussi bien qu'au XX<sup>e</sup><sup>92</sup>. Ils se plaignaient tous des "hôtels mal chauffés"<sup>93</sup>, du "manque de confort en hiver"<sup>94</sup>, de ce "froid de canard" que le père Fortin supportait grâce à "des combinaisons d'aviateurs du Grand Nord qu'il dut se procurer chez un marchand de surplus de guerre de la rue Saint-Vallier". Par ailleurs, le père Fortin aurait aimé voir tomber sur la Ville éternelle "une solide *poudrerie*"<sup>95</sup>; l'abbé Charles-François Baillargeon (1798-1870) disait que trois choses lui manquaient à Rome, c'est-à-dire, "l'air vivifiant du Canada, la cuisine canadienne et la compagnie de compatriotes"<sup>96</sup>; et l'évêque Laflèche invitait Pie IX à abandonner la péninsule italienne et lui offrait, "sur le sol hospitalier du Nouveau-Monde, l'air, l'espace et la

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<sup>88</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 254.

<sup>89</sup> Savard, "Les 'caractères' nationaux", 210; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 94.

<sup>90</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 255.

<sup>91</sup> Savard, "Le journal de l'abbé Benjamin", 62; Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 255; Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 106.

<sup>92</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 3.

<sup>93</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 253.

<sup>94</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 17.

<sup>95</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 3.

<sup>96</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 13 n20.

liberté"<sup>97</sup>. C'est que, explique l'historien, ces voyageurs, "tout nourris qu'ils soient de souvenirs classiques, réagissent bien en Nord-Américains fiers de leur continent"<sup>98</sup>. "À l'Amérique la sauvagerie; à l'Europe, la culture" : Savard résume ainsi d'une manière magistrale l'attitude de ces voyageurs nord-américains acculturés<sup>99</sup>.

Il ne faut pas oublier, pourtant, que l'intérêt de Savard pour l'Italie et pour Rome provenait d'un intérêt plus général pour le développement de la société canadienne-française, de celle du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle aussi bien que de celle du XX<sup>e</sup>. Malgré ses sympathies de catholique libéral, pour lequel "il n'existe pas d'opposition nécessaire entre "être moderne" et "être catholique", tel que l'écrit l'historien Jean Gould, Savard n'avait ni "enctonné le refrain de la Révolution tranquille comme libération de la "grande noirceur", ni relu l'histoire du Québec d'avant les années 1960 en oubliant ses "dimensions ethniques et religieuses"<sup>100</sup>. Au contraire, il affirmait que c'était un lieu commun "tenace" celui qui voulait "que le Canada français ait traditionnellement vécu replié sur lui-même et fait preuve d'isolationnisme jusqu'à son passage subit du 'provincialisme' à l' "internationalisme" avec la Révolution tranquille"<sup>101</sup>. Les Canadiens-français, Savard le dit clairement, "ne viv[aient] pas en vase clos"<sup>102</sup>. Bien au contraire, ils étaient en relation constante avec la Vieille Europe. Lorsque ces "provinciaux nord-américains catholiques et francophones" y allaient, ils étaient "d'emblée confrontés à un espace qui les déconcert[ait]"<sup>103</sup>. Et voilà les trois capitales internationales des Canadiens-français. Paris, "la lumière en matière de culture"<sup>104</sup> dans une "France catholique"<sup>105</sup> qui était le "modèle des

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<sup>97</sup> Savard, "L'éloquence", 288.

<sup>98</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs canadiens-français", 22.

<sup>99</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 257.

<sup>100</sup> Jean Gould, "Pierre Savard, homme du peuple et humaniste", *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* 10 (1999): 15.

<sup>101</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale," 235.

<sup>102</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 31.

<sup>103</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 257.

<sup>104</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 31.

<sup>105</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 258.



intellectuels"<sup>106</sup>. Londres, le "phare politique"<sup>107</sup> dans une Grande-Bretagne qui "fascin[ait] par ses institutions politiques"<sup>108</sup>. Et, finalement, la "Rome ecclésiastique"<sup>109</sup> le "phare des catholiques"<sup>110</sup>, "la référence obligée en ce qui a trait ... aux jugements éthiques"<sup>111</sup>.

Bien qu'il se soit intéressé, en tant qu'historien, aux institutions politiques de la Grande-Bretagne, c'est la France qui l'attirait au plus haut point, surtout sur le plan intellectuel et culturel. Il avait connu les *maîtres* français à l'Université Laval pendant les années 1950, les géographes Raoul Blanchard (1877-1965) et Pierre Deffontaines (1894-1978) et c'était grâce à Latreille qu'il avait pris le chemin de l'histoire<sup>112</sup>. Il avait étudié à Lyon, se rendait en France régulièrement et se sentait chez lui dans l'Hexagone. Mais il aimait souligner ses expériences de Québécois devant la "brusquerie des petits fonctionnaires" et l'"impatience des commis face au client qui ne connaît pas le terme approprié pour désigner un objet ou un service"<sup>113</sup>. Ces voyageurs canadiens-français avaient parfois des expériences semblables. L'abbé Sax considérait "le Français prêtre ... généralement le plus pédant, le plus sot et conséquemment le moins supportable qui se puisse imaginer". Il supportait mal "les airs de grand seigneur des évêques de France"<sup>114</sup>, tandis que le "gallicanisme ou ses suites" n'avaient "aucune prise" sur l'esprit et le cœur de l'abbé Pâquet<sup>115</sup>. En outre, dès la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les prêtres canadiens-français allaient étudier plus souvent à Rome qu'en France<sup>116</sup>. C'est que la société canadienne-française qui avait été

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<sup>106</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale", 236.

<sup>107</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 31.

<sup>108</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale", 236, 258.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale", 236.

<sup>111</sup> La figure rhétorique des 'trois capitales' est aussi dans Savard, "L'Italia nella cultura franco-canadese", 106; Savard, "L'éloquence", 290; Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 31.

<sup>112</sup> Savard aux chers amis, 1; Savard, "Un Québécois en France", 134-135.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. 140.

<sup>114</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 29.

<sup>115</sup> Savard, "Le journal de l'abbé Benjamin", 61-62.

<sup>116</sup> Savard, "Minorité et paix internationale", 235.

longtemps "coupée de la France de l'Ancien Régime[,] puis acculturée politiquement aux institutions britanniques[,] est devenue bien étrangère à la sensibilité politique de la France moderne"<sup>117</sup>.

Rome, bien au contraire, ne constituait pas seulement "un lieu d'apprentissage précieux pour les clercs canadiens qui y séjourn[aient]"<sup>118</sup>, comme l'indique, par exemple, le fait que les études romaines d'Antoine Racine (1822-93), l'évêque de Sherbrooke, ajoutaient "une autorité doctrinale ... à ses dons oratoires"<sup>119</sup>. La Ville éternelle fut aussi "longtemps une voie d'accès de choix sur le monde". L'abbé Sax, frappé par le "caractère cosmopolite de Rome", assista à une messe dans la chapelle de la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide" où les intervenants prièrent en 46 langues et chantèrent "dans les langues les plus étranges de l'Orient". Cette "ville ouverte sur l'univers" donnait donc aux catholiques canadiens-français "le sentiment d'appartenance non seulement à une Église 'universelle' mais même à une communauté de nations"<sup>120</sup>. Voilà donc, selon l'interprétation de Savard, un monde qui est très petit, très catholique et très replié sur lui-même, mais qui en même temps est ouvert sur le monde, qui voyage et qui subit l'influence de la Vieille Europe, de Rome en particulier.

La même vision contradictoire s'applique au monde canadien-français dont Savard a partagé les expériences. Du père Fortin, il rapporte qu'il était impatient face à ceux qui n'avaient que "leur horizon natal ou national comme critère de jugement"<sup>121</sup>. De l'historien Philippe Sylvain (1915-93), son directeur de thèse et grand maître intellectuel pendant qu'il était étudiant au doctorat à l'Université Laval (1961-5), il dit qu'il "se plaisait à se dire Beauceron", mais que, en même temps, il avait toujours devant lui deux "grandes fenêtres ouvertes sur le monde", la France et l'Italie. En

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<sup>117</sup> Savard, "Autour d'une centenaire qui n'eût pas lieu", dans *L'image de la Révolution française au Québec 1789-1989*, ed. Michel Grenon (Ville LaSalle : Hurtubise HMH, 1989), 118; Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 6.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. 31.

<sup>119</sup> Savard, "L'éloquence", 286.

<sup>120</sup> Savard, "La Rome de Pie IX", 28, 30-31.

<sup>121</sup> Savard, "Le 'Père Guy'", 3.

effet, Sylvain écrivit ses livres sur l'historien américain Henry de Courcy (1820-61) et le célèbre barnabite défroqué, l'italien Alessandro Gavazzi (1808-89), à la même époque où, selon Savard, la province était malade de "nombriisme culturel" et son élite constituait un "petit monde d'autrefois"<sup>122</sup>, une "infime minorité de privilégiés"<sup>123</sup>.

Bien que "familier du petit monde d'ici", où il avait pu "mesurer les grandeurs et les limites du nationalisme canadien-français", Savard avait besoin "de respirer l'air du grand large". Comme il raconta, "les relations culturelles avec l'extérieur" l'avaient toujours intéressé<sup>124</sup>. Étudiant à Lyon, le catholicisme des Français lui avait paru "plus aéré que le nôtre : les débats y portaient sur des enjeux bien plus sérieux que chez nous (colonisation, pacifisme, prêtres-ouvriers, école libre, laïcité)"<sup>125</sup>. Comme le montre l'historien Guy Laperrière, dans sa thèse de doctorat, loin d'écrire une biographie de son héros, Tardivel, Savard voulut "éclairer ses relations avec la France et les États-Unis". Selon Lebel et Laperrière, les "orientations étrangères de cet historien sont certes une clé importante à la compréhension de l'homme. Pierre Savard avait acquis une grande familiarité avec la vieille Europe, principalement la France et l'Italie, ainsi qu'avec les États-Unis"<sup>126</sup>. Pendant toute sa carrière, à l'Université Laval (1962-72) et puis à l'Université d'Ottawa (1972-98), il ne cessa jamais d'enseigner l'histoire de l'Europe<sup>127</sup>. En effet, il ne concevait pas le Québec des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles "en vase clos, mais il l'abordait à la lumière de ses rapports avec l'Ancien Monde et le voisin américain, dans ses prolongements, à travers ses échanges et ses emprunts"<sup>128</sup>.

Pendant la période de 1976 à 1987, Savard élargit son champ d'action international. Il fut membre du bureau de direction de la

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<sup>122</sup> Savard, "Philippe Sylvain et nous", 10, 14, 17.

<sup>123</sup> Savard, "L'Antiquité dans la culture", 5, 12.

<sup>124</sup> Savard, "Quelques réflexions sur l'étude du Canada au pays et à l'étranger depuis une vingtaine d'années", avril 1993, texte dactylographié, 2, 4.

<sup>125</sup> Savard, "Un Québécois en France", 139.

<sup>126</sup> Laperrière, "De Québec à Ottawa", 8; Savard, "Quelques réflexions sur l'étude du Canada", 4.

<sup>127</sup> Savard, "Quelques réflexions sur l'étude du Canada", 2.

<sup>128</sup> Lebel, "Pierre Savard", 42.

Multicultural History Society of Ontario (1976-85), président du Conseil international d'études canadiennes (1983-5) et vice-président académique de l'Institut canadien de la Méditerranée, où il était responsable de l'Italie (1983-7). Sa participation à la diffusion internationale des études canadiennes touche aussi à ses relations avec l'Italie. Cela non seulement parce qu'il y séjourna plusieurs fois pendant les années 1980 et 1990 grâce aux invitations qu'il recevait régulièrement des canadianistes italiens, mais aussi à cause du fait que son attitude renouvelait cette ouverture sur le monde qui avait été une caractéristique constante de toute sa vie d'homme et de chercheur. "Des canadianistes étrangers ont fait redécouvrir les réalités du Canada à partir de problématiques et de méthodes inédites chez nous", observa-t-il<sup>129</sup>. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus, ajoutait-il, "cet apport irremplaçable et indispensable qu'est le regard de l'Autre. Car l'Autre, parce que précisément il est Autre, peut seul nous faire découvrir maintes évidences qui pour nous, ne sont en rien aveuglantes. Ajoutons que l'Autre ne peut que s'enrichir de cette expérience. Nul ne sort intact d'une plongée profonde en eaux étrangères. Le savant, bien formé et de bonne foi, y modifie parfois autant son Être qu'il élargit son Savoir. Et il en est bien ainsi tant pour l'observateur que pour l'œuvre qui en résulte"<sup>130</sup>.

Savard invitait aussi les jeunes Canadiens, ces "futurs citoyens", à apprendre à connaître le Canada "par l'expérience et non seulement par l'école. Capitaux sont les échanges de personnes, les voyages, les expériences partagées ... De même serait-il utile que les canadianistes canadiens qui vont répandre la bonne nouvelle à l'étranger aient quelque connaissance de la culture de réception pour rendre leur sujet plus intelligible"<sup>131</sup>. Ce sont les premiers voyages et les premières

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<sup>129</sup> Savard, "Quelques réflexions sur l'étude du Canada", 4-5.

<sup>130</sup> Savard, "Allocution du président du Conseil international d'études canadiennes à Montréal, le vendredi 7 juin 1985, à l'occasion de la remise des prix Northern Telecom en études canadiennes", Conseil international d'études canadiennes, *Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (octobre 1985): 21.

<sup>131</sup> Savard, "Commentaires", dans "Les études canadiennes : perspectives pour le présente et l'avenir", section spéciale du *Bulletin de l'Association d'études canadiennes* 14, no. 4 (hiver 1992-93): 19.

expériences du jeune Savard à Rome qui nous reviennent à l'esprit, ses efforts pour en apprendre la langue et la culture, ses balades en scooter aux Monts Albains avec le père Fortin. Ce sont aussi les remarques du même Savard sur les difficultés des voyageurs canadiens-français qui visitaient Rome et parcouraient les routes d'un pays "dont il ne connaiss[aient] pas la langue"<sup>132</sup>. C'est, somme toute, la relation avec l'Italie qui parsema toute sa vie, une relation complexe, tout azimut, qui acquit sa profondeur et son ampleur pendant un demi-siècle de fréquentations, réelles et intellectuelles.

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<sup>132</sup> Savard, "Voyageurs, pèlerins et récits de voyages", 251.



## 9. GIORGIO SPINI AMERICANISTA

Camillo Benso, conte di Cavour, non era un uomo comune. "[A]veva viaggiato a lungo in Svizzera, in Francia e in Inghilterra" e, "[l]iberale in politica", "era diventato liberista anche in economia, sulla scorta di quell'Inghilterra, per la quale professò sempre un'ammirazione così viva da farsi attribuire il nomignolo scherzoso di Lord Camillo"<sup>1</sup>. Anche se allo storico italiano Giorgio Spini non venne attribuito il titolo di Lord, è noto che il padre, il tecnico delle ferrovie Rodolfo Spini, gli aveva imposto il nome Giorgio "in onore dell'Inghilterra". Gli aveva inoltre fatto imparare l'inglese "fin da bambino" ribadendogli "che l'Inghilterra era la Terra Santa della libertà". Più di altre città italiane, Firenze consentiva una certa familiarità con una comunità anglofona che la frequentava fin dall'Ottocento. Inoltre il ruolo minoritario della comunità evangelica di cui la famiglia di Spini era parte fin da quando la nonna, Cesira Focardi, l'aveva abbracciata<sup>2</sup>, spingeva naturalmente anche Spini a guardare fuori d'Italia, verso quei paesi, come la Svizzera e l'Inghilterra, dove la Riforma aveva prodotto risultati particolarmente innovativi<sup>3</sup>. Negli anni 1930 Spini, che si era iscritto all'Università di Firenze a 17 anni, a 19 aveva messo per la prima volta piede all'Archivio di Stato di Firenze, e a 21 si era laureato

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<sup>1</sup> Giorgio Spini, *Disegno storico della civiltà italiana, per licei classici, scientifici e istituti magistrali* (Roma: Cremonese, 1954), III: 233-234. I tre volumi del *Disegno* uscirono per la prima volta presso Macri a Bari (I: 1947) e a Firenze (II: 1948), e presso Perrella a Roma (III: 1949). Il passaggio alle Edizioni Cremonese di Roma avvenne a partire dal vol. II della quinta edizione del 1954. Il *Disegno* raggiunse la sua decima edizione nel 1970. L'arco cronologico coperto va dall'anno 284 al 1923. In questo articolo faremo riferimento all'edizione del 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Spini, *La strada della Liberazione. Dalla riscoperta di Calvino al Fronte della VIII Armata*, ed. Valdo Spini (Torino: Claudiana, 2002), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Non "Lord Giorgio", ma "l'Americano" era invece chiamato Spini dai compagni di scuola (Tiziano Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica. L'impegno intellettuale di Giorgio Spini. Giornata di Studio. Torino 8 novembre 1996*, ed. Enzo A. Baldini e Massimo Firpo (Firenze: Olschki, 1998), 77.

(1937), aveva inoltre già compiuto dei viaggi in Svizzera, in Cecoslovacchia e anche in India<sup>4</sup>. L'atmosfera opprimente del regime fascista, per il quale egli provò soltanto repulsione, accentuò questa sua attrazione per l'ambiente europeo. Nel 1940-1 Spini riuscì a trascorrere un anno come lettore di italiano presso la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, in Spagna, una opportunità che gli consentì frequenti visite all'Archivo General de Simancas<sup>5</sup>. Egli scriverà in seguito che la sua partenza per la Spagna faceva parte di una "scelta politica ... in senso internazionale" operata dall'Italia "quando [il paese] emerse dal fascismo". Spini era stato in ciò incoraggiato soprattutto dallo storico Federico Chabod (1901-60), il quale insegnava ai suoi allievi a impostare problemi apparentemente regionali come "problemi di storia europea", a passare "al piano universale della civiltà del Rinascimento", e a sentire l'unicità della civiltà occidentale<sup>6</sup>. La scelta di recarsi in Spagna era dunque parte di una "netta sterzata in senso europeistico" nella quale egli si ritrovò con Armando Saitta (1919-91), Salvo Mastellone e Giuseppe Giarrizzo. Tale scelta, che rappresentava una rottura con "il provincialismo, in cui la storiografia italiana era stata rinchiusa per tanto tempo", obbligò la disciplina "a slargare i suoi orizzonti e rendere più complessi i suoi interessi"<sup>7</sup>. Che la partenza per la Spagna fosse avvenuta in realtà in pieno regime fascista non ne muta il profondo significato di apertura verso il mondo esterno da parte dello stesso Spini. Essa fu certamente parte di quella prospettiva internazionale che caratterizzerà così

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<sup>4</sup> Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 170 (giugno 1992): 53; Valdo Spini, prefazione a *La strada della Liberazione*, 9, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Spini, *La strada della Liberazione*, 82-83.

<sup>6</sup> Spini, "[Intervento]", in *La storiografia italiana negli ultimi vent'anni. Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Scienze Storiche Organizzato dalla Società degli Storici Italiani con il Patrocinio della Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici. Perugia, 9-13 ottobre 1967*, ed. Franco Valsecchi e Giuseppe Martini (Milano: Marzorati, 1970), I: 631; Spini, "F. Chabod e la prima generazione dei suoi allievi", *Rivista storica italiana* 72, no. 4 (dicembre 1960): 662.

<sup>7</sup> Spini, "[Intervento]", 631. Sul nuovo europeismo italiano, nel quale si colloca Spini, vedi anche Alessandro Galante Garrone, "Risorgimento e protestanti nella storiografia di Giorgio Spini", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 170 (giugno 1992): 29.



profondamente tutta la sua opera. Spini si sentiva soffocare dal Risorgimento "patriottardo" e ne auspicava il superamento "in un'ottica internazionale". Anche il suo *Risorgimento e protestanti*, del 1956, si dirigeva esplicitamente verso un "approccio al Risorgimento da un angolo visuale ... di una storia del cristianesimo ... a dimensione internazionale". Sarà proprio questa dimensione internazionale che renderà presto possibile, tra le altre cose, il suo incontro con gli Stati Uniti, a superamento del "recinto della storia europea"<sup>8</sup>.

Nonostante avesse incontrato sui suoi passi la V Armata americana (Fifth Army), la sua esperienza di ufficiale dell'esercito italiano (a partire dal giugno 1941) spinse Spini ancor più verso la Gran Bretagna. Passate le linee, egli venne infatti aggregato, grazie nuovamente alla sua conoscenza dell'inglese, alla Psychological Warfare Branch della VIII Armata britannica (VIII Army), con la quale partecipò sia alla liberazione di Firenze nell'agosto 1944 che alle operazioni militari del 1945 in Romagna. Ben poco di quanto egli pubblicò negli anni tra il 1934 e il 1952 mostra alcun specifico interesse per il mondo anglofono<sup>9</sup>. La sua conoscenza e interpretazione generale delle vicende storiche del mondo anglofono sono però ben rintracciabili nelle sue opere di più ampio respiro del periodo 1947-60, vale a dire il fortunatissimo manuale per le scuole medie superiori, *Disegno storico della civiltà italiana*, apparso per la prima volta nel 1947, e l'altrettanto fortunata *Storia dell'età moderna*,

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<sup>8</sup> Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", 55; Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1989) (prima ed.: Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1956), 3. Su *Risorgimento e protestanti* e sul significato del 1856, vedi Francesco Traniello, "Rileggendo *Risorgimento e protestanti*", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica*, 101-107.

<sup>9</sup> Spini, *La strada della Liberazione*, 87, 113, 128. Per quanto riguarda gli Stati Uniti, si veda soltanto la notizia bibliografica a proposito del libro di Ferdinando Massai, "Un fiorentino alla guerra dell'indipendenza americana. Il colonnello Luigi Antonio de Cambray-Digny (1937)", *Archivio storico italiano* 96 (1938): 276; e la recensione del libro dell'americano di origine italiana Arcangelo William Salomone, *Italian Democracy in the Making: The Political Scene of the Giolittian Era (1900-1914)*, *Il Ponte* 2 (1946): 709-710, che però trattava di storia italiana.

la cui prima edizione uscì nel 1960<sup>10</sup>. Al di là di un evidente e non comune interesse per la storia del Nord America, l'interpretazione della storia degli Stati Uniti ("che ha[anno] assunto oggi una importanza tanto preminente nelle vicende del mondo"), sia prima che dopo l'Indipendenza, indica un'unica fonte già piuttosto invecchiata, oltre che tendenzialmente agiografica. Si tratta della *Storia di un popolo libero* di Allan Nevins (1890-1971) e Henry S. Commager (1902-98), tradotta in italiano nel 1947, ma il cui originale risaliva al 1942. Tale fonte era responsabile di un quadro interpretativo molto tradizionale, con il quale però evidentemente Spini non si trovava in disaccordo<sup>11</sup>.

Nella visione di Spini, la partenza dall'Europa dei futuri americani era legata soprattutto alla "ricerca di libertà religiosa". Il "fortissimo senso individualistico", il "tenace amore di indipendenza personale e di libertà", nonché lo "spirito democratico" erano spiegati con "la dura vita in continua lotta contro i selvaggi Pellirosse e le difficoltà naturali, in cui nulla valevano i privilegi della nascita, ma tutto dipendeva dalle qualità personali di ciascun colono". La Rivoluzione

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<sup>10</sup> Su Spini, *Disegno*, vedi nota 1. Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna. Dall'impero di Carlo V all'Illuminismo* (Roma: Cremonese, 1960), che copre un arco cronologico che va dal 1515 al 1763, poi ripubblicato a partire dal 1965 a Torino da Giulio Einaudi Editore. In questo articolo faremo riferimento all'edizione del 1965. Su quest'opera, e in generale sulla concezione di Spini della storia moderna, vedi Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Giorgio Spini: lo storico moderno", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 170 (giugno 1992): 3-20; e soprattutto Ricuperati, "Archetipi e problemi della storia 'generale,'" in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica*, 11-28. Sono di questo periodo anche due serie di dispense scritte da Spini per l'Università di Messina, *Inghilterra e America nel secolo XVII. Le origini coloniali degli Stati Uniti. Riassunti delle lezioni di Storia moderna tenute nell'anno acc. 1952-53 dal Prof. Giorgio Spini* (Roma: F. Perrella, 1953), 111 pp.; *La democrazia americana da Thomas Jefferson a Andrew Jackson (1800-1837). Appunti delle lezioni di G. Spini (anno acc. 1956-1957)* (Messina: Edizioni Denaro, 1957), 204 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Allan Nevins e Henry S. Commager, *America: The Story of a Free People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), trad. it. *America. La storia di un popolo libero*, ed. F. Mattioli (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1947), descritta come "succinta ma seria opera di primo orientamento" nella totale assenza di "opere storiche italiane di un qualche valore intorno alle origini degli Stati Uniti". Vedi Spini, *Disegno*, II, 386, 393.

Americana era interpretata come una reazione ai "diritti conculcati dalla incomprendione del governo inglese", la quale si innestava sul "vivace interesse ... per le idee liberali" inglesi fino dal tempo del Locke". La Costituzione poi, esempio "ineguagliato" di strumento di "stabilità politica e di pacifica evoluzione interna", aveva consentito la "parificazione in diritti e doveri dei cittadini", la separazione della chiesa dallo stato, nonché "la libertà di stampa, di parola, di associazione, di propaganda religiosa, la libertà economica, la tutela delle persone, dei beni, [e] del domicilio di ogni cittadino". Sempre nel solco della *vulgata* tradizionale e in questo caso in evidente collegamento con lo storico americano Frederick J. Turner, Spini indicava nella "frontiera" la "valvola di sicurezza", ignota ad altri paesi, che consentiva, a chi "avesse avuto intraprendenza e coraggio nella lotta contro la natura e i selvaggi", di trovar lavoro. Era quella stessa frontiera la diretta responsabile del "rude spirito di libertà e di indipendenza" che si era venuto creando all'interno di una comunità "di piccoli proprietari coltivatori diretti". La loro "condizione di benessere e d'indipendenza economica", ignota alla "maggioranza dei contadini europei del tempo", ne faceva "una delle roccaforti dello spirito democratico del Nord America". La fine della frontiera non aveva provocato danni, poiché l'"elasticità" della legislazione, la "democraticità delle strutture politiche" e l'assenza di conflitti sociali all'europea avevano consentito l'"espansione colossale" dell'economia e la "prodigiosa assimilazione di milioni d'immigranti di ogni stirpe, lingua e religione". Ne era risultata "un'unica nazionalità, traboccante di fiducia in se stessa e negli ideali etico-politici della democrazia americana", in grado di risvegliare dal torpore medievale perfino l'arretrato Giappone. A suggello della sua interpretazione, Spini suggeriva il confronto di due testi, da una parte il discorso che il presidente Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) lesse a Gettysburg il 19 novembre 1863 ("government of the people, by the people, for the people"), dall'altra la versione latina del *Sillabo degli errori del nostro tempo*, promulgato da papa Pio IX l'8 dicembre 1864<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, II: 376-377, 379-382; III: 125-126, 272-274, 271-282, 349, 400. Sulla frontiera, vedi anche Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 599. Contro il

Nonostante gli anni che la separano dal *Disegno*, l'arco cronologico ridotto, e l'occasione di scrivere per un pubblico di fascia superiore, la *Storia dell'età moderna* non presenta delle sostanziali novità di impianto, anche se l'arco delle fonti secondarie indicate esplicitamente si è notevolmente ampliato. La bibliografia include una serie di grandi nomi della storiografia americana, soprattutto coloniale, morti da tempo<sup>13</sup>, altri storici morti in epoca successiva al primo viaggio di Spini negli Stati Uniti, avvenuto nel 1958, ma i cui libri erano stati pubblicati prima di tale viaggio<sup>14</sup>, e finalmente due autori, Merle E. Curti (1897-1996) e Perry Miller (1905-63), che Spini sicuramente incontrò<sup>15</sup>. Rispetto però al *Disegno*, nella *Storia*, che è pur sempre un'opera di grande sintesi di storia del mondo occidentale, si cominciano a intravedere i temi fondamentali e più originali della riflessione di Spini sugli Stati Uniti: quelli relativi ad alcuni fili conduttori della storia americana, tutti più o meno riconducibili alle origini puritane della Nuova Inghilterra ("creatura principe del protestantesimo radicale")<sup>16</sup>, i quali si sarebbero poi esplicitati nell'arco di quattro secoli, dai puritani del Seicento alla Rivoluzione del

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determinismo della storiografia della frontiera, vedi invece Spini, "Sulla storiografia puritana", 439.

<sup>13</sup> Herbert L. Osgood (1855-1918), George L. Beer (1872-1920), Edward Channing (1856-1931), Charles M. Andrews (1863-1943) e Charles A. Beard (1874-1948).

<sup>14</sup> Mary Ritter Beard (1876-1958), libro del 1927-42; Curtis P. Nettels (1898-1981), 1938; Thomas Herbert Johnson (1914-85), 1938; Harold U. Faulkner (1890-1968), 1949; e Samuel Eliot Morison, 1950.

<sup>15</sup> Anche in questo caso, comunque, Spini cita alcune loro opere precedenti al suo viaggio negli Stati Uniti, datate 1950 (Curti) e Miller (1939-53) (Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 1086). Curti e Miller vengono direttamente ringraziati in Spini, *Autobiografia della giovane America. La storiografia americana dai Padri Pellegrini all'Indipendenza* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1968), XIV. Curti viene anche descritto come "maestro di tanto prestigio internazionale" (Spini, *America 1962. Nuove tendenze della sinistra americana* (Firenze: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1962), 103; e Miller come "massimo storico vivente della Nuova Inghilterra puritana", nella recensione di *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra. Il Seicento*, di Perry Miller, *Protestantesimo* 18, no. 1 (1963): 55.

<sup>16</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 597.

Settecento, dal Grande Risveglio dell'Ottocento fino al presidente Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) nel Novecento<sup>17</sup>.

Le colonie americane, secondo Spini, sono "appendici transoceaniche delle nazioni dell'Europa occidentale, le quali ben presto non si limitano più ad una mera riproduzione dell'originale, ma sviluppano dei loro caratteri del tutto peculiari". "[L]e forze ideologiche ... si liberano dall'impaccio di quelle tradizioni o di quegli interessi costituiti che ne paralizzano il cammino in Europa e prendono subitamente sviluppi mai prima veduti. Gesuiti o puritani, *dévots* francesi o non-conformisti inglesi, si trovano in America davanti ad una materia vergine da modellare a proprio piacimento, o ad un eccezionale terreno d'esperimenti per le proprie convinzioni". In realtà, Spini applica un'affermazione di tal fatta, che addirittura include i gesuiti, soltanto alla Nuova Inghilterra. È quello, e quello soltanto, il luogo privilegiato in cui "la tradizione congregazionalista si perpetua nel fiero attaccamento all'autogoverno locale ... nella rigida severità del costume, nell'operosità con cui la piccola proprietà coltivatrice esercita l'agricoltura ... o nell'intensa attività dei centri marinari". E questo "spirito puritano" è tanto forte, da riuscire a plasmare anche quella "accozzaglia di gente" rappresentata dagli abitanti delle altre colonie, formando a poco a poco una "società basata su principî ed istituzioni" del tutto nuovi. Insomma, una vera e propria "nazionalità americana"<sup>18</sup>. Si tratta di riflessioni originali che Spini svilupperà più a fondo negli scritti direttamente legati ai puritani americani, sui quali, quando la *Storia* esce, ha già cominciato a lavorare intensamente. Il resto dell'espansione europea nelle Americhe in verità non lo interessa. Per la storia dell'espansione inglese nel suo

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<sup>17</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, III: 452. Vedi quella catena della storia del mondo così riassunta qualche anno più tardi: "[D]alle rivoluzioni calviniste del secolo XVI ... alle due rivoluzioni inglesi del sec. XVII, attraverso la Rivoluzione Americana e la Rivoluzione Francese del sec. XVIII, sino alle rivoluzioni dell'età nostra" (Spini, "I Puritani della Nuova Inghilterra e la cultura italiana", in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Storia Americana (Genova, 26-29 Maggio 1976). Italia e Stati Uniti dall'indipendenza americana ad oggi (1776-1976)*, ed. Raimondo Luraghi (Genova: Tilgher, 1978): 23.

<sup>18</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 589-590, 601, 877, 1025.

complesso, nel *Disegno* egli si ferma al volume di Gennaro Mondaini del 1916, al quale aggiunge in un secondo tempo due volumi della "Cambridge History of the British Empire" del 1929<sup>19</sup>. Per quanto riguarda invece l'espansione francese nelle Americhe, e il Canada in particolare, al di là del riferimento al francese Charles-André Julien (1881-1991), la vera e unica fonte di Spini è rappresentata dallo storico americano Francis Parkman. Quest'ultimo, peraltro, continuerà a essere il testo di riferimento di tutti gli storici degli Stati Uniti fino all'arrivo sulla scena del canadese, coetaneo di Spini, William J. Eccles. È a Parkman, e non ad altri, che dobbiamo la descrizione (fatta propria da Spini) dei canadesi cattolici, nemici dei puritani e in generale di tutti gli americani, come "una forte schiatta di agricoltori, boscaioli e cacciatori, temprata al pericolo ed ai disagi, avvezza ad obbedire disciplinatamente ai suoi governatori ed ai suoi preti"<sup>20</sup>.

In tutta evidenza, ciò che davvero interessava Spini nella seconda metà degli anni 1940 e almeno nella prima metà degli anni 1950 non era l'America, ma l'Inghilterra e la sua civiltà. Anche nei suoi anni di entusiasmi americani, quando si dedicherà intensamente a scrivere di Nuova Inghilterra, a seguire la nuova storiografia americana, a insegnare e promuovere la storia americana in Italia e si entusiasmerà per la Nuova Sinistra, non dimenticherà mai che "le colonie americane del Seicento erano ... dei lembi transoceanici di Europa", come obietterà niente di meno che a Miller; che "i *colleges* americani del Settecento" erano "pur sempre modeste scuiolette di campagna", per cui non era proprio il caso di "esagerare nel contrapporle, quali luminosi fari di civiltà, a ... Oxford e Cambridge", come egli farà notare a un altro luminare della storiografia americana, Daniel J. Boorstin (1914-2004); e che, insomma, l'America altro non era se non

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<sup>19</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, II: 383 ("non v'è, purtroppo, in italiano, che l'ormai vecchia opera di G. Mondaini"); Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 1085. Gli autori dei due volumi inglesi sono Henry H. Dodwell (1879-1946) e Arthur P. Newton (1873-1942).

<sup>20</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 1028.

un "piccolo ambiente rusticano e provinciale". Sennò, ammoniva Spini, "si perde il senso della realtà"<sup>21</sup>.

Quanto c'era di meglio nel mondo occidentale era nato in Inghilterra<sup>22</sup>. Si tratta di un percorso che si trova tutto, ancora una volta, sia nel *Disegno* che nella *Storia*, con variazioni di profondità, ma non di sostanza<sup>23</sup>. Fu la Guerra Civile, o Prima Rivoluzione a porre le basi del regime parlamentare, poi perfezionato dalla Gloriosa Rivoluzione, o Seconda Rivoluzione, e a consentire agli inglesi di vivere in un moderno sistema costituzionale in cui vigevano la libertà religiosa, la libertà di pensiero e di associazione, il diritto alla vita e alla proprietà, tutti diritti i quali, espressi meglio di chiunque altro dal filosofo inglese John Locke (1632-1704), oggi vengono considerati patrimonio comune dell'umanità. A partire dalla Gloriosa Rivoluzione, secondo Spini, tale processo avvenne "[p]raticamente senza spargimento di sangue, inaugurando quel sistema gradualistico, fatto di "vere e proprie rivoluzioni incruente". Queste ultime hanno distinto la storia di quel paese, per esempio dalla sanguinosa esperienza della Rivoluzione Francese<sup>24</sup>. Il sistema inglese non soltanto era

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<sup>21</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale della storia americana nella recente storiografia", *Rivista storica italiana* 73, no. 2 (giugno 1961), 322-323; Spini, *Autobiografia*, 26; Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 56.

<sup>22</sup> Il *Disegno* esprime un apprezzamento senza riserve anche dei Paesi Bassi, che già nel Seicento possiedono tutte le qualità che in futuro sarebbero state le qualità tipiche dell'Inghilterra, inclusa la libertà, la tolleranza religiosa e l'industriosità. Si trattava del paese "più ricco, più civile, più laborioso" d'Europa (Spini, *Disegno*, II: 240-241). A differenza dell'Inghilterra, i Paesi Bassi non furono però capaci di esportare i loro ideali nel resto del mondo. Spini apprezza anche i paesi scandinavi, terra di democrazia e di socialismo (III: 391).

<sup>23</sup> Anche se non possiamo qui addentrarci in un'analisi comparata della storia britannica di Spini con il grande affresco dell'ex primo ministro britannico, Winston L.S. Churchill, completato di getto proprio tra il 1956 e il 1957 (Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* [London: Cassell and Company Ltd. 1956-8; trad. it. *Storia dei popoli di lingua inglese*. Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1956-8), la somiglianza interpretativa tra il socialista Spini e il conservatore Churchill è davvero forte e andrebbe esaminata a fondo.

<sup>24</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, II: 233, 243, 283-284, 261; III: 88, 150. Vedi anche Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 841; Spini, recensione a *Puritanesimo e libertà. Dibattiti e libelli*.

moralmente più giusto, ma anche, secondo Spini, rendeva più forte la nazione stessa. Questa infatti si convinceva, nei momenti di maggior pericolo, come per esempio quello delle guerre napoleoniche, di condurre "una lotta della libertà contro il dispotismo". Non soltanto, insisteva Spini, l'impareggiabile sistema inglese ha resistito fino ai nostri giorni, ma esso ha anche seguito le vie dell'espansione inglese per imporsi in tutti quei paesi "di razza bianca" nuovamente creati dalla sua diaspora (un termine che Spini non usava), quali il Canada, l'Australia, la Nuova Zelanda, il Sud Africa, e perfino l'India, dove la presenza britannica ha dato inizio a una "trasformazione in senso moderno". Anche gli Stati Uniti avevano goduto delle libertà inglesi attraverso l'influenza dei dissidenti religiosi. Questi, attraverso il loro "fortissimo individualismo", non chiedendo "al suolo americano né facili ricchezze né agi di vita, ma soltanto il modo di lavorare e di mantenersi fedeli ai propri convincimenti", avevano condotto il Nuovo Mondo verso quell'ideale "democratico, pacifista, anti-autoritario, nettamente autonomistico" poi consacrato dalla formazione degli Stati Uniti. Finalmente, le libertà inglesi erano diventate patrimonio inalienabile della "maggior parte dei popoli occidentali" e presi a modello "da tutti i paesi civili", anche se alcuni di questi, come la Francia, non erano in grado di conservare tali libertà in modo altrettanto saldo, mentre altri, come la Russia, dopo aver tentato un "rinnovamento pacifico e di trasformazione in senso liberale e occidentale", precipitavano nel caos rivoluzionario. L'ultimo stadio di tale provvidenziale sviluppo era stato il trasferimento della democrazia dal terreno della vita politica a quello della vita economica, tramite la recente riforma fiscale britannica e la legislazione anti-trust americana<sup>25</sup>.

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*Studio introduttivo*, di Vittorio Gabrieli, *Il Ponte* 13, no. 1 (primo semestre 1957): 122.

<sup>25</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, II: 233, 243, 255, 262, 264, 284, 323, 374-375, 397; III: 43, 50, 61, 185, 300, 330, 374, 388, 390, 403, 441. La stessa definizione di "paesi civili" in Spini, *Disegno*, III: 397; e in Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 630 ("mondo civile"), dove l'espansione benefica della "civiltà occidentale" viene così delineata: "La civiltà occidentale, agli inizi del secolo XVI, era come racchiusa nel suo stretto isolotto europeo, sperduto nel vasto mondo. Al cadere del secolo XVIII, quella



Se c'è una differenza nell'immagine dell'Inghilterra che discende dalla lettura del *Disegno*, rispetto a quella che si trova nella *Storia*, questa è rintracciabile in un maggior peso dell'elemento strettamente religioso e del fattore ideologico, o spirituale, nelle spiegazioni dei grandi accadimenti storici. L'elemento della scelta cosciente di una soluzione (o dell'agenzia dell'essere umano, come è di moda dire oggi) viene privilegiato rispetto a una narrazione degli eventi, quella del *Disegno*, che sembrava procedere lungo percorsi logici unidirezionali, senza alternative, se non di breve o brevissimo periodo. Da un punto di vista stilistico, ciò si risolveva nel *Disegno* in un uso pressoché costante di formule avversative quali "ma", "tuttavia", "bensì", molto spesso in inizio di frase o a inizio paragrafo, nonché di avverbi che implicano consequenzialità, necessità, ripetitività, e in genere relazioni di causa ed effetto, quali per esempio "naturalmente", "logicamente" e soprattutto "al solito". Tale stile sottintendeva un processo storico apparentemente univoco, che muoveva nel senso di un progresso costituito fondamentalmente dall'ampliamento della libertà dell'essere umano, al quale il mondo occidentale tendeva in un susseguirsi di evoluzioni, di crisi ("l'alterna prevalenza delle correnti progressiste e conservatrici"), e di passi in avanti. Le "civiltà" venivano personalizzate, e concetti quali "tormentosa crisi", "piena decadenza", "incalcolabile portata", "svolta decisiva", "fatale declino", "profonda crisi", "civiltà nuova", o "matura[zione]", punteggiano la narrazione di Spini:<sup>26</sup>

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civiltà è già un fatto intercontinentale e si avvia a diventare un fatto universale. L'unità del genere umano, da una remota nebulosa, si avvia a diventare realtà concreta della storia" (Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 1075). Ai valori del mondo occidentale Spini continuerà a restare fedele; anzi nel 1992 egli imputerà alla microstoria, alla cui ideologia attribuirà una "rinnovata chiusura di orizzonti e una rinascita dello strapaese", l'"abborrimento compunto dei misfatti del mondo occidentale" (Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", 54).

<sup>26</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, I: 315, 382, 391; II: 2, 11; III: 274, 299, 321, 323, 403. Vedi anche il contrasto tra "rivoluzioni storicamente possibili" e "rivoluzioni tuttavia immature", risalente anch'esso agli anni 1950, in Spini, "Riforma italiana e mediazioni ginevrine nella Nuova Inghilterra puritana", in *Barocco e Puritani. Studi sulla storia del Seicento in Italia, Spagna e New England*, ed. Spini (Firenze: Vallecchi Editore, 1991) (originariamente pubblicato in *Ginevra e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi promossa*

A rappresentare l'elemento negativo della storia dell'umanità viene chiamata soprattutto quella Spagna che Spini aveva personalmente conosciuto nel 1940-1: terra di "corride e ... auto da fé, delizia delle folle" che "sfogano gli istinti ancora brutali e sanguinari di un popolo che nel suo fanatismo e nel suo ozio si è chiuso ormai fuori dal cammino della civiltà europea". Alla sua guida, un'aristocrazia dal "fasto pomposo" e dalla "smania di grandezza", il cui "cieco militarismo ... depauperava il paese". Una civiltà che portava i suoi vizi peggiori dovunque muovesse, tanto in Lombardia quanto, scriverà in seguito, nel resto della penisola, dove con "la solita ladreria ... riuscì a mandare ai cani mezza Italia". Lo stesso dicasi della nefasta influenza spagnola sul Nuovo Mondo, dove uno dei suoi eroi è il "guardiano di porci" Francisco Pizarro (1475/6-1541), e dove, già in pieno Ottocento, l'arretratezza economica e le "discordie intestine" del Messico ne giustificheranno la parziale conquista da parte degli Stati Uniti. Insomma, il lettore del *Disegno* ha l'impressione che la strada seguita dalla storia fosse l'unica possibile, a causa di un impianto di tipo implicitamente teleologico che non lasciava alcuno spazio alla scelta, per non dire alla casualità. Per quanto riguarda l'espansione europea, ciò appare evidente, per esempio, nella descrizione della contemporanea presenza sul suolo nordamericano di forze di segno opposto, quelle inglesi e quelle francesi, il cui "urto ... si faceva ... a mano a mano inevitabile"<sup>27</sup>.

Nella *Storia*, invece, nonostante Spini non manchi di ricorrere a immagini quali "mirabile primavera", "maturità estiva", "crisi imminente", "agonia", "apogeo" e "disastro", o descriva ancora il Nord America della prima metà del Settecento come la "polveriera del mondo"<sup>28</sup>, questa struttura logica meccanicamente consequenziale

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dalla *Facoltà Valdese di Teologia di Roma*, ed. Delio Cantimori et al. (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni Editore, 1959), 451-489, 252.

<sup>27</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, I: 390-393; II: 165, 251-252, 294, 354, 376; III: 129, 273, 385; recensione di *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, di Garrett Mattingly, *Rivista storica italiana* 83, no. 1 (marzo 1961): 156.

<sup>28</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 26, 28-30, 1031.

sembra attutirsi<sup>29</sup>. C'è, per esempio, la constatazione che lo "spirito inglese ... funziona" nonostante l'empirismo, l'amore per il compromesso (concetto che si affianca prima e poi sostituisce quello di gradualismo) e l'"orgoglio isolano", laddove l'unione di questi elementi costituisce un vero e proprio "pasticcio" teorico<sup>30</sup>. Ciò che rende possibile tali felici sviluppi, e che veramente fa la differenza tra i paesi latini e il Canada "figlio della Controriforma francese" da una parte, e l'Inghilterra dall'altra, è che in quest'ultima esiste "una determinante interferenza di forze ideali" che trovano la loro origine soprattutto in "forze di carattere religioso". Tali forze, saldandosi "a meraviglia con le esigenze empiristiche, razionalistiche, utilitaristiche della borghesia affarista", sfocieranno, prima ancora del tramonto del secolo, nel liberalismo borghese e razionalista di John Locke". È, in sostanza, "la civiltà calvinista" unita all'"etica del puritanesimo". Sono queste forze ideali, volontariamente scelte, a rendere l'Inghilterra "giovane, traboccante d'indomite energie, spint[a] da una febbre di avventura, di ricchezza, di mondano godimento"; ad aprirle "impetuosamente la strada verso l'avvenire, travolgendo senza pietà i residui del passato"; a consentirle, tramite il "protestantesimo radicalista", la conquista spirituale del Nord America; e, in ultima analisi, a rendere possibile, grazie al "progresso intellettuale", anche il

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<sup>29</sup> In una occasione, Spini arriva a parlare di "fatalità inesplicabili, che sfidano la volontà dello storico di scoprire un nesso razionale tra gli avvenimenti"; in un'altra di "pretesa di descrivere con proprie parole la foce verso cui scorre l'oscuro fiume della storia" e di necessità di "tornare a talune intuizioni dei nostri avi romantici" (Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 23, 166). In un'altra occasione, egli afferma che il senso sotterraneo del suo *Ricerca dei libertini. La teoria dell'impostura delle religioni nel Seicento italiano* (Roma: Editrice Universale di Roma, 1950), uno dei suoi primi libri, era di "mostrare l'immenso posto che ha l'illusione nella storia di noi uomini" (Spini, "[Intervento]", 633).

<sup>30</sup> Alcuni anni più tardi, Spini auspicherà una soluzione moderata, "secondo la tradizione del compromise anglosassone", anche per quel "groviglio di problemi" rappresentato dalle rivolte negre degli Stati Uniti degli anni 1960 (Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", *Il Ponte* 23, no. 9 [settembre 1967]: 1079).

progresso sociale, "possibile solo nella libertà e in virtù della libertà"<sup>31</sup>.

Tra la pubblicazione del *Disegno* e quella della *Storia*, Spini era andato per la prima volta negli Stati Uniti. Approfittando del programma di scambi culturali Fulbright, nel 1958 egli si era stabilito presso la Harvard University in qualità di *visiting professor*. Intendeva sviluppare quella ricerca sulla storiografia puritana che lo avrebbe impegnato per buona parte del decennio successivo<sup>32</sup>. Alla Harvard University, terra di "raffinati intellettuali"<sup>33</sup> Spini incontrò alcuni grandi studiosi del puritanesimo americano quali Miller, Samuel E. Morison e Kenneth B. Murdock (1895-1975). Egli aveva altresì frequentato l'italianista, di nascita fiorentina, Renato Poggioli (1907-63)<sup>34</sup>. A Cambridge, "tra i vecchi edifici di mattoni ed il placido verde" del *college*, primo istituto di studi superiori del Nord America, fondato dall'"indomito amor di sapere della tradizione calviniana" nel 1636, "si comprendono meglio tante cose", ammise Spini nel 1959. A Boston, percorrendo la "dolce salita" di Beacon Street, aveva notato "l'anziana compostezza" del quartiere, così lontana dalla "turbolenta gioventù dell'America dei pionieri". A Salem, la cittadina portuale del Massachusetts così importante per i traffici marinari della Nuova Inghilterra, nonché tristemente famosa per i processi alle streghe del 1692, aveva ammirato il "mare color del piombo" dai "ciuffi di pinastri e malinconici graniti". Certo, notava Spini, non era più tempo di teologia, ma pur restava indelebile "il marchio dell'etica puritana, per cui non è vita quella che non è spesa sotto il segno di una vocazione operosa, traducibile in termini di un preciso dovere morale e di esigente impegno"<sup>35</sup>. È ciò che si evidenziava anche nello stesso ambito universitario, nel cui "clima spartano" facevano bella mostra la

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<sup>31</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 296, 345, 418, 596, 630, 735; Spini, "Il significato della Gloriosa Rivoluzione nella storia europea", in *Il potere e la gloria. La Gloriosa Rivoluzione del 1688*, ed. Giorgio Vola (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1993), 25.

<sup>32</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, XV.

<sup>33</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, XI.

<sup>34</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 325; Spini, *Autobiografia*, XIV.

<sup>35</sup> Spini, prefazione all'edizione italiana di *La conquista del Perù*, di William H. Prescott (Firenze: Editrice Le Maschere, 1959), XXIII-XXIV, XXVIII-XXIX.

modestia e l'uniformità del tenore di vita: "Tutti i ragazzi hanno la zucchetta rapata come tanti coscritti e il vestito dimesso ... le ragazze non si sognano neanche ... le eleganze ... delle loro coetanee italiane di buona famiglia"<sup>36</sup>.

In quei luoghi così densi di antico puritanesimo Spini si era imbattuto nelle tracce di William H. Prescott (1796-1859), che la storiografia avrebbe poi definito, insieme ad altri celebri colleghi, uno dei Romantic Historians americani<sup>37</sup>. Nel 1959 uscì infatti a Firenze la traduzione italiana della *Conquista del Perù* di Prescott, a cui Spini appose una sua prefazione. Pur non trattandosi di altro se non di una breve incursione in quell'ambiente della Nuova Inghilterra su cui rifletterà più ampiamente nelle sue opere successive, lo scritto di Spini è particolarmente significativo per almeno tre ordini di motivi. In primo luogo, esso ha il sapore di un autoritratto psicologico, nel quale si ribadisce sia l'ammirazione per "un'Inghilterra ideale, madre delle libertà costituzionali e della civiltà liberale, allevatrice di impeccabili cavalli e di *gentlemen* di spiriti umanitari", sia la consuetudine con i classici greci e romani e i grandi pensatori inglesi del Settecento.

In secondo luogo, vi è molto, in quello di Prescott, del metodo storico che Spini sente come suo. Innanzitutto, la passione "per l'accertamento positivo dei fatti, attraverso la filologia". Ma anche, se non soprattutto, un "moralismo" che rende lo storico non più "unicamente umile annotatore delle opere di Dio" (per onorare la di lui gloria, come facevano gli antichi storici calvinisti), ma anche osservatore nonché giudice delle gesta umane. Tale giudizio doveva basarsi su due categorie di valori, che così vengono descritte da Spini: "[D]a una parte, una serie di valori eterni, di ordine etico-religioso oltre che civile, verso cui la storia tende irresistibilmente ad ascendere:

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<sup>36</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 78. L'annotazione in realtà si riferisce al soggiorno di Spini alla University of Wisconsin, a Madison, nel 1961-2, ma a maggior ragione doveva essere stata attuale nella Harvard University del 1958-9. Si noti la vicinanza con il ritratto del nuovo protestante di quattro secoli or sono: "La sua ansia di lavorare, di produrre, di non sprecare tempo e denaro ... La sua casa sobria ... [p]ersino il suo abito ... questo uomo serio e dimesso" (Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 423).

<sup>37</sup> Gli altri cosiddetti Romantic Historians sono George Bancroft (1800-91), John L. Motley (1814-77) e Parkman.

dall'altra parte, il concreto contesto storico e lo stadio di civiltà, in cui i vari personaggi si trovarono ad operare<sup>38</sup>. Varrà la pena di tenere presente questo quadro nel leggere il disprezzo espresso nei confronti dei molti storici nordamericani "di oggi" (1963), che in sostanza Spini accusava di essere soprattutto degli umili "annotatori", incapaci di passare dal piano della "pura erudizione" e della "collezione di fossili" a quella della scrittura di "un libro di storia"<sup>39</sup>; e viceversa l'apprezzamento per altri con i quali purtuttavia egli dichiarava il fondamentale disaccordo, come sarà il caso dello storico americano Oscar Handlin (1915-2011), in quanto tutto (o quasi) "[s]i può ben perdonare ... in uno storico così impegnato, ed impegnato per una causa così giusta"<sup>40</sup>.

In terzo luogo, questo breve scritto contiene una sorta di manifesto morale di quei valori umani "non transeunt[i]" ed "eterni", "alla cui luce soltanto la storia umana può trovare un senso". Spini, ammirandoli in Prescott, li sentiva evidentemente come propri: "libertà, tolleranza, illuminata saggezza, umanità, dignità morale"; insieme con una costituzione americana di cui niente al mondo fu più "elevato", e con un "protestantesimo liberale, razionalista, filantropico" che è "la forma più alta di vita morale e religiosa, cui l'uomo possa arrivare"<sup>41</sup>. Certo, stiamo parlando di Prescott, non di Spini. È indubbio infatti che a tali valori Spini aggiunse quello del socialismo, come il valore fondamentale di una società in cui all'uguaglianza giuridica corrisponda l'uguaglianza economica<sup>42</sup>. Ma è

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<sup>38</sup> Spini, prefazione all'edizione italiana, XXVI, XXX, XXXIII. Sulle caratteristiche del *gentleman* vedi anche XXXVII.

<sup>39</sup> Recensione di *Clerc, garibaldien, prédicant des Deux Mondes*. Alessandro Gavazzi 1809-1889, di Philippe Sylvain, in *Protestantesimo* 18, no. 3 (1963): 175-176. Vedi anche le annotazioni a proposito del libro dell'americano Stuart C. Henry in Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 331.

<sup>40</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro di Oscar Handlin", *Rivista storica italiana* 87, no. 3 (settembre 1965): 690.

<sup>41</sup> Spini, prefazione all'edizione italiana, XXXIII. Sul valore assoluto della costituzione americana nella "catena della storia del mondo", vedi anche il molto più tardo *I Puritani della Nuova Inghilterra e la cultura italiana*, 23.

<sup>42</sup> Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", 53.

altrettanto vero che se la speranza di socialismo alimentò tutta la sua vita, Spini non ne individuò mai alcuna applicazione nella vita reale, tranne forse in alcune comunità utopistiche dell'Ottocento americano, della cui brevissima esistenza egli darà conto un trentennio più tardi<sup>43</sup>.

Sono degli anni immediatamente successivi al soggiorno presso la Harvard University una serie di rassegne storiografiche e di recensioni, pubblicate soprattutto sulla *Rivista storica italiana* tra il 1960 e il 1961<sup>44</sup>, nelle quali Spini faceva finalmente i conti, in modo esplicito, con la storiografia americana contemporanea. Erano tempi in cui era ancora difficile avere accesso in maniera rapida alla produzione libraria di altri paesi e soprattutto tenersi al corrente di quanto periodicamente usciva sulle riviste storiche internazionali, termometro fondamentale dello stato del dibattito. Perciò furono la personale frequentazione dei colleghi del locale dipartimento di storia, nonché l'accesso alla Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library della Harvard University (che alla leggendaria facilità di accesso di tutte le biblioteche nordamericane univa un primato qualitativo e quantitativo negli stessi Stati Uniti), le ragioni che consentirono a Spini di conoscere fino in fondo lo stato dell'arte della produzione americana.

Non dimentichiamo che, per quanto lettore onnivoro e conoscitore enciclopedico della storia del mondo occidentale, Spini aveva poco

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<sup>43</sup> "[Q]uel socialismo in cui ... ci ostiniamo a vedere una delle forze più importanti della nostra civiltà contemporanea" (Spini, "Da Terra del Sole a Salem, North Carolina. La lunga marcia dell'idea collettivistica", in *Fra Toscana e Stati Uniti. Il discorso politico nell'età della costituzione americana. Atti del Convegno "Pensiero politico toscano e pensiero politico-istituzionale americano"* (Firenze, 28-30 novembre 1986), ed. Anna Maria Martellone e Elisabetta Vezzosi [Firenze: Olschki, 1989], 213). Vedi anche Spini, "Le colonie collettiviste del Nord America", in *Preludi di socialismo nel XVII secolo*, ed. Spini e Gaetano Cingari (Bari, Roma: Laterza, 1988), 205-213. Sul socialismo di Spini, vedi Bruno Bongiovanni, "Il socialismo", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica*, 89-100.

<sup>44</sup> Spini, "Sulla storiografia puritana della Nuova Inghilterra", *Rivista storica italiana* 72, no. 3 (settembre 1960): 415-444; Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 321-334; Spini, "Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile nella recente storiografia", *Rivista storica italiana* 73, no. 3 (settembre 1961): 536-543. Il primo di questi tre articoli prelude, nel suo impianto, alla *Autobiografia*. Gli altri due sono delle rassegne storiografiche.

più di quarant'anni quando mise per la prima volta piede negli Stati Uniti, e che gli anni che lo separavano dalla fine della Seconda Guerra Mondiale erano stati dedicati ad altri, importanti progetti, di cui si trova traccia evidente nelle sue pubblicazioni coeve. Come ben mostravano le pagine americane sia del *Disegno* che della *Storia*, Spini era sempre stato in ritardo sul dibattito in corso nella nuova storiografia americana. Il soggiorno presso la Harvard University consentì a Spini di compiere quel salto di qualità che fino ad allora le circostanze avevano reso impossibile<sup>45</sup>. Al di là dei giudizi espressi da Spini sui singoli autori, giudizi nei quali la conoscenza personale di alcuni dei recensiti non impediva che alle cortesie del caso si affiancasse una critica puntuale e severa, ciò che colpisce nell'insieme è la rivendicazione dell'autonomia della storiografia europea (e italiana) rispetto alla storiografia americana. Nonostante il suo antico richiamo alla necessità della internazionalizzazione della professione storica, Spini non ritenne di doversi immergere in una indistinta comunità internazionale degli studiosi, né tantomeno di doversi aggregare al carro degli storici d'oltreoceano, ma anzi continuò orgogliosamente a rivendicare la fondamentale differenza tra americani da una parte ed europei e italiani dall'altra, in una sorta di "noi" e "voi"<sup>46</sup>, in cui, semmai, erano gli americani ad avere molto da imparare<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Tra il 1964 e il 1967 uscirono altri contributi storiografici i quali, pur non essendo più immediatamente collegabili all'influenza del soggiorno harvardiano del 1958-9, non mostrano rispetto alle tre rassegne del 1960-1 alcuna differenza di impianto. Si tratta di Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo Spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 55-57; Spini, recensione a Sylvain, *Clerc, garibaldien*, 174-176; Spini, recensione di *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy 1800-1860*, di Paul R. Baker, *Rivista storica italiana* 76, no. 3 (settembre 1964): 844-845; Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 687-701; Spini, "La storia dell'America e la sua storiografia", *Cultura e scuola* 3, no. 10 (aprile-giugno 1964): 91-97; e Spini, recensione di *Jacksonian Aristocracy: Class and Democracy in New York: 1830-1860*, di Douglas T. Miller, *Annali della Fondazione Italiana per la Storia Amministrativa* 4 (1967): 709-711.

<sup>46</sup> "[N]oi, che apparteniamo ad un ambiente culturale ed a tradizioni storiografiche così diverse da quelle degli Stati Uniti" (Spini, *A proposito di un nuovo libro*, 688).

<sup>47</sup> È certamente figlio di questo atteggiamento il fatto che Spini continuò a scrivere soltanto in italiano e su riviste italiane, anche quando dava alle stampe i suoi



Certamente non estranea a questa mancata identificazione di Spini con i suoi colleghi americani era la doppia valenza espressa da tanta parte della storiografia americana di quegli anni, la quale si risolveva a livello storiografico nel segno dell'eccezionalismo, e a livello politico in quello del nazionalismo<sup>48</sup>. Spini era in profondo disaccordo con entrambi i concetti. Se a livello politico egli esplicherà sempre di più nel corso degli anni 1960 la sua vicinanza alla Nuova Sinistra, a livello storiografico è costante nella sua critica il richiamo alle origini della comune civiltà occidentale, anche nelle sue radici più classiche e lontane<sup>49</sup>, l'esaltazione *a contrario* dell'eredità europea, e l'interpretazione

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contributi sul puritanesimo americano o le sue riflessioni sulla Nuova Sinistra. Le eccezioni sono due articoli del 1977, in cui Spini ripeteva cose già scritte meglio in italiano (Spini, "Remarques sur la Réforme française dans l'historiographie puritaine de la Nouvelle-Angleterre", in *Historiographie de la Réforme*, ed. Philippe Joutard [Paris: Dellachaux et Niestlé, 1977], 99-107; Spini, "The Perception of America in Italian Consciousness: 1776-1865", in *The United States and Italy: The First Two Hundred Years. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference, Washington, DC, October 8-10, 1976*, ed. Humbert S. Nelli [Washington: American Italian Historical Association, 1977], 49-59). Originale, ma contributo di sintesi e non di ricerca, la voce enciclopedica Spini, "Religion", in *American Civilization: An Introduction*, ed. Arie N.J. Den Hollander e Sigmund Skard (London: Longmans, 1968), 246-276. Anche per questa assenza di Spini dal panorama storiografico internazionale degli studi di americanistica, la rivista *Storia nordamericana*, pubblicata in Italia ma scritta in lingua inglese, diretta prima da Bonazzi e poi da Martellone, pubblicò prima un suo breve saggio non particolarmente significativo (Spini, "Novanglicanae nugae", *Storia nordamericana* 1, no. 1 [1984]: 130-147), e poi, soprattutto, un numero speciale contenente la traduzione in inglese di alcuni scritti di Spini di interesse americano giudicati particolarmente significativi (*Storia nordamericana* 3, no. 1 [1986]: 9-105). Spini, "Italian Influences on the Intellectual Life of the New England Puritans", *The Journal of Italian History* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1978): 7-17, altro testo in inglese pubblicato su una rivista italiana, non era altro che una traduzione di un saggio già apparso in italiano nello stesso anno.

<sup>48</sup> L'annotazione, quasi casuale e non giustificata, secondo la quale l'approccio nazionalista ed eccezionalista "non sembra prevalente in seno all'odierna storiografia degli Stati Uniti" (Spini, "Il periodo coloniale della storia americana", 323) ha tutta l'aria di significare esattamente il contrario. Sull'eccezionalismo e Spini, vedi Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", 80.

<sup>49</sup> Si veda, fra gli altri, il riferimento a Platone in rapporto all'etica protestante in Spini, "Novanglicanae nugae", 293.

dell'esperienza americana come derivativa dall'esperienza europea e inglese in particolare. Per esempio, nel lodare una nuova sintesi della prima storia americana, opera dello storico britannico Alfred L. Rowse, Spini metteva in luce come proprio nella capacità dell'autore "di muoversi agilmente sull'una e l'altra sponda dell'Atlantico, facendo storia americana in funzione di quella inglese e viceversa", consisteva il valore del libro, che pur si dedicava a un tema sul quale esistevano ormai "tonnellate intere di carta stampata". Spini coglieva l'occasione per ribadire che quella, "a conti fatti, [era] la sola maniera sensata di fare storia delle origini americane"<sup>50</sup>. Nello stesso anno egli lodava, come tra le più innovative nella nuova storiografia americana, l'opera dello storico americano, George L. Mosse (1918-99). Era proprio l'origine tedesca di quest'ultimo a consentirgli di scrollarsi di dosso i vincoli della tradizione americana e di mettere invece a frutto una "formazione culturale assai più vicina ai modi dello storicismo europeo". Tra l'altro, chiariva Spini, Mosse "si occupa della Nuova Inghilterra solo nella misura in cui essa rientra in un quadro storico più generale"<sup>51</sup>.

Ma per due che lodava, molti altri venivano criticati per non avere saputo uscire dal loro piccolo orto americanista. Ecco un Raymond Walters, Jr. (1912-2003), che non descrive a sufficienza l'ambiente ginevrino che aveva formato Albert Gallatin (1761-1849), né ha l'aria di ben capire l'importanza di un Charles-Léonard-Simon de Sismondi (1773-1842). Ecco un Marvin Meyers, il quale, nemmeno lui, si accorge di Sismondi o del fatto che le battaglie jacksoniane per la democrazia avessero coinciso con quelle del radicalismo europeo<sup>52</sup>. Ecco ancora un Miller, "grandissimo storico", che se da una parte non dimentica la diretta derivazione della teologia puritana dall'ugonotto Pierre La Ramée (1515-72), pur tuttavia, come già ricordato più sopra, dimentica che la storia delle colonie della Nuova Inghilterra "va

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<sup>50</sup> Spini, recensione a *The Elizabethans and America*, di Alfred L. Rowse, *Rivista storica italiana* 73, no. 1 (marzo 1961): 157.

<sup>51</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 326-327.

<sup>52</sup> Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 537, 541.

giudicata sempre sul metro di quella coeva europea<sup>53</sup>. Ma è soprattutto nei due grandi storici e *opinion makers* del momento, Boorstin e Handlin, che Spini vede saldarsi l'ignoranza della *European Connection* con la sicumera del nuovo nazionalismo. Recensendo *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (1958), uscito durante il suo primo soggiorno americano, Spini non mancava di notare come quel "senso pratico" che Boorstin gabellava come tipicamente americano non fosse certo mancato a "mercanti olandesi, borghesi di Ginevra o ugonotti francesi". Spini ironizzava inoltre sulla "prodezza guerriera" dei "virili americani" di Boorstin, "temprati alla dura scuola degli indiani", visto che le "tribù pellirossa, crudelissimi finché si vuole" erano "di rado capaci di scatenare qualcosa di più che grosse razzie brigantesche", certamente poca cosa quando paragonate agli "oltre cento anni di guerre [europee] contro i Turchi ... vicini assai più incomodi"<sup>54</sup>. Ma soprattutto quello che infastidiva Spini era l'asprezza del "nazionalismo xenofobo" di Boorstin ("già sinistreggiante", ora "convertitosi alla fede ... patriottica") e quel suo continuo paragone tra la praticità degli americani e le "diatribe dottrinali" in cui si sarebbe persa l'Europa, terra di "infeconde astrazioni" e "tradizioni oppressive". Si trattava di un fastidio che lo stesso Spini collegava all'ancor fresca crociata contro l'*un-Americanism* e gli intellettuali *egghead* che se ne sarebbero fatti strumento. Di questo passo, rimarcava Spini, attraverso "l'unanimità come tendenza naturale e positiva dello spirito americano"<sup>55</sup>, si sarebbe ben presto tornati a proclami quali "*my country, right or wrong*"<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 322-323.

<sup>55</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 6, 86; Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 322-323. Il termine *egghead* (testa d'uovo), ora caduto in disuso, fu usato nel 1952 da Richard M. Nixon, poi presidente degli Stati Uniti, contro il candidato alla presidenza, Adlai E. Stevenson (1900-65).

<sup>56</sup> Pensando ad Adolf Hitler e Benito Mussolini, Spini confessava che lo faceva rabbrivire anche soltanto l'idea di "popoli dalle caratteristiche inconfondibili ... e di terre dalle caratteristiche virtù taumaturgiche" (Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 696). Il proclama a cui si fa riferimento era stato coniato nel 1816 dal comandante americano Stephen Decatur (1779-1820) al tempo delle guerre contro

La polemica, di qualche anno più tarda, contro Handlin, del quale era nel frattempo uscito *The Americans: A New History of the People of the United States* (1963), è più garbata, ma non meno decisa nell'insistere sulla necessità di evitare "il vecchio mito dell'*American exceptionalism*". Si prenda la Nuova Inghilterra del Seicento. Visto che manca in Handlin "un preciso riferimento all'Europa del tempo", lo storico americano non è in grado di capire fino a che punto quei puritani fossero stati "degli arditi innovatori rispetto allo stesso calvinismo europeo e ... dei creatori di una nuova realtà". Si prenda la Rivoluzione Americana. Anche qui, un Handlin che non comprende la carica ideale che spingeva gli inglesi a lasciare il loro paese, che non la collega all'entusiasmo che conduceva i rivoluzionari americani a ribellarsi contro le tasse inique, e che interpreta di conseguenza la rivoluzione come una mera questione di nazionalità, non è in grado di valutare né fino a che punto la Rivoluzione Americana fosse stata una vera e propria guerra civile, né quale afflato ideale avesse accomunato i rivoluzionari di entrambe le sponde dell'Oceano Atlantico. Si prenda il fenomeno migratorio. Se è vero che l'immigrazione fu "uno dei fenomeni più importanti nella storia del popolo americano", come peraltro afferma lo stesso Handlin, come può uno storico americano non "farsi ... anche storico europeo"<sup>57</sup>? Insomma, come Spini aveva già scritto qualche anno prima, com'è possibile anche soltanto immaginare di poter capire "dei cosmopoliti della forza ... di un Jefferson ... senza porsi da un punto di vista internazionale altrettanto ampio di loro?"<sup>58</sup>. La conclusione di Spini era che, se da una parte americanisti ed europeisti americani sembravano aver firmato un vero e proprio "divorzio consensuale", per rendersi divisi da "una specie di cortina di ferro", dall'altra c'era da chiedersi "se un raffronto più attento con la storia europea non avrebbe portato ad un apprezzamento

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gli stati arabi del Mediterraneo, ed è poi diventato sinonimo di *jingoisism*, o patriottismo estremo.

<sup>57</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 698-701.

<sup>58</sup> Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 537.

più alto e positivo" proprio di quei valori americani su cui Handlin tanto insisteva<sup>59</sup>.

Se il grado di esaltazione dell'esperienza europea e della derivazione di essa da quella americana poteva variare a seconda dell'occasione in cui queste venivano riaffermate, la necessità di tenere presente il quadro europeo anche a migliore comprensione dell'esperienza americana non mutò più e la si ritrova in tutti gli scritti successivi di Spini. Si vedano, per esempio, le poche critiche ad alcuni storici americanisti italiani, peraltro particolarmente apprezzati da Spini. Per esempio Tiziano Bonazzi, che viene accusato di "rigidezza" per aver tenuto lo sguardo troppo "fisso" sulla vicenda della Nuova Inghilterra nel suo *Il sacro esperimento* (1970), e per avere, nello stesso libro, interpretato la vicenda di Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643) come "rito sacrificale", mettendosi in ciò troppo a rimorchio della storiografia americana del tempo ("così *sophisticated* e all'ultima moda"). Sarebbe bastato invece girare "gli occhi un po' più attorno: magari fuori dello stesso ambito della Riforma, e fino alla Calabria di frà Tommaso Campanella [1568-1639]"<sup>60</sup>. Qualche anno dopo, ancora Bonazzi veniva criticato da Spini per avere sorvolato, nella sua antologia storiografica, *La Rivoluzione Americana* (1977), quel "legame particolarmente stretto che si ebbe ... fra l'Inghilterra e le sue colonie d'America" nei sessant'anni che precedettero la Rivoluzione, quel processo dunque di anglicizzazione che pose le premesse della Rivoluzione stessa<sup>61</sup>. Sulla stessa linea, annotazioni positive e negative vengono indirizzate da Spini anche a storici ben lontani dalle problematiche dell'età moderna. Per esempio Massimo Rubboli viene lodato per avere nel suo *Social Gospel* (1980) ben mostrato il legame che esisteva tra il movimento del Vangelo Sociale statunitense e

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<sup>59</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 698; Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 537.

<sup>60</sup> Spini, recensione di *Il sacro esperimento. Teologia e politica nell'America puritana* di Bonazzi, *Rivista storica italiana* 83, no. 3 (settembre 1971): 725-727. Ancora sull'influenza di Campanella nel Nuovo Mondo, vedi Spini, introduzione a *Preludi di socialismo*, 8.

<sup>61</sup> Spini, recensione a *La rivoluzione americana*, ed. Bonazzi, *Rivista storica italiana* 90, no. 2 (aprile-giugno 1978): 435.

l'analoga corrente britannica; mentre ad Arnaldo Testi, peraltro anche lui molto apprezzato, viene ricordato che nel suo *Il socialismo americano nell'età progressista* (1980) sarebbe stato bene dire qualcosa di più sul "bagaglio culturale" del socialista Victor L. Berger (1860-1929), che quando arrivò negli Stati Uniti aveva già studiato a Vienna e a Budapest e il socialismo non se l'era inventato nel Wisconsin. E ancora in uno dei suoi ultimi scritti americanisti, dedicato alle utopie comunitarie e socialiste nel Nuovo Mondo di Settecento e Ottocento, Spini non mancò di insistere sul fatto che nessuna di quelle *backwood utopias* "era di origine interamente indigena" e che tutte "traevano le loro radici dal Vecchio Mondo"<sup>62</sup>.

Dopo Harvard University, Spini era tornato più volte negli Stati Uniti, trascorrendo anche due lunghi soggiorni, in qualità di *visiting professor*, presso la sede di Madison della University of Wisconsin (1961-2), "la roccaforte tradizionale dei *progressives* del Middle West"<sup>63</sup>, e in quella di Berkeley della University of California (1966-7). Nel Wisconsin Spini ebbe modo di frequentare Curti e Mosse, dei quali fu sempre grande estimatore, nonché John Tedeschi, studioso di Rinascimento, e O. Laurence Burnette, direttore della Wisconsin Historical Society. Conobbe anche Malcolm Sylvers, allora *Master of Arts student*, in seguito trasferitosi in Italia a insegnare storia americana<sup>64</sup>. Fu nel Wisconsin che, come ricorda lo stesso Spini, la

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<sup>62</sup> Spini, "Recenti studi italiani sulla storia degli Stati Uniti", *Rivista storica italiana* 93, no. 2 (agosto 1981): 463, 468; Spini, "Da Terra del Sole a Salem", 207.

<sup>63</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Il pensiero politico e sociale di Thomas Jefferson. Saggio introduttivo e antologia dei testi*, ed. Malcolm Sylvers (Bari, Manduria, Napoli: Piero Lacaita Editore, 1993), 12.

<sup>64</sup> Per il soggiorno nel Wisconsin, vedi gli accenni in Spini, *America 1962*, XI, 100; Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley? La giovane America", *Il Ponte* 23, no. 1 (gennaio 1967): 43; Spini, *Autobiografia*, XIV. La presenza di Spini è anche confermata da George Lachmann Mosse, che Spini sostituì durante uno dei suoi periodi di congedo di ricerca al corso di "Intellectual History of Europe, 1500-1800" offerto dal dipartimento di storia (Mosse, *Di fronte alla storia*, Bari, Roma: Edizioni Laterza, 2004 [ed. originale: *Confronting History: A Memoir*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000], 218); e nell'articolo non firmato "John Zeinert Will Appear at Institute", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, 4 October 1961, 3 (sono grato all'amico Arnaldo Testi per avermi messo sulle tracce di Mosse e del quotidiano di

ricerca nata anni prima a Firenze grazie a una "penetrante intuizione" dello storico Delio Cantimori (1904-66), "poté svilupparsi" e trasformarsi nella *Autobiografia della giovane America* (1968)<sup>65</sup>, il libro che rappresenterà il punto di arrivo della sua riflessione sia sui puritani della Nuova Inghilterra che sulla storia della storiografia americana<sup>66</sup>. *Autobiografia* raccoglie e sistematizza tutte le riflessioni che Spini aveva fino ad allora condotto sulla storia della Nuova Inghilterra, per inserirle in un contesto più ampio, quello del rapporto tra storiografia americana dell'età coloniale e nascita della coscienza nazionale, in un arco cronologico che va dalle origini fino all'indomani della Rivoluzione.

Per quanto riguarda i puritani (cui dedica metà del volume), Spini sposa appieno la "rivoluzione storiografica" operata da Miller e Morison, che avevano cancellato l'immagine tradizionale del puritano quale tetro bigotto dal fanatico autoritarismo, nata dalla storiografia

Oshkosh, Wisconsin). Per il soggiorno in California, vedi Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 39; Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1076-1077; Spini, *Autobiografia*, XV. Si tratta di indicazioni desunte esclusivamente dagli scritti di Spini; un'esame delle sue carte potrebbe precisare meglio i dettagli dei suoi viaggi americani, la cui definizione precisa non rientra tra gli scopi del presente articolo.

<sup>65</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, XIV. Che cosa sia stata questa "intuizione" di Cantimori non ci è noto, come peraltro ci è oscuro il riferimento alla "fraterna amicizia" con lo storico italiano Franco Venturi (1914-94) che avrebbe rappresentato un "fattore decisivo addirittura nella conclusione del lavoro" (XI).

<sup>66</sup> Spini continuerà a scrivere di puritani e di storiografia americana anche dopo il 1968. Ma i suoi lavori posteriori al 1968 non presentano novità sostanziali rispetto ad *Autobiografia*. In base a questa considerazione, abbiamo ritenuto possibile descrivere in questo caso il pensiero di Spini a riguardo anche sulla base di alcuni suoi scritti posteriori al 1968. Per una critica di *Autobiografia*, vedi Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", 83-86; Loretta Valtz Mannucci, "Giorgio Spini critico dell'America puritana", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 170 (giugno 1992): 21-28; per il contesto protestante dell'opera di Spini, vedi Emidio Campi, "La Riforma e il fattore protestante nell'opera storiografica", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica*, 29-49, in particolare 35-45 (per *Autobiografia*). Per un breve ma denso giudizio sull'impegno americanista di Spini, vedi Martellone, "A Tribute to Giorgio Spini", *Storia nordamericana* 3, no. 1 (1986): 3-7.

liberale<sup>67</sup> e codificata dallo storico della cultura americano Vernon L. Parrington (1871-1929)<sup>68</sup>. Pur insistendo sul fondamentale legame tra calvinismo europeo e puritanesimo americano, Spini sostiene che quest'ultimo mostrava dei caratteri innovativi che ne facevano addirittura una sorta di deviazione sovversiva e inconsciamente eretica della radice calviniana. Nella sua ricerca di una "società diversa", di una "nuova polis oltre l'Oceano", e vista nel contesto dell'Europa della Controriforma e delle involuzioni autoritarie della Riforma stessa, tale deviazione era da considerare addirittura "tendenzialmente democratica", contenendo le premesse di quelle che sarebbero state, un secolo più tardi, "la religione naturale ed il razionalismo degli illuministi"<sup>69</sup>. Se *Autobiografia* ha un carattere soprattutto di sistematizzazione del pensiero sui puritani, ciò che invece presenta maggiore carattere di novità è l'analisi del rapporto tra storiografia americana dell'età

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<sup>67</sup> Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 56; Spini, "Il simbolismo nella letteratura americana: la premessa della Nuova Inghilterra puritana", in *Barocco e Puritani*, ed. Spini (originariamente pubblicato in *Il simbolismo nella letteratura nord-americana. Atti del Symposium tenuto a Firenze 27-29 novembre 1964*, [Firenze: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1965], 53-67, 229, 236; Spini, "Il problema dell'esilio nella storia degli Stati Uniti", in *L'esilio nella storia del movimento operaio e l'emigrazione economica*, ed. Maurizio Degl'Innocenti (Bari, Manduria, Napoli: Piero Lacaita Editore, 1992), 97.

<sup>68</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 325.

<sup>69</sup> Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 56; Spini, "Il pensiero politico americano dalle origini al federalismo", in *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, ed. Luigi Firpo, IV: *L'età moderna* (Torino: UTET, 1980), 443-445, 447; Spini, "Storia", in *Enciclopedia Europea* (Milano: Garzanti, 1980), X: *Saba-Tacurario* (1980), 900; Spini, "Il simbolismo", 231-232. Anche Bonazzi, secondo Spini, si poneva sulla stessa linea di Miller, quando descriveva come "decadimento spirituale" quello scivolamento dall'ideale puritano dei primi giorni alla relativa democratizzazione del periodo successivo, senza approfondire che cosa "intendessero sotto il nome di democrazia i puritani col loro cervello di uomini del Seicento" (Spini, recensione a Bonazzi, *Il sacro esperimento*, 724-725). E si noti anche il significato politico della tradizionale (e fuorviante, secondo Spini) contrapposizione fra il "democratico" Roger Williams e John Winthrop, quest'ultimo trattato alla stregua di un "bioco fanatico, un nemico dell'America e dei suoi ideali, quasi altrettanto nefando di un comunista"; o di quella tra il "progressista" Thomas Jefferson, e il "conservatore" Alexander Hamilton (Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 322, 329).



coloniale e nascita della coscienza nazionale. Risultato di tale rapporto fu, nelle parole di Spini, il contributo "alla formazione della coscienza della propria identità storica degli Americani ed allo sviluppo dei loro ideali religiosi, morali, politici"<sup>70</sup>. In effetti, la Nuova Inghilterra aveva "assai presto" elaborato una teoria originale dello stato e della società e preso coscienza della sua "autonoma identità e quasi vorremmo dire *nazionalità*"<sup>71</sup>. Fu tale coscienza di essere "nazione, in quanto terra della prosperità e del successo economico", a loro volta derivanti da una "benedizione divina particolare", a far maturare nei puritani prima, e in tutti gli americani poi, la convinzione della loro eccezionalità (*exceptionalism*) e della loro posizione privilegiata nella storia del mondo. E di una tale convinzione furono consci strumenti gli storici, non soltanto i cronisti puritani del Seicento, ma anche gli eruditi del Settecento, i grandi storici dell'Ottocento, fino a quelli del "nostro stesso secolo XX"<sup>72</sup>. Tra questi ultimi c'è Handlin, alle cui spalle s'intravede l'ombra del primo storico romantico americano, George Bancroft, per il quale "lo *spirito del popolo* è uno e indivisibile: è anzi il garante misterioso dell'unità nazionale"<sup>73</sup>.

*Autobiografia* si apriva con una dichiarazione di fede in materia di metodologia storica: "[P]oiché non c'è storia di correnti ideologiche la quale non sia altresì storia del rapporto dialettico ... tra le forze spirituali e quelle materiali", Spini dichiarava di aver allargato il suo campo di osservazione "al complesso dei dibattiti religiosi, delle lotte di classe sociale, dei conflitti politici o di nazionalità, in mezzo a cui

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<sup>70</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, XII.

<sup>71</sup> Spini, *Storia*, 900; Spini, "Il pensiero politico americano", 443; Spini, *Autobiografia*, 458.

<sup>72</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, 70, 458.

<sup>73</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 693. Per una critica della storiografia patriottica ottocentesca e dei suoi "schemi provvidenzialistici e nazional-democratici, per cui l'intera storia americana del Sei e Settecento convergeva tutta irresistibilmente verso l'Indipendenza e questa ultima ... era nulla di meno che il momento culminante dell'intera storia umana", vedi Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 324.

vissero ed operarono gli storici coloniali"<sup>74</sup>. Si tratta di una dichiarazione che non si comprende appieno se non la si situa nei due contesti storiografici, prima quello italiano e poi quello americano, con cui Spini era entrato in contatto nell'ultimo quarto di secolo. Sullo sfondo di entrambi, un positivismo che aveva "fatto il suo tempo" al di qua e al di là dell'Oceano<sup>75</sup>, anche se c'era chi si ostinava a fare storia come "lo storico delle scienze naturali" che costruiva la "moderna zoologia", aggregando cioè tasselli che si erano dimostrati scientificamente validi alla ricostruzione dell'obiettività storica<sup>76</sup>. Nel presente, però, due le scuole di pensiero con le quali Spini non si riconosceva. In Europa, e soprattutto in Italia, quella del materialismo storico; negli Stati Uniti quella della sociologia storica. Sul fronte italiano, la polemica era ovviamente tutta diretta alla storiografia marxista, la quale, seppur giustificata da una salutare reazione iniziale nei confronti della storiografia "etico-politica dell'idealismo", ora pretendeva di utilizzare "costanti immutabili e leggi di ferrea necessità" ricadendo così in un pieno "meccanicismo positivistic" incapace di "rendere ragione del fluire creativo della storia". A tale meccanicismo, Spini opponeva l'imprevedibilità dell'uomo, le sue "infinite possibilità", la dinamicità di "miti ... illusioni ... passioni irrazionali"<sup>77</sup>, e soprattutto la forza delle idee<sup>78</sup>. Ai suoi ipotetici critici marxisti e materialisti storici, che sbandieravano il primato della struttura sulla sovrastruttura, Spini obiettava come fosse ancora da dimostrare "che accapigliarsi sul maggiore o minore grado di

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<sup>74</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, XII. Vedi anche l'apprezzamento nei confronti della metodologia applicata da Gabrieli, un critico letterario, al rapporto tra "le convinzioni dei puritani e i conflitti politici o le lotte di classe del loro tempo" (Spini, "[Intervento]", 631). Anche Spini, recensione a Gabrieli, *Puritanesimo e libertà*, 122-123. Verso Gabrieli Spini mostra continuo apprezzamento, almeno fin da Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti*, 5.

<sup>75</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 19.

<sup>76</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, XII. Il paragone con la zoologia è già in Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 692.

<sup>77</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 18-19, 21-22.

<sup>78</sup> Si vedano le esplicitazioni in tal senso in Spini, *Disegno*, III: 395, e in Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 30, 421, 632, 661, 734.

infallibilità degli scritti di Marx [Karl Marx, 1818-83] del periodo giovanile rispetto a quelli del periodo senile, [fosse] un modo molto più ingegnoso di spendere il proprio tempo che il discutere sull'infallibilità del papa o sull'interpretazione che del Vangelo ha dato il nostro parroco la scorsa domenica, ed [era] da dimostrare altresì che le promesse di felicità avvenire, di cui le folle del nostro tempo vanno ad abbeverarsi nei comizi elettorali, siano sempre qualcosa di molto meno immaginoso dei simboli dell'Apocalisse"<sup>79</sup>.

La polemica sul materialismo storico è però assente negli scritti di Spini sulla storia e la storiografia americana. In quest'ultima, che egli ormai conosceva bene, il vero pericolo era infatti rappresentato dall'influenza delle scienze sociali, la quale spingeva gli studiosi ad abbandonare il campo della concretezza dell'indagine storica sostituendola con una illusoria modellistica. Questa avrebbe avuto la pretesa di trovare il minimo comune denominatore "della specie umana degli americani", al di là "delle differenze di origine nazionale, di condizione sociale, di confessione religiosa, di appartenenza alle varie *sezioni* degli Stati Uniti"<sup>80</sup>. Sociologia, antropologia e anche psicologia, con le loro soluzioni in apparenza moderne, riportavano invece gli storici americani indietro verso una sorta di nuovo positivismo. Da tempo l'Europa aveva abbandonato l'infausto tentativo di creare astrazioni quali "l'uomo del Medioevo" o "l'uomo del Rinascimento". Tali astrazioni si erano infatti dimostrate così generiche "da potere essere applicat[e] ai popoli e le situazioni più diverse", prive com'erano "di corrispondenza precisa nella realtà storica, la quale vive invece di contenuti concreti, cioè di distinzioni e dialettica degli opposti". Fermandosi alla "pura sociologia" dei caratteri dell'espansione verso l'Ovest, per esempio, come spiegare che

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<sup>79</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 632. Questo della tendenza ad accapigliarsi per i cavilli dell'ideologia sembra però essere soprattutto una caratteristica dei marxisti europei, perché, a proposito della Nuova Sinistra americana, soltanto due anni dopo Spini metterà in evidenza l'assenza di diatribe ideologiche e una "lingua" che non era quella "dei nostri marxisti" (Spini, *America 1962*, 33, 106).

<sup>80</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 689, 691-692; Spini, recensione a Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 845. Vedi anche le critiche a Richard C. Wade e Marvin Meyers in Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 538, 541.

la storia dei coloni americani era stata diversa da quella dei coloni della Siberia o del Canada? E ancora, se si fosse applicato il metodo di Handlin agli italiani del Rinascimento, non si sarebbe forse arrivati a una definizione dell'uomo italiano *standard* del periodo tra il Cinquecento e il Settecento come "un agricoltore analfabeta o quasi, con molto maggiore interesse per i miracoli dei Santi che non per i testi dei classici e ben poco vicino, politicamente, alle posizioni di Niccolò Machiavelli [1469-1527]"? Se da una parte poi il metodo sociologico meritava rispetto per lo "spirito democratico egualitario" che lo informava, dall'altra bisognava pur ammettere che lo studio della storia non era un fatto di democrazia: "[L]a storia umana è andata avanti proprio per via del dissenso di uomini, come Williams [Roger Williams, c.1603-83] in America, o Giordano Bruno [1548-1600], Sarpi [Paolo Sarpi, 1552-1623] e Galilei [Galileo Galilei, 1564-1642] in Europa: non già per via delle opinioni sbagliate della maggioranza"<sup>81</sup>. "Diciamo la verità", chiariva Spini a proposito del tentativo mal riuscito dello storico americano Paul R. Baker di codificare l'immagine dell'Italia negli americani dell'Ottocento, "alla storia interessa molto più un solo uomo di genio come Hawthorne [Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1804-64] che non cento imbecilli capaci di riempire di banali luoghi comuni un libro di viaggio"<sup>82</sup>. In realtà, affermava Spini, "il segreto della storia umana sta nelle idee che ispirano gli uomini"<sup>83</sup>.

Era dunque in ultima analisi la forza delle idee a prevalere, e la passione di una comunità o anche di un singolo quelle che facevano muovere il mondo: un John Wesley (1705-91) che attraverso il Risveglio metodista emancipò una "miserabile folla"; le "minoranze audaci" che con la loro nuova visione del cristianesimo cercarono e consentirono il nascere di "un diverso ordinamento della società"; l'esperienza settaria, la quale, con "impalpabile forza", trasformò la "marmaglia piovuta [in Nord America] dai quattro venti" in una

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<sup>81</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 692-693, 696; Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 538.

<sup>82</sup> Spini, recensione a Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 845.

<sup>83</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 697.

"nazione civile"<sup>84</sup>; o ancora, al giorno d'oggi, la società trainante di New York, con il suo "tradizionale dinamismo politico-sociale", di contro a uno stato come il Nevada, "di cui il mondo si accorge solo per via delle bische", o "uno stato di bifolchi come il Wyoming, di cui il mondo non si accorge addirittura", tanto è lontano dal "resto del genere umano"<sup>85</sup>. Nel valutare, molti anni più tardi, i libri di tre studiosi italiani di storia americana, Bonazzi, Piero Bairati (1946-91) e Alessandra Lorini, in tempi in cui negli Stati Uniti il nazionalismo sociologizzante dei Boorstin e degli Handlin era ormai tramontato sotto gli attacchi della storiografia del dissenso, Spini mostrò ancora molto timore nei confronti di un possibile approdo in Italia delle metodologie delle scienze sociali applicate alla storia. Bonazzi (che pure in seguito utilizzerà molto quelle metodologie) viene lodato per aver tenuto ben presente la cronologia della storia puritana, e aver quindi compiuto una distinzione netta tra "i padri della Nuova Inghilterra ed i loro figli ed epigoni della seconda metà del Seicento o

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<sup>84</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 632, 734, 1003.

<sup>85</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 10-11. Sarebbe ingeneroso e astorico leggere questa visione un po' "aristocratica" della *leadership* indossando le lenti della "correttezza politica" del giorno d'oggi. Non possiamo però passare sotto silenzio, a semplice titolo di curiosità, il trattamento che Spini riserva alle donne, anzi "alle donnette, che ... non si sognerebbero mai di impicciarsi di cose più grandi di loro" (Spini, *America 1962*, 59); al peana rivolto alla "madre di famiglia americana ... colonna della società, perché fa il suo dovere in modo esemplare, senza tanto chiasso e tanti piagnistei, sfidando a testa alta, col sorriso sulle labbra, ogni stanchezza e difficoltà" (Spini, *America 1962*, 99); e finalmente un intero articolo in cui il nuovo campo di studi viene definito come "Women History", invece che "Women's History" (Spini, "Tra Women History e preistoria del socialismo. Anne Marie van Schürmann e la *Question célèbre s'il est nécessaire ou non que les Filles soient sçavantes*, in *Scritti per Mario Delle Piane* [Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1986], 39-48, poi ripubblicato in Spini, *Barocco e Puritani*, 309-318). Né è più "politicamente corretto" il trattamento che Spini riserva agli indiani, descritti in termini positivi ("popolazione mite e laboriosa", anche se ignorante) soltanto in riferimento all'America spagnola (Spini, *Disegno*, I: 390, II: 140; III: 129), ma equiparati alla natura selvaggia e brutale nel Nord America (Spini, *Disegno*, II: 254, 376; III: 277, 349; Spini, *Storia*, 899). Su indiani e puritani, vedi anche Spini, "Sulla storiografia puritana", 432.

dell'inizio del Settecento"<sup>86</sup>. Bairati verrà applaudito per non avere riscritto "la storia americana degli ultimi cento anni in sinistrese, oppure in quell'altra lingua neo-latina che è il sociologhese-lesannalese", mantenendo invece un "*approach* sensatamente storicistico". Lorini verrà invece duramente attaccata per le sue tendenze sociologizzanti, per ben due volte descritte come "vecchie cose di pessimo gusto" che facevano "tenerezza"<sup>87</sup>. Lorini parla di intervento dello stato e di ideologia progressista come se si trattasse di unità indivisibili; tratta di conflittualità sociale come se questa fosse prerogativa degli Stati Uniti; spiega il progresso sociale come se questo fosse disceso non dalle lotte del movimento operaio, ma dalla "politica dei miglioramento" del padronato, che stava "accanto" alla repressione, come dire, ironizzò Spini, che, nella storia del movimento socialista milanese, "Turati [Filippo Turati, 1857-1932] e la Kulisciiov [Anna Kulisciov, c.1857-1925] stavano *accanto* al generale Bava Beccaris [Fiorenzo Bava Beccaris, 1831-1924]"<sup>88</sup>. Si trattava di un tema caro a Spini, quello della "libertà di organizzazione sindacale e di sciopero" ottenuto non come "grazioso regalo della classe egemone", bensì come conquiste dei lavoratori, "pagate duramente a prezzo di lotte aspre". Erano quelle stesse conquiste che, tra l'altro, Spini usava per esemplificare la dialetticità della storia umana, fatta "di una trama continua di incontri e scontri tra forze sociali,

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<sup>86</sup> Spini, recensione a Bonazzi, *Il sacro esperimento*, 725. Era quanto Spini aveva già auspicato in Spini, "Sulla storiografia puritana", 418.

<sup>87</sup> Spini, "Recenti studi italiani", 458, 460, 460. Di Lorini venivano anche richiamati i trascorsi sociologici presso l'Università di Trento.

<sup>88</sup> Spini, "Recenti studi italiani", 465. In quest'ultimo esempio, la foga antisociologizzante gli prende la mano, visto che Spini stesso era stato responsabile, anni prima, di un identico costruito logico in cui la parola "accanto" era stata da lui adoperata proprio come l'aveva fatto Lorini: "Non ci fermiamo sempre e soltanto a contemplare le pagine nere della storia della nuova economia in cammino. Accanto agli orrori della schiavitù e dello sfruttamento coloniale ... v'è pure l'inizio di un grande moto di liberazione dell'uomo dalle più tiranniche servitù della natura" (Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 628).

economiche, ideali di segno diverso, ognuna delle quali finisce per subire modificazioni più o meno profonde"<sup>89</sup>.

Era, insomma, la stessa dialettica metodologica che egli aveva voluto esplicitare nell'apertura della sua *Autobiografia*. In parte grazie alla ricerca sui puritani, ma anche alle sollecitazioni che gli venivano in tal senso per il semplice fatto di vivere e lavorare in Italia, nel corso degli anni Spini mise a punto una solida conoscenza dei rapporti tra penisola italiana e Stati Uniti, in un arco cronologico che va dalle origini coloniali fino a tutto l'Ottocento. Secondo Spini, fino alla Rivoluzione Americana si trattava soprattutto di influenze intellettuali, di retroterra culturale e di comune appartenenza al mondo occidentale. A partire dall'Ottocento, entrano in gioco anche i movimenti di persone, le merci, i viaggi e le migrazioni. Per quanto riguarda il mondo puritano, possiamo dire che la ricerca dei legami con l'Italia era intimamente legata a uno degli assunti generali di Spini, quello del rapporto tra ideologia puritana americana e sua origine calvinista europea. Già nel 1959, quindi in epoca immediatamente successiva al soggiorno presso la Harvard University, Spini mise in luce come i primi puritani aggiungessero al generale interesse per l'Italia, proprio della cultura inglese del loro tempo, "un interesse tutto particolare per la Riforma italiana, specie nella sua ala più ortodossamente calvinista". Era dunque lecito affermare che la storia dei rapporti culturali tra la Nuova Inghilterra e Italia era "antica come la Nuova Inghilterra stessa". Alcuni tra i più importanti puritani della prima generazione avevano viaggiato in Italia o possedevano libri italiani, così come ne possedeva la biblioteca di Harvard College. Notevole fu anche la fortuna americana di Galilei, la quale risale "fino ai primi tempi dell'emigrazione puritana"<sup>90</sup>. Anche se con il tempo il legame

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<sup>89</sup> Spini, "Introduzione al dibattito", in *Per lo studio del radicalismo statunitense*, ed. Bonazzi (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1978), 11. Ancora sulla lotta per le conquiste sociali, vedi Spini, *America 1962*, 36.

<sup>90</sup> Spini, "Riforma italiana e mediazioni ginevrine", 240, 242-243, 256, 258; Spini, "I Puritani della Nuova Inghilterra e la cultura italiana", 23, 26, 35; Spini, "La fortuna di Galileo tra i puritani d'America", in *Barocco e Puritani* (originariamente pubblicato in *Atti del Simposio su Galileo Galilei nella storia e nella filosofia della*

tra la Nuova Inghilterra e la penisola italiana si affievoli, non era da escludere, secondo Spini, almeno "come ipotesi [d]i lavoro", che proprio i puritani avessero dato origine a quel "ritratto romantico dell'Italia" che in seguito si era diffuso nel resto dell'America<sup>91</sup>.

Slegato da un contesto specifico di ricerca originale quale quello sulla Nuova Inghilterra, e dunque meno originale, è il contributo di Spini al più generale tema dei rapporti tra Italia e Stati Uniti. Dei suoi scritti in questo campo, che coprono un arco di tempo che va dal 1965 al 1977, i più innovativi sono i primi due, datati a brevissima distanza l'uno dall'altro<sup>92</sup>. Non che tali saggi non contengano informazioni ignote fino ad allora e significativi collegamenti fra persone. Restiamo però sul terreno della "Contribution History", nel più puro stile di un Howard R. Marraro (1897-1972) e di un Giovanni E. Schiavo (1898-1982), anche se il "contribuzionismo" di Spini si differenziava dal cronachismo patriottardo dei due storici americani di origine italiana per la sua ideologia marcatamente "democratica". Era poi evidente che ciò che davvero interessava Spini nella sua ricerca dei primordi erano, ancora una volta, le idee, sotto forma di reciproci influssi, di scambi culturali e di comunanza di ideali. Si legga, in tale prospettiva, il suo resoconto sullo stato dell'arte scritto nel 1976 in occasione di un'opera collettanea, da lui stesso diretta, uscita in occasione del Bicentenario della Rivoluzione Americana. Se sull'Italia del Settecento "il grosso del lavoro, ormai, [era] già stato fatto", restavano da investigare le reazioni alla Rivoluzione Americana "dei due maggiori centri

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scienza. Firenze-Pisa, 14-16 sett. 1964. Gruppo italiano di storia della scienza) [Firenze, Pisa: Vinci, 1967], 329-334, 283.

<sup>91</sup> Spini, recensione a Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims*, 845.

<sup>92</sup> Spini "I democratici e la guerra civile americana", *Rassegna storica toscana* 11, no. 1 (gennaio-giugno 1965): 153-171; Spini, "Le relazioni politiche fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti durante il Risorgimento e la Guerra Civile", in *Italia e Stati Uniti nell'età del Risorgimento e della Guerra civile. Atti del II Symposium di studi americani. Firenze, 27-29 maggio 1966* (Firenze: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1969), 121-185 (quest'ultimo presentato a un convegno del 1966). I successivi sono Spini, prefazione a *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, ed. Spini (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1976), 9-24; Spini, prefazione a *Italia e America dalla grande guerra a oggi*, ed. Spini (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1976), 9-19; Spini, "The Perception of America", 49-59.



dell'Illuminismo italiano, cioè Milano e Napoli", e soprattutto il "problema più importante", vale a dire il "rapporto tra filoamericanismo da una parte e opposizione al cesarismo napoleonico dall'altra"<sup>93</sup>. La prevalenza del fattore politico limitò però l'arco visuale di Spini. Da una parte, quel suo insistere soltanto sulla pubblicistica, per esempio, gli impedì di comprendere, come lui stesso peraltro ammise, "in che modo il miraggio dell'America ... [fosse] arrivato fino alle masse rurali, specie del Mezzogiorno, che non leggevano certo i giornali e ben poco avevano mai saputo del mondo al di là del villaggio nativo"<sup>94</sup>. Dall'altra, tale visione, già di per sé limitata, era anche viziata dal suo pregiudizio interpretativo. Come la maggior parte degli studiosi italiani del Settecento del suo tempo, infatti, Spini riteneva che le vite di coloro che non avessero apertamente sposato le idee dell'Illuminismo non valessero la pena di essere studiate. Ecco dunque, nel nostro caso, la cancellazione degli anti-risorgimentisti, ma soprattutto di Roma e dell'intera chiesa cattolica dalla letteratura relativa ai rapporti tra Nord America e penisola italiana, come se Roma stessa e gli Stati Pontifici non fossero entrati a far parte dell'Italia che dopo la conquista del 1870. Si spiega così in senso restrittivo, e non di apertura come potrebbe apparire a prima vista, l'invito di Spini a investigare il filone del "cattolicesimo reazionario", a riprova del fatto che il cattolicesimo non poteva venire esaminato che nel contesto della "reazione"<sup>95</sup>. E si spiega altresì l'attribuzione, da parte di Spini, del favore di cui la Confederazione degli Stati del Sud

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<sup>93</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Italia e America dal Settecento*, 13, 15. Non era casuale che soltanto due dei sette articoli contenuti nel volume non fossero incentrati sul tema delle reciproche influenze politiche.

<sup>94</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Italia e America dal Settecento*, 21. Anche Venturi si mosse nella stessa linea di Spini nel misurare le influenze reciproche tra Italia e America, non utilizzando praticamente altra fonte se non le gazzette a stampa, cosicché le circa duecento pagine che egli dedica al suo tema fanno in realtà la storia dell'immagine dell'America così come riportata dalla stampa periodica, e non la storia delle reciproche influenze o dei reali rapporti. Vedi Venturi, *Settecento riformatore* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1969-90), III: *La prima crisi dell'antico regime 1768-1776* (1979), 409-443; IV/1: *La caduta dell'antico regime 1776-1789* (1984), 3-145.

<sup>95</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Italia e America dal Settecento*, 17.

godeva presso il clero cattolico e la "destra clerico-reazionaria" a nient'altro se non a una "squallida miseria morale ed un'ancora più squallida ottusità mentale"<sup>96</sup>.

L'inquietudine di Spini per i possibili negativi sviluppi della storiografia americanista in Italia trovava la sua ragione di essere nel fatto che i primi passi di tale storiografia venivano mossi in un ambiente schiacciato tra materialismo marxista da una parte e sociologismo di marca americana dall'altra. Così come aveva invitato gli storici americani a volgere lo sguardo verso l'Europa, così Spini per molti anni aveva cercato di convincere i colleghi italiani a dedicare maggiore attenzione al "fecondo travaglio critico della storiografia transoceanica"<sup>97</sup>. Infatti, sosteneva Spini, l'Europa non aveva "da vantare altro che la propria ignoranza in fatto di storia americana, e, al di fuori del britannico Marcus Cunliffe (1922-90), nel Vecchio Mondo gli storici americanisti erano praticamente inesistenti"<sup>98</sup>. Ancora nel 1967, di fronte al I Congresso Nazionale della Società degli Storici Italiani, Spini aveva lamentato la sordità della storiografia italiana nei confronti non solo delle Americhe, ma anche di qualunque paese che non fosse l'Italia<sup>99</sup>. Egli era comunque riuscito a ottenere di potersi rivolgere a quella ampia e significativa platea per fare il punto sullo stato dell'attività dei pochissimi studiosi di storia americana, i quali mostravano provenienze diverse e interessi non univoci<sup>100</sup>. Fu così che

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<sup>96</sup> Spini, "I democratici", 155, 169.

<sup>97</sup> Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 334.

<sup>98</sup> Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro", 698; Spini, *Gli Stati Uniti dall'Indipendenza alla Guerra Civile*, 537.

<sup>99</sup> Spini, "[Intervento]", 631.

<sup>100</sup> In quella occasione, e in qualche occasione precedente, Spini aveva fatto i nomi di Alberto Aquarone (1930-85), Gaetano Arfé, Ottavio Barié, Mauro Calamandrei, Grazia Dore, Gabrieli, Aldo Garosci (1907-2000), Lucio Levi, Raimondo Luraghi, Nicola Matteucci, Fernando Manzotti, Guglielmo Negri (1926-2000), Cipriana Scelba, Domenico Sella, Enzo Tagliacozzo e Bianca Maria Tedeschini Lalli (Spini, "Il periodo coloniale", 333; Spini, recensione a Miller, *Lo spirito della Nuova Inghilterra*, 55; Spini, "Gli studi di storia americana", in *La storiografia italiana negli ultimi vent'anni*, II: 1343 n9). Un decennio più tardi, Spini ricorderà anche il contributo di Bonazzi, Ennio Di Nolfo e Martellone (Spini, "Recenti studi italiani", 459-462). Spini definì Barié "uno dei pochi studiosi italiani, i quali abbiano condotto

quello stesso anno, sotto l'impulso dello stesso Spini e l'incoraggiamento di Franco Valsecchi (1903-92), ebbe luogo la nascita della prima organizzazione professionale degli storici americanisti italiani. Sotto la direzione di Spini, questa piccola organizzazione svolgerà negli anni 1970 un ruolo decisivo nello sviluppo della storiografia americanista italiana<sup>101</sup>.

Se i timori di Spini per la sua paventata sociologizzazione erano destinati a rimanere in buona parte disattesi, certamente però tale storiografia si caratterizzò, almeno in quegli anni iniziali, per la sua intensissima politicizzazione<sup>102</sup>. Riguardo a essa, Spini non ebbe un atteggiamento univoco. Negli anni 1970, come padre spirituale dell'americanistica italiana, egli prese atto della prevalenza di studiosi dell'"altra America", fortemente caratterizzati da un impianto metodologico legato al materialismo storico (che Spini, come abbiamo visto, aborrisce), ma nello stesso tempo critici di tutto quanto sapeva di *establishment* (il che era in linea con l'apprezzamento di Spini per la

ricerche d'archivio negli Stati Uniti intorno alla partecipazione americana alla politica internazionale" (Spini, "Gli studi di storia americana", 1345-1346). Di Luraghi, che pur aveva pubblicato quattro anni prima l'imponente *Storia della guerra civile americana* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1966), anch'essa basata prevalentemente su ricerche d'archivio negli Stati Uniti e rispondente a tutti i criteri filologici del caso, Spini scrisse soltanto che l'autore era "cospicuo per i suoi marziali spiriti, anche se piuttosto discutibile nel metodo e nella impostazione" (Spini, "Gli studi di storia americana", 1345).

<sup>101</sup> Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", 83.

<sup>102</sup> Spini, premessa a Comitato di Coordinamento per gli Studi di Storia Americana, *Bollettino*, no. 1 (gennaio 1972), 5. Sui primi anni della storiografia americana in Italia, vedi Luca Codignola, "On the Witness Stand: A Prosopography of American History in Italy in the Post-War Decades, 1945-1978", in *Ambassadors: American Studies in a Changing World. Proceedings of the XVII International AISNA Conference (Roma, Centro Studi Americani, 6-8 November 2003)*, ed. Massimo Bacigalupo e Gregory Dowling (Rapallo: Azienda Grafica Busco Edizioni, 2006), 120-159; Martellone, "Italian Historians and the History of the United States: A Difficult Journey", in *ibid.*, 38-51; Matteo Sanfilippo, "American History in Italy after the Bicentennial Celebrations 1978-1992: A Discipline in Search of an Identity", in *ibid.*, 160-171. L'organizzazione era il Comitato di Coordinamento per gli Studi di Storia Americana (1970-6), poi Comitato Italiano per la Storia Nordamericana (1976-91).

Nuova Sinistra americana). Già all'inizio del decennio successivo, però, Spini cominciò ad avere qualche dubbio sulla utilità di quegli studi: "Sull'ondata del *Movement* sessantottino, frotte di giovanotti e giovanotte si precipitarono, come cavalieri erranti alla ricerca del Santo Graal, verso l'America degli IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] e dei neri, di Marcuse [Herbert Marcuse, 1898-1979] e di Paul Sweezy [1910-2004], della New Left e di Malcolm X [1925-65]. ... Di corbellerie ne furono dette e scritte assai durante quegli anni febbrili e persino dopo che la febbre aveva incominciato a calmarsi". Egli concesse, comunque, che "quando le acque del diluvio si furono ritirate e tutto venne a sedimentazione, gli studi italiani di storia americana si ritrovarono ad un livello più alto e con una robustezza maggiore di prima", grazie al semplice fatto che era finito il periodo dell'ignoranza della storia americana e che anche l'America non ufficiale era diventata oggetto di studio<sup>103</sup>. Un altro decennio più tardi, però, della positività del suo giudizio sulla storiografia italiana era rimasto ben poco: "Gli studi italiani di storia americana hanno avuto in così larga misura interessi condizionati da scelte ideologiche di sinistra marxista o post-marxista" che soltanto ora (1993) sembrano diventati adulti, "tanto da potersi misurare anche con i personaggi più classici e i nodi più centrali del passato statunitense"<sup>104</sup>.

Non che, per quanto riguarda il suo stesso lavoro di storico, Spini avesse mai messo da parte il suo impegno ideale (più ancora che direttamente politico) o avesse mai negato, in tutto il corso della sua vita, il carattere militante della sua produzione<sup>105</sup>. Anzi, egli rivendicò sempre, e con forza, l'appartenenza alla generazione dell'antifascismo, dell'"azionismo" e del socialismo. Lo dichiarò interpretando la storia moderna nel 1960 ("un contributo ... alla maturazione della coscienza civile dei nostri connazionali"). Lo ribadì, ricordando nel 1965 la

<sup>103</sup> Spini, "Recenti studi italiani", 458-459.

<sup>104</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Il pensiero politico e sociale*, 11.

<sup>105</sup> Giorgio Bouchard, "Giorgio Spini, storico militante dell'evangelismo italiano", *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 170 (giugno 1992): 40-52, si occupa dell'altro aspetto della storia militante di Spini, quello di Spini "militante evangelico e militante democratico" (48), un aspetto che qui non abbiamo trattato e al quale abbiamo soltanto accennato nella conclusione a questo articolo.

propria discendenza ideale da Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957), Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), Carlo Rosselli (1899-1937), Adolfo Omodeo (1889-1946) e Chabod, "uomini che ci insegnarono a combattere l'intolleranza confessionale, il nazional-fascismo, il razzismo, prima ancora che a maneggiare dei documenti di archivio od a compilare delle bibliografie". Lo confermò, caratterizzando nel 1992 la sua come "storiografia degli uomini del partito d'Azione" e "storiografia di antifascisti" e sposando una storia che non poteva che essere una "storia di libertà"<sup>106</sup>. Quello stesso Spini, che nel 1960 aveva dichiarato che "non si è storici, se non si ha coscienza chiara che il passato è il passato e non l'avvenire", ammise poi, non senza un certo compiacimento, di non essere stato capace "di quella serenità spassionata che si dice essere la dote migliore dello storico" perché "inguaribilmente appassionato; nel bene e nel male"<sup>107</sup>. Ma erano gli anni in cui "mezza Italia *jurabat in verba magistri* per Stalin e l'altra metà per Pio XII", anni in cui al rinnovato spirito da Controriforma si opponeva "l'ideologia machiavellica e marxista-leninista-stalinista del realismo togliattiano", quando i giorni erano scanditi "dal ritmo delle esplosioni atomiche" e aleggiava lo "spettro della morte termonucleare"<sup>108</sup>.

In questa lugubre atmosfera da Guerra Fredda, che faceva da così evidente contraltare alle grandi speranze con le quali gli antifascisti erano usciti vittoriosi dalla Seconda Guerra Mondiale, i soggiorni americani rappresentarono per Spini una nuova occasione di

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<sup>106</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 15; Spini, "A proposito di un nuovo libro di Oscar Handlin", 691. Sul fatto che non fosse riuscito ad "aprire con gelide mani indifferenti nemmeno le filze polverose di documenti di archivio", vedi Spini, "Considerazioni conclusive", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica*, 110; Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", 53, 54. Sul tema della "religione della libertà", vedi anche Ricuperati, "Archetipi e problemi", 18.

<sup>107</sup> Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 22; Spini, "Considerazioni conclusive", 110.

<sup>108</sup> Spini, "Ricordo di Luigi Firpo", *Rivista storica italiana* 102, no. 1 (1990): 195-203; Spini, *Ricerca dei libertini*, IX; Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 21; Spini, *America 1962*, 94. Sul monolitismo di Democrazia Cristiana e Partito Comunista Italiano, vedi Ricuperati, "Archetipi e problemi", 22; Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", 78.

maturazione politica e aprirono la porta a nuovi entusiasmi di rinnovamento. Il decennio che intercorse tra il soggiorno alla Harvard University e quello alla University of California fu quello, come ben si sa, del passaggio dalla presidenza di David D. Eisenhower (1890-1969) a quella di John F. Kennedy (1917-63) e di Lyndon B. Johnson. Furono gli anni della Guerra Fredda e della Guerra del Vietnam, ma anche gli anni dei movimenti studenteschi, della Nuova Sinistra e delle rivolte negre. Spini visse spesso in prima persona quegli avvenimenti, incontrando professori e studenti, storici e intellettuali, ministri protestanti e leader del movimento negro<sup>109</sup>, seguendone con attenzione gli sviluppi anche dall'Italia. Negli stessi anni in cui, attraverso l'*Autobiografia* e i suoi scritti sui puritani, Spini tentava di convincere l'Italia degli studiosi del potenziale arricchimento intellettuale che la storia americana avrebbe potuto rappresentare, egli si rivolgeva all'Italia progressista degli uomini di buona volontà per sfatare gli antichi pregiudizi politici, divulgare gli eventi caratterizzanti dell'"altra America"<sup>110</sup>, e mostrare che forse, ancora una volta, proprio dagli Stati Uniti sarebbe venuta quell'alternativa politica che avrebbe cambiato il mondo. Sono gli anni di *America 1962*, un *reportage* in forma di libro, ma anche di tre lunghi e appassionati articoli, apparsi sul *Ponte* tra il 1964 e il 1967<sup>111</sup>. Si tratta di scritti che sarebbe troppo facile, e ben poco interessante, rileggere

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<sup>109</sup> Nel 1958, a Boston, Spini prese parte a un raduno al quale parlò il leader pacifista negro, Martin Luther King (1929-68), "[u]no dei più grandi americani oggi viventi" (Spini, *America 1962*, 10, 55). Tra le fonti di *America 1962*, egli indicherà, oltre a libri e periodici, anche conversazioni con "raffinati intellettuali di Harvard ... solid citizens repubblicani ... giovani adirati dall'animo tormentato ... vecchi dal cuore canuto ... [una] monaca cattolica ... pastori protestanti ... colleghi ... gente incontrata nella giungla di New York o in viaggio" (Spini, *America 1962*, XI).

<sup>110</sup> A nostra conoscenza, Spini usò per la prima volta l'espressione "altra America" nel 1972, pur facendo riferimento a un uso pubblico ormai invalso. Vedi Spini, [Premessa], 5.

<sup>111</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 113 pp.; Spini, "Un'analisi del goldwaterismo", *Il Ponte* 20, no. 7 (luglio 1964): 906-911 (in realtà una prefazione a uno scritto firmato Ben F. Brown); Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?"; Spini "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1076-1081. Su *America 1962*, vedi l'apprezzamento di Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", 86; e quello di Martellone, "A Tribute", 4-6.

per annotare ciò che Spini aveva capito o indovinato, e ciò su cui invece si era sbagliato o che non aveva previsto<sup>112</sup>. Più significativo, ci sembra, è rintracciarne un filo logico a partire proprio dal punto di vista dell'osservatore, appunto lo stesso Spini, con i suoi alti e bassi umorali e l'alternanza di speranze e di frustrazioni, tutte invariabilmente legate ai progressi libertari della sinistra o ai rigurgiti reazionari della destra.

Si trattava, innanzitutto, di non dimenticare che "difficilmente" la lotta di liberazione che aveva dato voce alla sinistra italiana sarebbe stata vinta senza gli americani<sup>113</sup>, e nel contempo di sfatare antichi pregiudizi politici antiamericani propri della sinistra soprattutto comunista, che, con "rozzo schematismo dogmatico", vedeva negli Stati Uniti soltanto una "roccaforte della bieca reazione" al servizio della potenza di Wall Street e del grande capitalismo<sup>114</sup>. La storia americana mostrava, al contrario, come gli Stati Uniti fossero "il paese che [aveva] le più grandi tradizioni libertarie del mondo", a partire da puritani e quaccheri (a loro modo degli anarchici che rifiutavano il sistema allora dominante), il paese nel quale il pacifismo era un ingrediente fondamentale ed erano ignote "rivoluzioni a getto continuo ... avventure fasciste ... e ... dittature comuniste"<sup>115</sup>. Una volta

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<sup>112</sup> Mosse, *Di fronte alla storia*, 218, considerò *America 1962* un libro "straordinariamente preveggenete", e conferma che Spini lo scrisse durante il soggiorno alla University of Wisconsin.

<sup>113</sup> Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1080. Sul ruolo degli americani nella liberazione d'Italia, vedi anche Spini, *America 1962*, X; Spini, *Storia*, 907.

<sup>114</sup> Spini criticava naturalmente anche il pregiudizio politico filoamericano, che però gli sembrava limitato a certe frange conservatrici italiane e lo interessava di meno. Vedi Spini, *America 1962*, IX-X, 2, 15, 58, 107-108. Sull'antiamericanismo di tanti settori della politica italiana posteriori al 1989, vedi un appassionato articolo in Spini, "L'anti-americanismo unisce sinistra dc e comunisti", *Avanti!*, agosto 11, 1990: "[S]e c'è un punto su cui comunisti e fascisti, eretici chic del Manifesto e parroci sempliciotti di campagna possono trovarsi d'accordo è nel gettare ogni sorta di colpe sugli Stati Uniti, con un trasporto viscerale pari alla loro ignoranza beata della realtà americana".

<sup>115</sup> Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 44; Spini, *America 1962*, 14, 93. "Neo-anarchismo tra gli studenti?". Scriveva Spini: "Magari" (Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 44).

sgombrato il campo dai pregiudizi, si sarebbe così potuto pienamente apprezzare qual vento di novità provenisse proprio dagli Stati Uniti. Bisognava innanzitutto distinguere il "paese ufficiale" dal "paese reale". Quest'ultimo consisteva in quei cittadini volenterosi i quali, "senza attendere l'intervento delle autorità pubbliche", provvedevano autonomamente al bene comune e costruivano quelle "correnti di rinnovamento radicale o di opposizione di sinistra" che rappresentavano l'unica alternativa di progresso alle politiche governative. Negli anni 1960, sotto gli occhi di Spini, queste correnti si erano radicalizzate, dando vita a "forze di carattere ereticale e nuclei di insoddisfatti e di irrequieti" che utilizzavano le tecniche dell'azione diretta, fossero essi studenti delle università bianche o ribelli dei ghetti negri, o addirittura ecclesiastici<sup>116</sup>.

Osservando questa rivolta generalizzata, così densa di entusiasmo morale e di ansia di rinnovamento<sup>117</sup>, Spini non poteva non riandare ai giorni delle lotte partigiane che avevano preceduto la Liberazione, alla sua stessa esperienza nel Partito d'Azione<sup>118</sup> e al rinnovamento che tale partito aveva rappresentato sia verso il fascismo che verso le formazioni politiche tradizionali. È lui stesso, peraltro, ad ammettere con gioia questo ritorno alle origini. Se negli Stati Uniti non esisteva ancora "un esercito di sinistra con una propria organizzazione politica", egli notava, c'erano però delle bande partigiane con lo stesso "coraggio e ... idealismo morale, che animò la nostra Resistenza", lo stesso "slancio generoso e la nobiltà morale delle pagine migliori della

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<sup>116</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 6, 9-10, 18, 48, 81. I riferimenti agli studenti e ai negri sono continui. Il riferimento agli ecclesiastici è in Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1077. Il primo riferimento al "Negro Power" in Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 41.

<sup>117</sup> Ciò che Spini soprattutto rimprovera all'amministrazione Kennedy è fare della politica un problema di management, più in linea con il calcolo dei profitti e delle perdite di un consiglio di amministrazione, dimenticando invece che la politica dovrebbe essere soprattutto il risultato di un "impulso della coscienza morale" (Spini, *America 1962*, 27, 29). Mosse confermò questa diffidenza di Spini per Kennedy, con la quale lui era d'accordo (Mosse, *Di fronte alla storia*, 218).

<sup>118</sup> Spini vi aderì fin dal 1942 (Spini, *La strada della Liberazione*, 89). Sull'"azionismo" di Spini in relazione alla storia americana, vedi Martellone, "A Tribute", 5.



resistenza e della liberazione". Insomma, c'era "un potenziale partito d'Azione, che non [aveva] ancora preso coscienza di sé medesimo o trovato una sua coesione, ma [che aveva] già tutte le virtù ... che ebbero a loro tempo i giovani di G.L. [Giustizia e Libertà]"<sup>119</sup> Tornano in mente le atmosfere dei giorni della Liberazione: "[D]opo la dura partita della Rivoluzione e della guerra, e dopo le incertezze del difficile dopoguerra, c'è un'aria di serenità, che riempie i cuori e fa scordare le tristezze di ieri. È il momento in cui si assapora la gioia della liberazione e ci si sente pieni di fresche energie; l'ora in cui la realtà sino ad ieri opprimente si colora di rosei toni di idillio ... Non vi è nulla da temere ... se gli eventi attuali sembrano tempestosi. Al contrario, proprio queste tempeste odierne autorizzano le speranze più gloriose per l'avvenire". È questa una citazione tratta dalle pagine conclusive dell'*Autobiografia*, e si riferisce agli albori dell'Ottocento americano, non all'indomani della Seconda Guerra Mondiale<sup>120</sup>. Ma non crediamo di azzardare molto, affermando che difficilmente una frase di tal genere avrebbe potuto essere scritta in un altro momento, se non in quelli che Spini riteneva gli albori della Nuova Sinistra, americana e mondiale.

Certo, negli Stati Uniti si parlava poco o niente di socialismo. Il programma del nuovo partito era però già chiaro e condivisibile: no al razzismo, al nazismo, ai regimi dittatoriali del mondo e alla Guerra Fredda; sì alla pace e al disarmo. In che modo si sarebbe manifestato questo nuovo partito aveva in fondo poca importanza. Forse un "partito laburista nazionalizzatore"?<sup>121</sup> Oppure un Labour Party all'inglese, che fin dal 1947 Spini aveva mostrato di apprezzare "per il suo carattere pragmatistico, alieno da un'adesione programmatica al marxismo o ad altra dottrina ideologica" e per il fatto che contava nelle sue fila "non poche figure di credenti, specie del mondo delle chiese protestanti non-conformiste"<sup>122</sup>? Ciò che invece davvero interessava Spini era che, per il bene di tutti, la sinistra italiana ed

<sup>119</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 20, 30, 70, 80; Spini, "Un'analisi del goldwaterismo", 906.

<sup>120</sup> Spini, *Autobiografia*, 466, 469.

<sup>121</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 5, 21, 23, 45, 56, 58, 75, 87, 104-105.

<sup>122</sup> Spini, *Disegno*, III: 387; Spini, *Storia dell'età moderna*, 669.

europea si impegnasse a sostenere la terza via rappresentata dalla Nuova Sinistra, quella che si poneva tra "reazionatismo mattoide e sfrenato e moderatismo beneducato e possibilista", perché era necessario pesare bene "quale lato dell'America rafforziamo e quale indeboliamo, almeno moralmente", e scegliere "chi sono in America i nostri inevitabili avversari politici e chi sono i nostri naturali alleati". Si trattava, ricordava Spini ancora una volta ritornando sul parallelo tra Liberazione italiana e Nuova Sinistra americana, "delle stesse cause per cui ci battemmo ieri, contro il razzismo, contro la sopraffazione fascista, contro l'abiezione umana nella povertà"<sup>123</sup>. Con un certo vezzo a proposito della sua età, ben nota a chi lo ha conosciuto, Spini, allora cinquantunenne, così terminava: "Scegliemmo, allora, a venti anni ... Abbiamo ormai i capelli grigi e molte delusioni ci gravano sulle spalle, cominciamo a sentirci vecchi e a volte stanchi. Ma dobbiamo scegliere ... io almeno ho già scelto"<sup>124</sup>. Nella visione di Spini della storia del mondo, però, nessun progresso umano avveniva senza una lotta che consentisse la vittoria sulla destra conservatrice, e gli Stati Uniti degli anni 1960 non facevano eccezione. Se i "fanatici del razzismo" continuavano a dominare gli stati del Sud, anche se non tutti erano altrettanto "puri folli" quanto la John Birch Society, fu soprattutto la candidatura presidenziale del repubblicano Barry M. Goldwater (1909-98), nel 1964, a spaventare Spini. Egli paragonò il senatore dell'Arizona ("un reazionario dalle idee antidiluviane") a Adolf Hitler e Benito Mussolini, fiutò "il familiare odore di fascismo", e arrivò a far pubblicare e introdurre, sempre sul *Ponte*, una lettera dell'amico Ben F. Brown, in cui si ipotizzava "la nascita di un partito fascista americano ... con tutti i sintomi genetici di quello che nacque in Italia attorno al 1920 ed in Germania attorno al 1930". Ormai "il carattere americano" si era modificato in senso negativo, senza alcuna possibilità di ritorno indietro<sup>125</sup>. Poi, come notò lo stesso Spini, fu

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<sup>123</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 4, 107; Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1077-1079, 1081.

<sup>124</sup> Spini, "La rivolta dei ghetti", 1081.

<sup>125</sup> Spini, *America 1962*, 2, 15; Spini, "Un'analisi del goldwaterismo", 906, 911. Brown, della University of Kansas, sarà anche ringraziato in Spini, *Autobiografia*, XV.

proprio l'*establishment* conservatore a liquidare Goldwater, così come aveva precedentemente liquidato il senatore Joseph R. McCarthy (1908-57) "inghiott[ito]" Kennedy, abbandonato Johnson, e ora si apprestava a eleggere Richard M. Nixon<sup>126</sup>.

Poiché Spini continuò con cadenza abbastanza regolare a commentare i fatti americani sui quotidiani italiani, sarebbe relativamente agevole seguirne speranze e delusioni ogniqualvolta una nuova elezione presidenziale ripresentasse il confronto tra progresso e reazione. Dopo gli anni 1960, per esempio, Spini ripose notevoli speranze nelle presidenze di James E. (Jimmy) Carter (1977-81) e di William J. (Bill) Clinton (1993-2001), quest'ultimo "al centro di attese e di speranze non solo di [*sic*] suoi concittadini, ma anche di vaste zone dell'opinione internazionale". Fu invece spaventato dal presidente Ronald W. Reagan (1911-2004), che peraltro aveva già definito sodale di Goldwater, "ex-attore" e "forcaiolo", quando era governatore della California<sup>127</sup>. Le riflessioni di Spini sulla politica americana posteriore agli anni 1960 non modificano però il quadro generale del suo pensiero in proposito quale si era venuto formando negli anni precedenti.

Soprattutto grazie ai comuni trascorsi in ambito fiorentino di Spini e di mio cugino Tristano (Pippo) Codignola (1913-81) nella Guerra di Liberazione, nell'azionismo e nel socialismo, quando si trattò per la prima volta di trovare un interlocutore scientifico alla mia personale passione per la storia americana non mi fu difficile ottenere un appuntamento con Spini, che, allora cinquantunenne (1967), insegnava storia americana al Magistero di Firenze e riceveva nel suo ufficio di via del Parione. Per me, allora ventenne studente universitario, Spini era uno dei due punti di riferimento della storia americana in Italia (nonostante l'*Autobiografia* non fosse ancora uscita), l'altro essendo Luraghi (la cui *Storia della guerra civile americana* era apparsa nel 1966). Fu soltanto, credo, la presentazione con la quale ero arrivato all'appuntamento a salvarmi dalle ire di Spini,

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<sup>126</sup> Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 40, 45.

<sup>127</sup> Spini, prefazione a *Il pensiero politico e sociale*, 9; Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 45.

il quale stracciò il progetto di lavoro con il quale m'illudevo di poter concorrere a una borsa di studio della Harkness Foundation (e che era il motivo occasionale del nostro incontro), ricordandomi che "l'America è un paese serio, tremendamente serio: e su certe cose non è abituato a scherzare"<sup>128</sup>. Rividi Spini soltanto alcuni anni più tardi, per poi incontrarlo abbastanza assiduamente soprattutto nella seconda metà degli anni 1970 e la prima metà degli anni 1980, in occasione degli incontri scientifici e delle riunioni di coordinamento degli americanisti italiani. L'autorità scientifica e personale con la quale Spini presenziava a tali occasioni era, ai miei occhi, indubitabile. Non soltanto egli aveva cominciato da ben un quarto di secolo a offrire il suo contributo originale sulla storia americana<sup>129</sup>, ma la sua personale frequentazione delle università americane negli anni 1960 e l'entusiasmo che diffondeva verso gli ideali dell'"altra America"<sup>130</sup> consentiva a chi gli stava di fronte di vedere in lui una fortunata sintesi tra il grande studioso dal sapere enciclopedico e dall'originalità interpretativa e l'osservatore acuto e militante delle vicende della contemporaneità.

La rilettura del complesso dell'opera di Spini mi ha però indotto a concludere che la prospettiva americanista in cui noi, storici italiani del Nord America, lo abbiamo spesso rinchiuso è in realtà riduttiva. Non ho alcun dubbio sul fatto che il contributo di Spini sulla storia della Nuova Inghilterra puritana e sulla storiografia coloniale

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<sup>128</sup> La citazione è tratta da Spini, "Dimmi, che hai visto a Berkeley?", 39, una sua pubblicazione più o meno contemporanea al nostro primo incontro, ma ricordo bene in occasione di quest'ultimo la sua insistenza sul concetto di "serietà degli americani" anche nel valutare ed eventualmente approvare un progetto di ricerca. Dopo il mio incontro con Spini decisi di rinviare *sine die* la mia domanda per la Harkness Fellowship, della quale qualche anno più tardi (1975-7) usufrui lo storico americanista Maurizio Vaudagna.

<sup>129</sup> Spini scrisse di America per 34 anni (1959-93), aprendo e chiudendo il suo percorso con due prefazioni significative, quella a Prescott e quella a Sylvers (Spini, "Prefazione all'edizione italiana"; Spini, "Prefazione", in *Il pensiero politico e sociale*). In questo computo non ho considerato alcuni contributi di divulgazione.

<sup>130</sup> Sull'"altra America" Spini scrisse per 17 anni (1962-79) (Spini, *America 1962*; Spini, "L'azione di Carter attraverso la lente del costume e dell'etica religiosa", *Avanti!*, 5 agosto 1979, sezione Cultura, VIII).

americana sia stato originale; che la sua testimonianza sull'America movimentista e post-kennedyana sia stata penetrante; che il suo apporto alla conoscenza dei rapporti tra Stati Uniti e penisola italiana pre-novecentesca sia stato ricco; e che il suo ruolo di promotore della storia americana in Italia sia stato fondamentale. Ma certamente Spini non fu mai un americanista in senso stretto.

In primo luogo, nonostante l'approccio storiografico e la conoscenza della produzione scientifica lo avessero da sempre spinto sul terreno dell'internazionalismo e sulla via dell'unicità del progresso della conoscenza umana, Spini fu sempre e sempre si considerò uno storico appartenente al mondo europeo e soprattutto italiano. Egli non mancò mai di rivendicare una sua tradizione e un suo patrimonio culturale che, tranne che in casi eccezionali, egli vedeva preclusi agli storici americani, ai quali rimproverava soprattutto di credere che la storia del mondo fosse cominciata nel 1607. Nonostante i suoi molteplici contatti con la storiografia americana, dunque, Spini non scrisse sulle loro riviste, non pubblicò presso le loro case editrici, né partecipò ai loro incontri scientifici, se non nelle sue altre vesti, quelle di storico italianista o, tutt'al più, di storico dell'emigrazione italiana.

In secondo luogo, anche nel periodo di più intenso entusiasmo per la Nuova Sinistra americana, corrispondente soprattutto agli anni 1960 (e in particolare all'epoca precedente al 1964, anno della candidatura di Goldwater alla presidenza dell'Unione), Spini fu soprattutto attento a ciò che gli esiti della politica americana avrebbero potuto rappresentare per l'Italia, nonché alle scelte che gli italiani avrebbero dovuto compiere all'interno degli stessi Stati Uniti, appoggiando per esempio alcuni uomini politici e opponendosi ad altri. Egli non ebbe mai alcun dubbio sulla sua personale scelta di campo relativamente a quella che Winston L.S. Churchill aveva definito la Barriera (o "Cortina") di Ferro (1946). Però egli interpretò come parte fondamentale della sua missione, di studioso e di uomo politico, l'evitare agli italiani quella dannosa semplificazione da Guerra Fredda, per cui tutto ciò che era americano andava osteggiato o abbracciato nel suo insieme. Gli Stati Uniti, questo era il suo messaggio, sono un paese complesso, in cui la marcia del progresso e della libertà si

scontra quotidianamente con residui di conservazione e di oscurantismo. Per il bene dell'Italia e del genere umano, le forze del progresso e della libertà che operano nella politica italiana devono avere chiara tale distinzione e devono agire di conseguenza.

Insomma, non appare azzardato, e certamente non è diminutivo nei confronti della sua opera americanista, concludere che Spini non partì dall'America, ma all'America arrivò sulla rotta di un percorso e di una ricerca "di libertà"<sup>131</sup>. Fermi restando il fondamentale quadro di riferimento ideale al quale la sua vita sempre si ispirò, quello del protestantesimo, e l'instradamento giovanile verso il mondo di lingua inglese, tale ricerca lo condusse da una parte ai puritani della Nuova Inghilterra, nei quali egli vide l'espressione più completa delle migliori tendenze del protestantesimo sia a livello di onestà e serietà personale che di impegno politico (i "nostri padri ... progenitori della nostra libertà")<sup>132</sup>; e dall'altra alla Nuova Sinistra americana, nella quale egli individuò, almeno per un certo periodo, l'opportunità più concreta per un nuovo passo in avanti degli ideali di progresso propri del mondo occidentale.

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<sup>131</sup> Spini, "Intervento conclusivo", 53.

<sup>132</sup> Spini, recensione a Gabrieli, *Puritanesimo e libertà*, 123.

## II.

### CATHOLIC EXPANSION





## 1. DES CANADIENS À ROME À LA RECHERCHE DE LEURS RACINES ?

Des articles d'introduction aux archives romaines comme sources d'histoire canadienne et québécoise existent déjà en grand nombre. Qu'il suffise de mentionner ceux de René Bélanger, Luca Codignola, Pierre Hurtubise, Monique Benoit et Gabriele P. Scardellato ou encore Victorin Chabot. En 1998, le guide de Francis X. Blouin, Jr., a mis en valeur les résultats scientifiques obtenus par l'équipe canadienne travaillant à Rome depuis 1977<sup>1</sup>. Nous essayerons, dans les pages qui

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Hurtubise, "Il Canada negli Archivi della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide", *Il Veltro* 29, no. 1-2 (1985) : 107-112 ; René Bélanger, "Les archives historiques de la Propagande à Roma", *Archives* 1 (1974) : 8-14 ; Codignola, "L'America del Nord e la Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'. Una introduzione", dans *Canadiana. Storia e storiografia canadese*, ed. Codignola (Venezia : Marsilio Editori, 1979), 33-45 ; Codignola, "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congregation de Propaganda Fide, 1622-1799. Guides et inventaire", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 2 (1979) : 197-214 ; Codignola, "A World Yet To Be Conquered. Pacifique de Provins and the Atlantic World, 1629-1648", dans *Canada ieri e oggi. III : Sezione storica*, ed. Codignola et Raimondo Luraghi (Fasano : Schena Editore, 1986), 59-84 ; Codignola, "La Chiesa e le Americhe al tempo dei Della Rovere : elementi di continuità", dans *V Convegno Storico Savonese. L'età dei Della Rovere*, ed. Carlo Varaldo (Savona : Società Savonese di Storia Patria, 1988), II : 273-287 ; Codignola, "Roman Sources of Canadian History in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries : Assessment and Future Perspectives", dans *Italie/Canada/Recherche, II : Études Canadiennes*, ed. Matteo Sanfilippo (Rome : Centre Académique canadien en Italie, 1991), 11-20 ; Victorin Chabot, "Researching Canada in Roma", *The Archivist* 4, no. 6 (November-December 1977) : 3-4 ; Chabot, "Archivi canadesi e principali strumenti di ricerca", dans *Canadiana. Aspetti della storia e della letteratura canadese*, ed. Codignola (Venezia : Marsilio Editori, 1978), 71-75 ; Chabot, "Les trésors de la ville éternelle", *L'archiviste*, 12, no. 1 (1985) : 10 ; Chabot, "Les sources d'intérêt canadien dans les archives italiennes et vaticanes", dans *Italie/Canada/Recherche, II : Études Canadiennes*, ed. Sanfilippo (Rome : Centre Académique canadien en Italie, 1991), 5-9 ; Monique Benoit et Gabriele P. Scardellato, "The Flesh Made Word : The Vatican Archives and the Study of Canadian History, 1600-1799", *Archivaria* 20 (1985) : 67-78 ; Benoit et Sanfilippo, "Sources romaines pour l'histoire de l'Église

suivent, d'aller plus loin et de rendre compte du travail accompli jusqu'à date par ces spécialistes et d'autres dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord française. Ici, nous nous contenterons d'indiquer, côté inventaires, l'imposante panoplie d'instruments de recherche permettant d'exploiter, de façon systématique, les richesses des archives romaines et, côté travaux, les directions que prennent les recherches faites à partir de ces mêmes archives.

### *Les pionniers*

Au Canada français, l'intérêt pour les archives romaines remonte au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Attachés à leur héritage catholique, plusieurs membres du clergé, déjà au temps de Pie IX, qui fut pape de 1846 à 1878, écrivaient à leurs homologues romains pour leur demander d'effectuer certaines recherches archivistiques. D'autres profitaient de leurs séjours dans la Ville Éternelle pour faire eux-mêmes des recherches. Tel le jésuite français Félix-François-Marie Martin, connu comme Félix Martin (1804-86), qui s'intéressa aux jésuites de la Nouvelle-France pendant son séjour à Montréal entre 1844 et 1861. À Paris et à Rome durant l'hiver de 1857-8, Martin, fort d'un contrat du gouvernement de la Province du Canada, identifia, puis fit copier, traduire ou résumer un certain nombre de documents romains portant sur l'histoire du Canada que personne n'avait pu voir jusque-là. Cette documentation fut déposée aux archives du Collège Sainte-Marie à Montréal. Elle sera utilisée plus tard par le jésuite français Auguste Carayon (1813-74), les américains John D.G. Shea (1824-92)<sup>2</sup> et

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catholique du Canada : le pontificat de Léon XIII (1878-1903)", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 44, no. 1 (1990) : 85-96 ; *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*, ed. Francis X. Blouin, Jr. (New York : Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. Auguste Carayon, SJ (Poitiers : H. Oudin, 1864-1870) ; John Dawson Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days : The Thirteen Colonies. The Ottawa and Illinois Country. Louisiana. Florida. Texas. New Mexico and Arizona. 1521-1763* (New York : Edward Jenkins' Sons, 1886) ; Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*,

Reuben G. Thwaites, de même que par le bibliothécaire et bibliographe Edmund B. O'Callaghan (1797-1880), un irlandais originaire du Haut-Canada mais qui vivait depuis longtemps aux États-Unis<sup>3</sup>. (Les documents Martin se trouvent maintenant aux Archives de la Société de Jésus du Canada français à Saint-Jérôme et aux Archives nationales du Canada à Ottawa ; les documents Shea, y incluant les copies qu'il fit faire par l'intermédiaire de l'archevêque de New York, Michael Augustine Corrigan (1839-1902), à la Georgetown University).

Presque à la même époque, le sulpicien montréalais Étienne-Michel Faillon (1799-1870) s'installait à Rome de 1864 à 1869 pour y établir la procure de sa communauté. Il en profita pour entreprendre ses propres recherches aux Archives de la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide". Il s'intéressait surtout à l'histoire de la création de l'évêché de Québec et puisa en grande partie sa documentation dans le volume 256 de la série *Scrittura Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (ou SOCG). Son intérêt pour cette documentation n'était pas qu'historique. Il était à la recherche de documents susceptibles d'aider les sulpiciens dans leur querelle avec l'évêque Ignace Bourget (1799-1885) au sujet de la paroisse de Montréal, querelle qui fut examinée par la congrégation générale de la Propagande du 19 septembre 1865. Peu après Faillon, le capucin italien Rocco da Cesinale (1830-1900) publia une histoire des missions de son ordre et y traita pour la première fois de l'Amérique du Nord à partir de documents romains, en particulier ceux de la Propagande. À noter toutefois que bien qu'habitant Rome, il ne fit pas un véritable dépouillement des archives romaines mais se contenta de citer des documents tirés d'ouvrages imprimés ou provenant de la série *Acta de la Propagande*. Ajoutons

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*Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore : Embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States. 1763-1815* (New York : Edward Jenkins Sons, 1888) ; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Division of the Diocese of Baltimore, 1808, and Death of Archbishop Carroll, 1815, to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843* (Rahway, New Jersey : Mershon, 1890).

<sup>3</sup> *Jesuit Relations of Discoveries and Other Occurrences in Canada and The Northern and Western States of The Union, 1632-1672*, ed. Edmund B. O'Callaghan (New York: Press of the Historical Society, 1847).

que sur les quatre volumes que comprend son histoire, une vingtaine de pages à peine sont consacrées à l'Amérique du Nord et aux Antilles.

Vers la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> et le début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, deux importantes collections de documents jésuites verront le jour. La première et la plus célèbre fut la monumentale collection, connue sous le nom de *Jesuit Relations*, publiée par Thwaites. La richesse de la documentation publiée et le fait qu'elle était traduite en anglais firent immédiatement de cette collection un ouvrage de référence incontournable. Pourtant Thwaites ne publia qu'un petit nombre de documents originaux de provenance romaine d'ailleurs empruntés, comme nous l'avons vu, à Martin. De son côté, le jésuite Thomas A. Hughes (1849-1939) publia une histoire documentaire de son ordre axée principalement sur les États-Unis et les Antilles, mais ne négligeant pas pour autant le Canada. À notre connaissance, Hughes comme Thwaites ne consulta pas lui-même les archives romaines, mais fit largement usage des documents Shea de la Georgetown University, ou de copies faites à Rome par son confrère Louis Schmitt<sup>4</sup>.

Plus ou moins à la même époque, mais chacun ignorant du moins au début l'existence de l'autre, Candide de Nant (1874-1944) et John M. Lenhart, tous deux capucins, se consacrèrent à l'histoire de leur ordre en Amérique du Nord au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le premier à le faire fut Candide de Nant qui, en 1903, avait été attiré aux Archives de la Propagande par un rapport du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle portant sur l'Acadie. Il ne put terminer ses recherches à la Propagande qu'après la Première Guerre Mondiale. Entre-temps, il avait pris connaissance des travaux parallèles de Lenhart et s'était servi du *Guide* de Carl R. Fish (1876-1932) (que nous examinerons plus bas). Les *Pages glorieuses* de Candide de Nant constituent une importante contribution à l'histoire

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<sup>4</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 73 vol. ; Thomas A. Hughes, SJ, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal : Text and Documents* (London : Longmans, Green, 1907-17), 4 vol.

non seulement des capucins en Acadie, mais également à celle des missions catholiques du Nouveau Monde. C'est, selon les termes de l'historien franciscain Conrad Morin (m.1984), "le premier ouvrage d'histoire canadienne qui soit le fruit d'une véritable utilisation des sources romaines"<sup>5</sup>. Candide de Nant limita son enquête aux capucins français et c'est suivant ce critère qu'il dépouilla les archives de la Propagande. Pour sa part, la thèse que Lenhart chercha à démontrer tout au long de ses ouvrages est que la Propagande avait établi sa juridiction dans les territoires américains en créant une préfecture confiée aux capucins, quels qu'aient été par la suite les résultats pratiques de cette mission. Lenhart, qui connaissait l'oeuvre de Candide de Nant, de Rocco da Cesinale, de Fish et de Hughes, connaissait aussi fort bien les archives de la Propagande, même s'il ne semble pas en avoir fait un dépouillement systématique. Notons toutefois que son approche est parfois limitée et ses transcriptions, souvent inexactes<sup>6</sup>.

En ce qui concerne les jésuites et les capucins il faut aussi mentionner les ouvrages sur la Louisiane d'ancien régime du capucin américain Claude L. Vogel (n.1894) et du jésuite belgo-américain

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<sup>5</sup> Conrad Morin, OFM Cap, "Les archives du Saint-Siège, importantes sources de l'histoire politico-religieuse du Canada", *Culture* 7, no. 2 (juin 1946): 151-176 (citation 154).

<sup>6</sup> "Letter of Father Ignace re Acadia (according to photographic copy of the original in the archives of the Propaganda", ed. Candide de Nant, OFM Cap, *Report Concerning Canadian Archives*, annexe H, (1904) : 331-341 ; Candide de Nant, "Port-Royal en 1650", *Nouvelle-France* 5, no. 7 (July 1906) : 330-339 ; Candide de Nant, "Silhouettes de missionnaires. I. Le père Léonard de Chartres", *Nouvelle France* 10, no. 7 (July 1911) : 316-323 ; Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission capucine en Acadie* (Gembloux : J. Duculot, 1927) ; John Lenhart, OFM Cap, "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655)", *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 27, no. 3 (September 1916) : 191-229 ; no. 4 (December 1916) : 300-327 ; 28, no. 1 (March 1917) : 47-63 ; no. 2 (June 1917) : 184 ; Lenhart, "The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656)", *Franciscan Studies* 3, no. 1 (March 1943) : 21-46 ; no. 2 (June 1943) : 180-195 ; no. 3 (September 1943) : 306-313 ; Carl R. Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (Washington DC : Carnegie Institution, 1911).

Jean Delanglez (1896-1949), qui toutefois, eux, travaillèrent à partir de copies de documents romains. Pour ce qui est des récollets, communauté qui faisait partie de la grande famille des Frères mineurs de Saint-François, ce fut le franciscain français Alphonse (Odoric-Marie) Jouve (1875-1953) qui s'en fit l'historien, utilisant pour ce faire quelques documents romains (Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane et Propagande) transcrits pour lui par des confrères<sup>7</sup>.

### *Carl R. Fish et Conrad Morin*

Pour la période précédant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, deux noms avant tout sont à retenir, ceux de Fish et de Morin. Fish, qui était américain, travailla en Italie de septembre 1908 à la fin d'août 1909 à la recherche de documents intéressant l'histoire des États-Unis. Mais il inclut aussi des documents relatifs au Canada, au Mexique et aux Antilles. Il accomplit en peu de temps un travail colossal et fut de fait le premier à explorer d'une façon systématique les archives romaines. Son *Guide to the Materials for American History* contient plusieurs références à des documents d'intérêt canadien et québécois et fut largement exploité par les historiens s'intéressant à l'Amérique du Nord française. Avant la publication de ce *Guide*, une liste de documents d'intérêt canadien fut dressée, anonyme, à partir des inventaires de l'historien américain (1910) et cette même liste fut utilisée, sous l'indication "Documents du Vatican", par l'archiviste de l'Archevêché de Québec, Ivanhoë Caron (1875-1941), pour ses

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<sup>7</sup> Claude L. Vogel, OFM Cap, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)* (Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America, 1928) ; Jean Delanglez, SJ, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)* (Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America, 1935) ; Odoric-Marie Jouve, OFM, *Les Franciscains et le Canada. L'établissement de la foi, 1615-1629* (Québec : Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915) ; Jouve, "Le Père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay, Capucin, et les missions de la Nouvelle-France", *Bulletin des recherches historiques* 45, no. 5 (May 1939) : 129-143 ; no. 6 (June 1939) : 164-177 ; Jouve, "Le père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay, Capucin, et les missions de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1633)", *Revue d'histoire des missions. Études missionnaires* 16, no. 2 (June 1939) : 206-232.

inventaires ayant trait à l'histoire de l'Église canadienne<sup>8</sup>. L'influence du *Guide* de Fish sur les historiens et les archivistes canadiens et québécois dura longtemps. Achille Gingras, FSC (pseudonyme Guy Laviolette) l'utilisa pour sa thèse de doctorat à l'Institut catholique de Paris. Celle-ci se présente comme un répertoire chronologique de documents de Paris, Rome et Londres, mais qui, en ce qui concerne Rome, ne fait en réalité que copier fautivement les indications de Fish<sup>9</sup>.

Fish faisait partie d'un mouvement de réévaluation des sources européennes intéressant l'histoire américaine dont le résultat le plus éclatant fut la série que la Carnegie Institution de Washington consacra aux inventaires de documents d'archives européennes. Pour ce qui est de Rome, l'élan avait été donné par un article sur les archives vaticanes écrit par l'américain Charles H. Haskins (1870-1937)<sup>10</sup>, médiéviste et professeur d'histoire à l'University of Wisconsin et à la Harvard University. Selon l'esprit de l'historiographie "de la frontière" représentée par des historiens tels que Francis Parkman (qui visita Rome en 1844) et Frederick J. Turner (qui, professeur à l'Université du Wisconsin, donna la forme finale à sa célèbre thèse en 1893), la modernité, protestante et progressiste, du monde occidental trouvait son expression dans la Grande Bretagne et surtout dans les États-Unis, tandis que le passé, catholique et réactionnaire, de ce même monde occidental était incarné par la France et la péninsule italienne (dont les archives vaticanes justement conservaient les traces les moins connues et les plus significatives).

Méritent aussi d'être signalés ici les inventaires et recherches d'un autre pionnier : Conrad Morin. Étudiant à l'Université Grégorienne, où il obtint en 1942 le titre de docteur en histoire ecclésiastique avec une

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<sup>8</sup> Ivanhoë Caron, "Inventaire des documents concernant l'Église du Canada sous le régime français", *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1939-40) : 155-353 ; (1940-1) : 333-473 ; (1941-2) : 179-298.

<sup>9</sup> Achille Gingras (Guy Laviolette), "Répertoire des sources manuscrites de l'histoire religieuse canadienne en Europe surtout à Paris, à Rome et à Londres : 1608 à 1860" (Thèse de doctorat, Institut Catholique de Paris, 1959).

<sup>10</sup> Charles H. Haskins, "The Vatican Archives", *American Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (October 1896) : 40-58.

thèse portant sur l'histoire des rapports entre le Canada et le Saint-Siège avant la création en 1658 du vicariat apostolique, il ne put malheureusement jamais publier cette thèse même si elle demeure encore aujourd'hui l'étude la plus importante sur les premiers rapports entre le Canada et le Saint-Siège<sup>11</sup>. Malgré une santé chancelante, il publia en 1946 un guide abrégé des archives du Saint-Siège et trois articles, parus entre 1946 et 1952. Mais il entendait faire beaucoup plus. Sa thèse devait constituer la première de trois parties d'une étude intitulée "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le Régime français". En outre, Morin se proposait de publier plusieurs volumes de textes originaux "avec traduction et notes" sous le titre : "Les sources de l'Église canadienne aux Archives du Vatican et de la Propagande". Ni l'un ni l'autre de ces ouvrages ne virent le jour. On ne peut que le regretter. Morin fut certainement le premier à prendre conscience de l'importance de la documentation romaine et aussi le premier à montrer dans ses articles que le rôle du Saint-Siège dans l'histoire canadienne n'était pas seulement celui d'un dépôt d'archives où l'on pouvait retrouver des documents inédits, mais plutôt celui d'un point de référence important pour l'histoire même du Canada.

### *Les chercheurs indépendants (de 1953 à 1976)*

Chacun pour leur compte, entre les années 1950 et 1970, un certain nombre de chercheurs abordèrent d'une façon plus systématique les archives romaines en vue d'études sur certains personnages ou certaines périodes de l'histoire de leur pays. En 1953 l'américain

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<sup>11</sup> Morin, "Le Saint Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français d'après les archives romaines. L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la mission apostolique (1615-1658)" (Thèse de doctorat, Università Gregoriana, 1942) ; Morin, "Les tentatives du secrétaire François Ingoli pour l'érection d'un évêché au Canada (1631-1641)", Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, *Rapport* (1944-5) : 69-82 ; Morin, "Le Saint-Siège et la juridiction des fondateurs de la Mission du Canada", *Antonianum* 20 (1945) : 149-176 ; Morin, "La naissance de l'Église au Canada", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 1, no. 2 (septembre 1947) : 243-256 ; 3 (décembre 1947) : 331-341.



Wilfrid H. Paradis suivit les traces de Morin et, à partir entre autres de documents de la Propagande et des Archives Secrètes du Vatican, aborda la question de la querelle entre Rome et Québec à propos de l'établissement d'un évêché au Canada dans une thèse qu'il défendit à la Faculté de Droit Canonique de l'Université Catholique de Paris et dans un article qu'il publia quelques années plus tard<sup>12</sup>. Mais ce furent les années du pontificat de Pie IX, coïncidant avec la montée de l'ultramontanisme au Québec, qui intéressèrent davantage les historiens. En 1955, le jésuite Léon Pouliot (n.1898) publia son premier volume de la biographie de l'évêque de Montréal, *Bourget*<sup>13</sup>. L'historien canadien Roberto Perin passa l'année 1971-2 à Rome en vue de recherches à la Propagande, lui aussi sur Bourget, recherches qui contribuèrent à la rédaction de sa thèse de doctorat sur "Bourget and the Dream of a Free Church in Quebec, 1862-1868", défendue à l'Université d'Ottawa en 1975<sup>14</sup>. Cette recherche influencera beaucoup les travaux ultérieurs de Perin, comme nous le verrons plus loin. À signaler également, toujours pour le pontificat de Pie IX, l'enquête de l'archiviste romain Elio Lodolini sur les zouaves pontificaux canadiens-français à partir de documents des Archives d'État de Rome mais aussi de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane. Lodolini publia son étude en italien, mais ce même article fut plus tard traduit en français et publié sous forme de volume complété d'un article de René Hardy. Notons que ce dernier avait travaillé brièvement à la Propagande en 1972<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Wilfrid H. Paradis, "Les archevêques de Rouen et l'établissement ecclésiastique au Canada au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (Thèse de doctorat en droit canonique, Université Catholique de Paris, 1953) ; Paradis, "L'érection du diocèse de Québec et l'opposition de l'archevêque de Rouen, 1662-1675", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 9, no. 4 (1956) : 465-501.

<sup>13</sup> Léon Pouliot, SJ, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps* (Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1955-77).

<sup>14</sup> Roberto Perin, "Bourget and the Dream of a Free Church in Quebec, 1862-1868" (Thèse de doctorat, Université d'Ottawa, 1975).

<sup>15</sup> Elio Lodolini, "I volontari del Canada nell'esercito pontificio (1868-1870)", *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 56 (1969) : 642-687 ; René Hardy, "L'origine des zouaves pontificaux canadiens", dans *Les Zouaves pontificaux canadiens*, ed. Hardy et Lodolini (Ottawa : Musée national de l'Homme, Division de l'histoire, 1976),

À une dizaine d'années d'intervalle, deux autres historiens allaient s'intéresser plutôt à la période antérieure de l'histoire nord-américaine. Lucien Lemieux aborda d'une façon systématique et approfondie l'histoire de l'Église québécoise et bas-canadienne entre la fin de la Guerre d'indépendance américaine en 1783 et la création de la province ecclésiastique du Canada en 1846<sup>16</sup>. Il s'agit d'un ouvrage de facture plutôt traditionnelle, mais solidement documenté. À Rome, Lemieux consulta surtout les Archives de la Propagande, mais aussi la série Segreteria di Stato des Archives Secrètes du Vatican. Il s'agissait d'une documentation tout à fait inconnue jusque-là et que Lemieux utilisa à l'intérieur d'un cadre d'interprétation strictement bas-canadien. Cette même documentation, bien que pour une période beaucoup plus restreinte (1754-84), fut examinée par l'italien Codignola en 1974-5 qui en tira un article examinant le rôle du Saint-Siège par rapport aux Églises canadiennes et américaines au moment des bouleversements provoqués par la Conquête de 1760 et la Guerre d'indépendance américaine. Contrairement à Lemieux, l'auteur utilisa plutôt un cadre d'interprétation romain et atlantique, cadre qui était appelé à devenir la caractéristique principale de ses travaux ultérieurs<sup>17</sup>.

L'importance du rôle joué par le clergé francophone dans l'histoire de l'Ouest américain est bien connue. De provenance canadienne-française puis surtout française, des évêques tirés de ce clergé continueront à être nommés par le Saint-Siège aux diocèses et aux vicariats apostoliques de l'Ouest même quand la population locale sera devenue surtout de langue anglaise. Ont écrit sur le sujet, l'américain Robert F. Trisco qui, pour ce faire, utilisa surtout les archives de la

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dossier no. 19 : 1-67. Les archives qui étaient autrefois des États Pontificaux ne font pas partie des Archives Secrètes du Vatican, mais furent incorporées dans les archives de l'État italien en 1870 et déposées à Rome (Archivio di Stato di Roma).

<sup>16</sup> Lucien Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada, 1783-1844* (Montréal : Les Éditions Fides, 1968).

<sup>17</sup> Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti dell'Archivio della Sacra Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide" (1754-1784)", dans *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Venezia : Marsilio Editori, 1976), 127-147.

Propagande<sup>18</sup>, et le français Charles Lemarié qui étudia les figures des Sulpiciens Jean-Baptiste-Marie David (1761-1841), Simon-Guillaume-Gabriel Bruté de Rémur (1779-1839) et Benoît-Joseph Flaget (1763-1850), ce dernier missionnaire français à l'origine du diocèse de Bardstown au Kentucky. Les ouvrages de Lemarié, élaborés surtout à partir de sources françaises, n'ont jamais joui d'une distribution commerciale et sont donc peu connus et utilisés par les autres historiens. Lemarié, professeur à l'Université d'Angers, fut par ailleurs le seul chercheur intéressé à l'Amérique du Nord qui participa à l'important colloque d'histoire missionnaire qui eut lieu à Lyon en 1980 et dont les actes furent publiés quelques années plus tard<sup>19</sup>.

#### *Débuts des grands projets (de 1966 à 1977)*

La véritable révolution dans l'exploitation des sources romaines pour l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord eut lieu entre la seconde moitié des années 1960 et la fin des années 1970. Quatre grands projets prirent alors forme qui allaient mettre à la disposition des chercheurs un vaste assortiment de sources jusque-là peu connues. Le premier de ces projets est celui de l'Academy of American Franciscan History qui, à partir de 1966, mit en chantier un *Calendar* des documents de la

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<sup>18</sup> Robert F. Trisco, *The Holy See and the Nascent Church in the Middle Western United States* (Rome : Gregorian University Press, 1962).

<sup>19</sup> Charles Lemarié, *Études sur les missionnaires Bretons dans le Middle West Américain (contribution à l'histoire des origines du catholicisme aux États-Unis)*, 3 vol., I : *Mgr J.-B.-David (1761-1841). Les origines religieuses du Kentucky* (Angers : Par l'auteur, 1973) ; Lemarié, *Monseigneur Bruté de Rémur (1779-1839), premier évêque de Vincennes aux États-Unis (1834-1839)* (Paris : Klincksieck, 1973) ; Lemarié, *A Biography of Mgr. Benedict Josef Flaget, b.1763-d.1850. First Bishop of the Dioceses of Bardstown and Louisville, Kentucky, 1811-1850* (Bardstown : The Flaget-Lemarié Group, 1992), 3 vol. ; Lemarié, "Notes sur les missionnaires français aux États-Unis depuis la guerre d'indépendance jusque vers 1880", dans *Les Réveils missionnaires en France. Du Moyen-Âge à nos jours (XII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle). Actes du colloque de Lyon, 29-31 Mai 1980 organisé par la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France et le concours de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme français* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1984), 223-233.

Propagande intéressant les États-Unis. Une première série (*First Series*) comprenant huit volumes, y inclus un index général, fut complétée en 1981. La *Second Series* comprenant six volumes seulement, publiés entre 1980 et 2006, est restée inachevée à cause de difficultés d'ordre économique. Il est à espérer qu'on puisse un jour en reprendre la publication régulière. (Le travail de recherche, effectué par Giovanna Piscini depuis 1984, peu avant la mort du premier archiviste, Anton Debeveč [1897-1987], n'a jamais été interrompu.) Les documents jusqu'ici inventoriés et inclus dans le *Calendar* couvrent en gros les années de 1622 à 1879. Que faut-il penser de ces inventaires ? Chose certaine, ils obligent à reléguer aux oubliettes le *Guide* de Fish. Les sept volumes de la *First Series* (1622-1865), constitués de 15 347 descriptions de documents, ont été préparés de façon extrêmement soignée par Debeveč, qui avait été chargé du projet initial en 1954. Malheureusement les choix faits par l'éditeur de la *First Series*, le franciscain Finbar Kenneally, font que les index, y inclus l'*Index* général des volumes 1 à 7, sont incomplets et pas toujours fiables. En outre, le choix de n'inventorier que les documents touchant aux territoires des États-Unis dans leurs frontières actuelles a amené à écarter plusieurs documents intéressant l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord où, du moins jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les frontières entre États-Unis et Amérique du Nord Britannique étaient loin d'être claires. La *Second Series* du *Calendar* (1866-79, pour un total de 14 980 descriptions), semble avoir corrigé un certain nombre de ces erreurs. Pour ce qui est de l'histoire de l'Amérique française, malgré ses limites, le *Calendar* reste encore aujourd'hui utile, surtout pour ce qui est des territoires qui font maintenant partie des États-Unis, comme la Louisiane et les états de l'Ouest<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives : A Calendar. First Series*, ed. Finbar Kenneally, OFM (Washington DC : Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-81), 7 vol. 1-7 et *Index*; *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives : A Calendar. Second Series*, ed. Anton Debeveč, Mathias C. Kiemen, OFM, Alexander Wyse, OFM, James McManamon, OFM, William J. Short, OFM, et Giovanna Piscini (Washington DC : Academy of American Franciscan History, 1980-2006), vol. 8-13. Bien que certaines séries mineures aient été inventoriées jusqu'à 1892, le plan de publication de la *Second*

Le deuxième grand projet concerne les sources jésuites. C'est en 1967 que parut le premier volume des *Monumenta Novae Franciae* du jésuite canadien Lucien Campeau (1914-2003), une série qui se situe à l'intérieur du plus vaste projet de publication des *Monumenta*, c'est-à-dire de toutes les sources touchant à l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus. La plupart des documents publiés par Campeau proviennent des archives françaises, mais il y en a plusieurs qui proviennent de l'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, des Archives de la Propagande, des Archives Secrètes du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane. La série *Monumenta Novae Franciae* comprend des introductions rédigées par Campeau et la transcription intégrale des documents dans leur langue originale, annotés et commentés par Campeau. Il s'agit d'une édition magistrale qui dépasse de loin les *Jesuit Relations* de Thwaites, du moins pour les années couvertes par Campeau, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à 1661. Tant par l'ampleur des sources publiées – Codignola en a fait la démonstration – que par la qualité de ces mêmes sources – Campeau, contrairement à Thwaites, ne publie que des documents vérifiés sur les originaux – ou encore la qualité et la pertinence de l'apparat critique, les *Monumenta Novae Franciae* répondent beaucoup mieux que les *Jesuit Relations* aux exigences des chercheurs d'aujourd'hui. Malgré les quelques reproches que certains ont pu adresser à Campeau – son attitude quelque peu défensive, sa prise de distance par rapport à l'historiographie contemporaine – il n'en reste pas moins que son œuvre est de loin supérieure à celle de Thwaites. Aussi faut-il souhaiter qu'elle puisse être un jour menée à terme par un chercheur à la hauteur des standards de Campeau<sup>21</sup>.

Troisième grand projet : la collection publiée, à l'occasion du 350<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire de fondation de la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propaganda

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*Series* nous permet de dire que les inventaires des séries majeures ne sont disponibles sous forme de volume que jusqu'à 1879.

<sup>21</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome : Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin, et Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vol. Voir Codignola, "The Battle is Over : Campeau's Monumenta vs. Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, 1602-1650", *European Review of Native American Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996) : 3-10 (Ch. 2 de la Partie II de cette anthologie).

Fide" par les soins de l'historien et archiviste oblat allemand Josef Metzler (1921-2012), qui fut archiviste de la Propagande entre 1966 et 1984, avant d'être Préfet des Archives Secrètes du Vatican entre 1984 et 1997. Il s'agit de trois volumes en cinq tomes traitant de l'histoire de la Propagande de ses débuts jusqu'à nos jours, mais contenant par ailleurs des articles sur les divers pays de mission<sup>22</sup>. Pour ce qui est de l'Amérique française, les articles sur le Canada furent confiés aux meilleurs spécialistes de l'époque, Campeau (des origines à 1763), Lemieux (de 1763 à 1840) et Alexander Baran (1926-2005) (de 1840 à 1912). Campeau, nous l'avons vu, était déjà à ce moment en train de rédiger ses *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, mais il travaillait aussi à un livre sur l'érection du diocèse de Québec, livre qui allait être publié à l'occasion du 300<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de cet événement. Lemieux, de son côté, venait de faire paraître son livre sur la création de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada. Pour sa part, suite à des recherches dans les Archives de la Propagande, Baran avait préparé un inventaire de documents d'intérêt canadien qu'il avait fait microfilmer et dont une copie avait été déposée aux Archives nationales du Canada. Ces trois articles constituent encore le point de départ le mieux informé pour qui voudrait connaître le rôle de la Propagande par rapport à l'histoire de l'Amérique française<sup>23</sup>. À ces articles il faut ajouter ceux du jésuite américain Charles E. O'Neill, portant, entre autres sur la Louisiane et le Midwest américain, qui à cette époque faisaient toujours partie de l'Amérique française. O'Neill venait d'ailleurs d'écrire un livre sur les

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<sup>22</sup> *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum. 350 anni a servizio delle missioni 1622-1972*, ed Josef Metzler, OMI (Rome, Freiburg, Wien : Herder, 1971-6), 3 vol.

<sup>23</sup> Campeau, "Les initiatives de la S. Congrégation en faveur de la Nouvelle-France", dans *ibid.*, I/2 : 727-795 ; Lemieux, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. A. La Congrégation de la Propagande, modératrice et promotrice d'une Église canadienne en expansion (1760-1840)", dans *ibid.*, III/1 : 729-748 ; Alexander Baran, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. B. Further Development after 1840", dans *ibid.*, III/1, 749-757. Voir aussi Campeau, *L'évêché de Québec (1674). Aux origines du premier diocèse érigé en Amérique française* (Québec : La Société historique de Québec, 1974) ; Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada 1783-1844* (Montréal : Fides, 1968).

rapports Église-État en Louisiane jusqu'à 1732, livre pour la préparation duquel il avait aussi utilisé, bien que d'une façon limitée, les sources de la Propagande<sup>24</sup>.

### *Un projet ambitieux*

Le quatrième grand projet est dû à l'initiative des Archives nationales du Canada, qui depuis l'époque de Martin, plus d'un siècle auparavant, poursuivaient un programme de "rapatriement" de documents d'intérêt canadien déposés dans les archives européennes. En collaboration avec le Centre de Recherche en Histoire Religieuse du Canada de l'Université Saint-Paul à Ottawa, la Division des Manuscrits des dites Archives, par les soins de son directeur, Robert S. Gordon (1923-95) et de Chabot, mit sur pied à partir d'octobre 1977 un projet d'inventaire et de microfilmage des documents d'intérêt canadien dans les Archives de la Propagande. Le premier chercheur fut Codignola, mais bientôt la collaboration entre les Archives nationales du Canada, l'Université Saint-Paul<sup>25</sup> et le Centre Académique Canadien à Rome<sup>26</sup>,

<sup>24</sup> Charles E. O'Neill, SJ, "North American Beginnings in Maryland and Louisiana", dans *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, I/1 : 713-726 ; O'Neill, "The United States of America", dans *ibid.*, II : 1162-1184 ; O'Neill, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana. Policy and Politics to 1732* (New Haven, Conn. : Yale University Press, 1966).

<sup>25</sup> Nive Voisine, "Rome et le Canada : la mission de Mgr Conroy", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 3 (1980) : 499-519 ; Voisine, "La création du diocèse de Nicolet (1885)", *Les Cahiers nicolétains* 5 (1983) : 3-41 ; 6 (1984) : 147-214 ; Voisine, "L'ultramontanisme canadien-français au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," dans *Les Ultramontains canadiens-français*, ed. Voisine et Jean Hamelin (Montréal : Boréal, 1985), 67-104. Gaston Carrière, OMI, "Au Centre des Recherches en Histoire Religieuse du Canada (Ottawa). Quelques sources d'histoire religieuse canadienne à Paris et à Rome", *Archives* 69, no. 2 (1969) : 62-65, décrit brièvement le matériel parisien et romain du Centre, qui fut établi en 1967 ; pour ce qui est de Rome, il décrit les archives de l'église de San Paolo Fuori le Mura (1851-88) et du Collège Anglais de via Monserrato.

<sup>26</sup> Le cadre général des projets est bien expliqué par Egmont Lee, déjà directeur du Centre académique canadien. Voir Lee, "The Canadian Academic Centre in Italy in its First Decade", *Annali accademici canadesi* 3-4 (1987-88) : 129-153 ; *Networks*,

de même qu'un apport financier important consenti par le Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines du Canada permirent d'inclure d'autres chercheurs canadiens (Benoit, Scardellato) et italiens (Luigi Bruti Liberati, Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo, Floriana Santini Pizzorusso, Nicoletta Serio) et de s'intéresser à d'autres dépôts d'archives romaines (comme nous le verrons plus loin). Il s'agit du projet le plus vaste et le plus systématique jamais entrepris par rapport aux archives romaines. Même si les résultats sont moins visibles et accessibles qu'on pourrait le souhaiter, les inventaires produits n'étant disponibles que sous forme manuscrite ou informatique (sauf dans la cas du *Guide* de Codignola), il n'en reste pas moins que le vide d'avant 1977 a maintenant été comblé par une imposante série d'instruments de recherche analysant les Archives Secrètes du Vatican et de la Propagande des origines à 1922, date limite d'accessibilité aux documents des Archives en question pendant le déroulement du projet.

Pour ce qui est de la Propagande, la période initiale (de 1622 à 1846) a été couverte par Codignola en trois inventaires. Le premier couvre la période de 1622 à 1799 et analyse tous les documents intéressant l'Amérique française et anglaise (c'est-à-dire le Canada et les États-Unis d'aujourd'hui). Cet inventaire est le seul dont les introductions et l'index existent sous forme de livre, les descriptions relatives à chaque document étant par ailleurs disponibles aux Archives nationales du Canada sous forme de microfiches ou de CD-ROM<sup>27</sup>. Il faut aussi ajouter que tous les documents analysés dans le

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*Research Links between Canada and Italy*, ed. Lee (Rome, Toronto : Canadian Academic Centre in Italy, 1994), 28, 37, 70, 90, 104, 107, 123, 131-133. Le Centre académique canadien à Rome a publié la revue savante *Annali accademici canadesi*, où l'on trouve dans les onze volumes parus entre 1985 et 1995 plusieurs articles et inventaires, fruits des recherches dans les archives et les bibliothèques romaines.

<sup>27</sup> Codignola, *Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799/Guide des documents relatifs à l'Amérique du Nord française et anglaise dans les archives de la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide" à Rome, 1622-1799* (Ottawa : National Archives of Canada/Archives nationales du Canada, 1991) ; Codignola, *Vatican : Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide." Calendar of Documents Relating to Canada in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1830, and Guide to Documents*



*Calendar* de Kenneally pour cette période sont aussi dans le *Guide* de Codignola, mais que celui-ci contient 2 441 notices intéressant l'Amérique du Nord contre 529 pour le *Calendar*, soit environ 80 pour cent de plus. Le deuxième inventaire de Codignola couvre la période 1800-1830 et le troisième, la période 1831-1846. Ce dernier est moins complet que les deux précédents. Les descriptions sont plus courtes et certaines séries seulement ont été analysées (Acta, SOCG, Lettere). L'année 1846 a aussi été dépouillée par Sanfilippo dans le cadre d'un nouveau et vaste projet consacré au pontificat de Pie IX (1846-78) sous l'égide encore une fois de l'Université Saint-Paul et grâce à l'aide financière d'un certain nombre de diocèses et communautés religieuses du Canada. L'inventaire préparé par Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo est aussi disponible<sup>28</sup>. Par rapport à ceux de Codignola, cet inventaire (comme d'ailleurs presque tous les autres de la série), ne s'occupera strictement que du Canada (ou des Canadiens) et, vu le nombre très élevé de documents à inventorier, se limite à des descriptions succinctes de chacun de ces documents. Le pontificat de Léon XIII (1878-1903) a été examiné par Benoit, qui en 1986 rédigea quatre inventaires et un index général relatifs aux séries Acta, SOCG, Congressi et Nuova Serie. Les pontificats de Pie X (1835-1914, pape de 1903 à 1914) et de Benoît XV (1854-1922, pape de 1914 à 1922) ont été couverts par Pizzorusso selon les mêmes règles que Benoit. Exception faite de quelques séries mineures, on peut dire qu'après vingt ans de travail, l'inventaire des documents de la Propagande est presque terminé et sous une forme ou une autre, disponible aux chercheurs<sup>29</sup>.

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*Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799, in ArchiVIA 4. Colonial Archives. Findings Aids on CD-ROM/Archives coloniales. Instruments de recherche sur CD-ROM* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada/Archives Nationales du Canada, 1996).

<sup>28</sup> Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, *Inventaire des documents d'intérêt canadien dans les Archives de la Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide" sous le pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878)* (Rome : Centre académique canadien en Italie, et Ottawa: Université Saint-Paul, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> Seules les séries autres que Acta, SOCG et Lettere restent à inventorier pour la période 1831-45, y compris l'importante série Congressi.

D'importantes sources romaines sont aussi conservées dans les Archives Secrètes du Vatican, dans d'autres dépôts d'archives relevant du Vatican mais situés hors des Archives Secrètes et dans les archives de nombreuses communautés religieuses. Pour ce qui est des Archives Secrètes du Vatican, il importe de signaler le travail de Benoit et Scardellato, qui en 1984 produisirent un inventaire de la sous-série Francia des Archives de la Secrétairerie d'État pour la période de 1600 à 1799 (1 050 notices), utilisant comme modèle le premier inventaire de Codignola. Nous leur devons aussi un inventaire plus limité (225 notices) recensant un certain nombre de documents déjà connus dans les séries Segretaria di Stato, Segreteria Apostolica, Congregazione Concistoriale et Congregazione sulla Disciplina dei Regolari. Faute de temps, d'autres séries concernant surtout la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle n'ont pu être explorées. Heureusement, l'allemand Hermann Hoberg (1907-92) a consacré un double inventaire aux documents du fonds Missioni (163 volumes appartenant autrefois à la Propagande). Une première fois (1968), il a relevé la présence d'une correspondance, datant des années de 1764 à 1769, entre la Propagande et Pierre de La Rue, abbé de L'Isle-Dieu (1668-1779), vicaire général à Paris de l'évêque de Québec. Plus tard (1991), il a repéré des copies de dossiers de la Propagande, datant du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>30</sup>.

Il n'en reste pas moins que les inventaires relatifs aux Archives Secrètes du Vatican ne couvrent pas, ou couvrent très mal, la période allant de 1763 à 1846. Lemieux a utilisé pour ses travaux quelques documents de la Secrétairerie d'État. Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, pour leur part, ont inventorié la sous-série Spogli dei Cardinali de cette même Secrétairerie d'État<sup>31</sup>. Les pontificats de Léon XIII, Pie X et

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<sup>30</sup> Hermann Hoberg, "Der Fonds Missioni der Vatikanischen Archivs", *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana* 21 (1968) : 97-107 ; Hoberg, "Aggiunte recenti al Fondo "Missioni" dell'Archivio Vaticano", dans *Ecclesiae Memoria. Miscellanea in onore del R.P. Josef Metzler OMI Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, ed. Willi Henkel, OMI (Rome, Freiburg, Wien : Herder, 1991), 87-92.

<sup>31</sup> Sanfilippo, "Spogli dei cardinali (426-479)", dans "Fonti ecclesiastiche romane per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana in Nord America (1642-1922)", ed. Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, numéro monographique de *Studi Emigrazione/Études migrations* 33, no. 124 (décembre/décembre 1996) : 608-610.

Benoît XV sont, pour leur part, beaucoup mieux couverts. En ce qui concerne le pontificat de Léon XIII, Serio et Bruti Liberati ont inventorié les séries Secrétairerie d'État, Secrétairerie des Brefs et Congrégation des Rites, ainsi que les archives de la Congrégation des Affaires Ecclésiastiques extraordinaires<sup>32</sup>. De son côté, Sanfilippo a dépouillé toutes les autres séries, y compris l'énorme documentation relative à l'établissement et aux premières années d'activité de la Délégation Apostolique du Canada<sup>33</sup>. Les inventaires portant sur les pontificats de Pie X et Benoît XV ne sont pas encore parus. Toutefois, ils sont disponibles sur disquette et pourraient l'être éventuellement sur CD-ROM, ce qui évidemment faciliterait la lecture des quelques 2 000 pages produites par Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo.

Reste à signaler que la recherche sur le pontificat de Benoît XV fut commanditée par le Ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté du Canada et que ses auteurs accordèrent donc beaucoup d'attention aux groupes ethniques au Canada anglais, au Québec de même qu'aux États-Unis. D'où, entre autres, la production de trois inventaires préparés par Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo avec la collaboration de plusieurs collègues italiens et italiennes. Un premier existe en version courte et en version complète (manuscrite), cette dernière disponible au Centro Studi Emigrazione de Rome et au Centre académique canadien en Italie. Il résume tous les documents de la Propagande et des Archives Secrètes du Vatican portant sur les groupes ethniques au Canada et au Québec pour les années de 1878 à 1922. Un deuxième, centré sur les États-Unis, accorde beaucoup d'attention à l'essor des communautés de langue française et utilise pour ce faire, non seulement les archives de la Propagande et du Vatican, mais aussi celles d'autres dicastères du Saint-Siège et de

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<sup>32</sup> Serio et Bruti Liberati, *Inventaire des "Canadiana" dans les Archives du Saint-Siège, 1878-1903* (Ottawa : Archives nationales du Canada, 1988), rapport dactylographié.

<sup>33</sup> Sanfilippo, *Inventaire des documents d'intérêt canadien dans l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano sous le Pontificat de Léon XIII (1878-1903) : Délégation Apostolique du Canada, Délégation Apostolique des États-Unis, Epistolae ad Principes et Epistolae Latinae, et autres séries mineures* (Ottawa : Archives nationales du Canada et Rome : Centre académique canadien en Italie, 1987).

divers ordres et congrégations religieuses romaines. Un troisième fait le relevé de la documentation contenue dans les archives ecclésiastiques romaines concernant l'immigration italienne en Amérique du Nord pour la période 1642-1922. À signaler, dans ce dernier cas, l'intérêt des matériaux sur Montréal, ainsi que sur les communautés canadiennes d'origine italienne et les communautés de langue française en Nouvelle-Angleterre et en Ontario<sup>34</sup>.

En marge de ces travaux, Pizzorusso a rédigé deux inventaires relatifs, l'un, aux papiers de Monseigneur Umberto Benigni (1862-1934), l'autre, aux fonds du Collège Urbain de la Propagande. Le premier révèle les liens de Benigni, véritable chef de file de la droite vaticane, avec l'ultramontanisme québécois et franco-américain. Le second nous fait connaître les prêtres ayant étudié à Rome au Collège Urbain et les rapports ("lettere di stato") qu'ils étaient tenus d'envoyer chaque année à leur Alma Mater, rapports fort instructifs sur ce qui se passait dans leurs diocèses respectifs et qu'a d'ailleurs soigneusement étudiés Pizzorusso<sup>35</sup>. Enfin, Sanfilippo a produit un inventaire des rapports diocésains à la Congrégation Consistoriale, rapports ayant trait soit au Canada de langue française et de langue anglaise, soit aux immigrants de langue française aux États-Unis<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, "Inventario della fonti vaticane per la storia dell'emigrazione e dei gruppi nel Nord America : il Canada (1878-1922)", *Studi Emigrazione* 116 (1994), numéro monographique ; Sanfilippo, "Fonti ecclesiastiche per la storia dell'emigrazione e dei gruppi etnici nel Nord America : gli Stati Uniti (1893-1922)", *Studi Emigrazione* 120 (1995), numéro monographique ; Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, "Fonti ecclesiastiche romane per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana in Nord America (1642-1922)", *Studi Emigrazione* 116 (1994), numéro monographique.

<sup>35</sup> Pizzorusso, "Le 'lettere di stato' : una fonte di documentaria dell'archivio della congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' di particolare interesse canadese (1893-1908)", *Annali accademici canadesi* 5 (1989) : 101-114 ; Pizzorusso, "Archives du Collège Urbain de Propaganda Fide", *Annali accademici canadesi* 7 (1991) : 93-98 ; Pizzorusso, "Gli allievi del Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide nelle diocesi canadesi (1893-1908)", *Rivista di studi canadesi* 5 (1992) : 49-53 ; Pizzorusso, "Romani d'intelletto e di cuore : seminaristi canadesi del Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide", *Il Veltro* 38, no. 3-4 (1994) : 151-162.

<sup>36</sup> Sanfilippo, "Sacra Congregazione Consistoriale (378-425)", dans "Fonti ecclesiastiche romane per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana in Nord America (1642-

Encore dans le cadre des recherches commanditées par les Archives nationales du Canada se situent l'inventaire du premier volume d'une série de la Propagande, la série Congressi, America Antille, préparé par Pizzorusso, et celui des manuscrits de la Biblioteca Casanatense, rédigé par Codignola, le but étant dans ces deux cas de vérifier si des dépôts d'archives ou des séries n'ayant aucun lien évident avec l'histoire du Canada pouvaient tout de même s'avérer de quelque intérêt pour cette même histoire. Les résultats obtenus pourraient justifier la poursuite de cette expérience<sup>37</sup>.

Dans le cadre des grands projets, il faut aussi mentionner *Vatican Archives* produit par Blouin et commandité par la Bentley Historical Library de la University of Michigan, tel qu'indiqué plus haut. Ce guide, il faut le souligner, vise surtout le public des chercheurs de langue anglaise et ne se limite à aucune période chronologique ou à aucune région géographique en particulier. L'Amérique du Nord, en particulier l'Amérique du Nord française, n'y fait donc l'objet d'aucun intérêt spécial. En dépit de son imposante bibliographie, très utile et bien à jour, *Vatican Archives* décevra les chercheurs intéressés à l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord en raison de ses nombreuses erreurs et imprécisions. La description des Archives Secrètes du Vatican est peu fiable et, même pour la Propagande, il y a des erreurs grossières provenant surtout du fait que *Vatican Archives* ne semble pas tenir compte de l'importante réforme archivistique effectuée par les autorités de la Propagande en 1893<sup>38</sup>.

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1922)", numéro monographique de *Studi Emigrazione/Études migrations* 33, no. 124 (dicembre/décembre 1996) : 603-607.

<sup>37</sup> Pizzorusso, "Archives of the Sacred Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide'. Calendar of Volume I (1634-1760) of the Series Congressi America Antille", *Storia nordamericana* 3, no. 2 (1986) : 117-164 ; Codignola, "The Casanatense Library", *Annali accademici canadesi* 7 (1991) : 99-104.

<sup>38</sup> *Vatican Archives*, ed. Blouin, XXIV.

### *L'apport de la recherche historique*

Les chercheurs qui ont participé aux grands projets plus haut décrits des années 1960 et 1970 et les historiens qui ont pris connaissance des nouveaux instruments de recherche produits à l'époque ont utilisé de façon contrastante les nouvelles sources mises à leur disposition. Le cas de Campeau est le plus éclatant. En effet, on peut dire que toute sa production historique a été influencée par sa connaissance approfondie des archives religieuses, des archives de la Compagnie de Jésus et des archives romaines en particulier<sup>39</sup>. Pour sa part, Lemieux a publié une synthèse sur le catholicisme québécois de 1760 à 1839<sup>40</sup> qui, tout en restant dans le cadre chronologique de son premier livre paru vingt-deux ans auparavant, est moins liée à l'histoire ecclésiastique traditionnelle et beaucoup plus sensible aux nouvelles tendances de l'historiographie socio-religieuse. Après sa participation au projet des *Memoria Rerum*, O'Neill a continué de s'occuper d'histoire de la Louisiane, mais sans référence aux sources romaines ou au problème des relations entre le Saint-Siège et le sud des États-Unis<sup>41</sup>.

Ceux qui ont plus systématiquement utilisé les nouvelles sources romaines sont les chercheurs qui ont participé au projet d'inventaire canadien en cours depuis 1977. Codignola a surtout publié sur la Nouvelle-France d'avant 1659 et sur la période 1760-1830. Dans ces deux cas, il a adopté un cadre interprétatif situant l'expérience de l'Amérique française à l'intérieur de celle de l'expansion européenne.

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<sup>39</sup> Pour toutes ses publications, voir Campeau, *La mission des jésuites chez les Hurons 1634-1650* (Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin et Rome : Institutum Historicum S.I., 1987).

<sup>40</sup> Lemieux, *Les années difficiles (1760-1839)* (Montréal : Les Éditions Fides, 1989).

<sup>41</sup> Voir, par exemple, O'Neill, "A Quarter Marked by Sundry Peculiarities : New Orleans, Lay Trustees and Père Antoine", *The Catholic Historical Review* 76, no. 2 (April 1990) : 235-277 ; O'Neill, "John Carroll, the 'Catholic Enlightenment' and Rome", dans *American Catholic Preaching and Piety in the Time of John Carroll*, ed. Raymond J. Kupke (New York, London : University Press of America, 1991), 1-26 ; O'Neill, "A Bishop for Louisiana", dans *Crozier and Crucible. A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana*, ed. Glen R. Conrad (New Orleans : The Archdiocese of New Orleans and the Center for Louisiana Studies, 1993), 96-107.

Il s'en est d'ailleurs expliqué dans un premier article écrit avec Pizzorusso, dans trois autres articles sur la politique du Saint-Siège par rapport aux autochtones et dans la conclusion des actes du colloque sur "Les frontières de la mission", tenu à Rome en 1992, dont il avait assuré la direction avec l'historienne française Catherine Brice. Le cadre atlantique est aussi présent dans ses articles sur les missions capucines et sur le navigateur hollandais au service de la France, Laurens van Heemskerck (c.1632-99)<sup>42</sup>. À notre connaissance, Dominique Deslandres est la seule qui, tout en n'ayant pas fait partie

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<sup>42</sup> Codignola et Pizzorusso, "Les lieux, les méthodes et les sources de l'expansion missionnaire du Moyen âge au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : Rome sur la voie de la centralization", dans *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique/Europe XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle/Cultural Transfer, America and Europe: 500 Years of Interculturation*, ed. Laurier G. Turgeon, Denys Delâge et Réal Ouellet (Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, et Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 489-512 ; Codignola, "The French in Early America : Religion and Reality", dans *Visions of America Since 1492*, ed. Deborah L. Madsen (London : Leicester University Press, 1994), 35-56 ; Codignola, "Les amérindiens dans les Archives de la Sacrée Congrégation de Propaganda Fide à Roma (1610-1799)", *Canadian Folklore Canadien* 17, no. 1 (1995) : 139-148 ; Codignola, "The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British North America, 1486-1750", dans *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen O. Kupperman (Chapel Hill, NC : The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995), 195-242 ; Codignola, "The Holy See and the Conversion of the Aboriginal Peoples in North America, 1760-1830", dans *Ethnographies and Exchanges : Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America*, ed. Anthony G. Roeber (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 77-95; Codignola, "Les frontières de la mission : efficacité missionnaire, acculturation réciproque et centralisation romaine", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 109, no. 2 (1997) : 785-792 ; Codignola, "A World Yet to Be Conquered : Pacifique de Provins and the Atlantic World, 1629-1648", dans *Canada ieri e oggi, III : Sezione storica*, ed. Codignola et Luraghi (Fasano : Schena Editore, 1986), 59-84 ; Codignola, "Pacifique de Provins and the Capuchin Network in Africa and America", dans *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, ed. Patricia Galloway et Philip P. Boucher (Lanham : University Press of America, 1992), 46-60 ; Codignola, "Laurens Van Heemskerck's Pretended Expeditions to the Arctic, 1668-1672", *International History Review* 12, no. 3 (1990) : 514-527 ; révisé et traduit en italien dans Codignola, *Colombo e altri navigatori* (Genova : Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2007), 169-202.

des équipes de recherche canadiennes, a utilisé les archives romaines (surtout celles de la Propagande et des Jésuites) pour ses publications et a eu recours au même cadre interprétatif que Codignola, comme en témoignent sa thèse de doctorat, les trois articles qui suivirent et son livre de 2003<sup>43</sup>. Pour ce qui est de la période après la Conquête, Codignola a utilisé la perspective romaine pour mettre en évidence les différences entre les expériences américaines et canadiennes et démontrer l'importance des réseaux religieux qui fonctionnaient et s'influençaient de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Dominique Deslandres, "Le modèle français d'intégration socio-religieuse, 1600-1650. Missions intérieures et premières missions canadiennes" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, 1990); Deslandres, "Mission et altérité : les missionnaires français et la définition de l'Autre' au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," dans *Actes du Dix-huitième Colloque de la Société d'Histoire Coloniale Française, Mai 1992*, ed. James S. Pritchard (Cleveland : La Société d'Histoire Coloniale Française, 1993), 1-13 ; Deslandres, "La mission chrétienne : Français, Anglais et Américains au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," dans *Transferts culturels*, 513-526 ; Deslandres, "Les missions françaises intérieures et lointaines, 1600-1650. Esquisse géo-historique", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 109, no. 2 (1997) : 505-538 ; et surtout Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire. Les missions françaises au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris : Fayard, 2003).

<sup>44</sup> Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus ? Catholics in Canada and in the United States, 1780-1820", *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies* 55 (1988) : 43-60 ; Codignola, "The Rome-Paris-Québec Connection in an Age of Revolution, 1760-1820", dans *Le Canada et la Révolution française: actes du 6<sup>e</sup> colloque du CIEC. 29, 30, 31 octobre 1987*, ed. Pierre H. Boulle et Richard A. Lebrun (Montréal : Centre interuniversitaire d'études européennes, 1989), 115-132 ; Codignola, "Le Québec et les prêtres savoyards, 1779-1784 : les dimensions internationales d'un échec", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 43, no. 4 (1990) : 559-568 ; Codignola, "The Policy of Rome towards the English-speaking Catholics in British North America, 1750-1830", dans *Creed and Culture : The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, ed. Terrence M. Murphy et Gerald J. Stortz (Montreal, Kingston, London, Buffalo : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 100-125 ; Codignola, "Pius VIII and North America, 1816-1830", *Annali accademici canadesi* 10-11 (1995), 3-35 ; Codignola, "Roman Catholic Conservatism in a New North Atlantic World, 1760-1829", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 64, no. 4 (October 2007) : 717-756 ; Codignola, "De 'Cromwell de France' à 'brigand consommé:' les catholiques de la région de l'Atlantique du Nord et Napoléon (1789-1815)" dans *Napoléon et les Amériques. Histoire atlantique*



La production scientifique de Pizzorusso couvre une période et un cadre géographique beaucoup plus vastes que ceux de Codignola. À témoins, l'étude comparative qu'il fera de l'expérience missionnaire dans les Antilles et en Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, étude qui conduira à la publication de quelques articles, puis surtout d'une imposante monographie, et une recherche tout à fait originale dans les archives du Collège Urbain de la Propagande qui lui permit de révéler la présence dès le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans cette institution de jeunes québécois, canadiens, américains, voire autochtones venus s'y préparer au sacerdoce. Sa connaissance des rouages et du personnel de l'administration pontificale, résultat d'années de travail assidu dans diverses archives romaines, l'amèneront par ailleurs, cette fois avec Sanfilippo, à publier une étude sur les connaissances géographiques des fonctionnaires du Saint-Siège<sup>45</sup>. De concert avec son collègue

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*et empire napoléonien*, ed. Christophe Belaubre, Jordana Dym et John Savage (Toulouse : Presses de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2009), 25-43.

<sup>45</sup> Pizzorusso, "Catholic Mission in the West Indian Colonies : John Grace, an Irish Missionary of *Propaganda Fide*, 1666-1668", *Storia nordamericana* 2, no. 2 (1985) : 74-93 ; Pizzorusso, "Due sorte d'infedeltà : la conversione degli indiani e dei negri nelle Antille francesi nel XVII secolo", dans *Europa tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi (Genova : ECI, 1992), 93-109 ; Pizzorusso, "I Caraibi e *Propaganda Fide* : una relazione seicentesca", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 17 (1992) : 112-127 ; Pizzorusso, "Una controversia sul rosario. Domenicani e gesuiti nelle Antille francesi (1659-1688)", *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (1994) : 202-215 ; Pizzorusso, *Roma nei Caraibi. L'organizzazione delle missioni cattoliche nelle Antille e in Guyana (1635-1675)* (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1995) ; Pizzorusso, "Gli allievi del Collegio Urbano di *Propaganda Fide*" ; Pizzorusso, "Romani d'intelletto e di cuore" ; Pizzorusso, "Indiani del Nordamerica a Roma (1826-1841)", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 116 (1993) : 395-411 ; Pizzorusso, "Du Nouveau Monde à la Ville Éternelle : les séjours romains des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord (1826-1841)", *Canadian Folklore Canadien* 17, no. 1 (1995) : 149-158 ; Pizzorusso, "Gli Indiani del Nordamerica in due riviste della prima metà dell'Ottocento : L'*Antologia* e il *Diario di Roma* (1821-1834)", dans *Gli indiani d'America e l'Italia*, ed. Fedora Giordano (Alessandria : Edizioni dell'Orso, 1997), 115-127 ; Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, "La Santa Sede e la geografia del Nuovo Mondo, 1492-1908", dans *Genova, Colombo, il mare e l'emigrazione italiana nelle Americhe*, ed. Claudio Cerreti (Roma : Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), II : 607-632.

Sanfilippo, il s'est aussi intéressé au phénomène du voyage de même qu'à celui de l'émigration vus l'un et l'autre à la lumière des rapports existant entre Amérique du Nord et le Saint-Siège. Bien que travaillant surtout sur une période plus récente, Sanfilippo n'en a pas moins à son actif un certain nombre d'études, dont deux livres, remontant plus loin dans le passé<sup>46</sup>.

On doit aussi à Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo une importante analyse du processus de construction d'une géographie ecclésiastique nord-américaine tel que révélé au fil des siècles par les points de vue,

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<sup>46</sup> Sanfilippo, "L'image du Canada dans les rapports du Saint-Siège, 1622-1908", *Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 5 (1992) : 9-24 ; Sanfilippo, "Les sources documentaires du Vatican pour l'histoire des Acadiens (1632-1922)", *Études canadiennes/Canadian Studies* 37 (1994) : 99-113 ; Sanfilippo, "L'abito fa il missionario ? Scelte di abbigliamento, strategie di adattamento e interventi romani nelle missioni 'ad haereticos' e 'ad infideles' tra XVI e XX secolo", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 109, no. 1 (1997) : 139-158 ; Sanfilippo, "Curia di Roma e Corte di Francia : la fondazione della diocesi di Québec", dans *Il teatro della politica europea. La Corte di Roma fra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia et Gianvittorio Signorotto (Roma : Bulzoni, 1998), 489-516 ; Sanfilippo, "Missionari, esploratori, spie e strateghi : i gesuiti nel Nord America francese (1604-1763)", dans *I religiosi a corte. Teologia, politica e diplomazia in antico regime*, ed. Flavio Rurale (Roma : Bulzoni, 1998), 287-331 ; Sanfilippo, "'Figurinelle:' variazioni italiane sugli indiani nordamericani (1497-1997)", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 26 (2001), pp. 123-124 ; Sanfilippo, "De Québec à Rome et de Rome à Québec : voyageurs canadiens-français en Italie et voyageurs italiens au Canada français entre la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XX<sup>e</sup>", dans *Constructions identitaires et pratiques sociales. Actes du colloque en hommage à Pierre Savard tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa les 4, 5, 6 octobre 2000*, ed. Jean-Pierre Wallot, Pierre Lanthier et Hubert Watelet (Ottawa : Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa et Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française, 2002), 279-300 ; Sanfilippo, *L'affermazione del Cattolicesimo nel Nord America. Élite, emigranti e chiesa cattolica negli Stati Uniti e in Canada, 1750-1920* (Viterbo : Sette Città, 2003) ; Sanfilippo, *Dal Québec alla Città Eterna. Viaggiatori franco-canadesi a Roma* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 2005) ; Sanfilippo, "E gli autoctoni ?", dans *Dagli indiani agli emigranti. L'attenzione della Chiesa romana al Nuovo Mondo, 1492-1908*, ed. Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo (Viterbo : Sette Città, 2006), 223-231 ; Sanfilippo, "Missioni e colonizzazione in America Settentrionale", dans *Die Aussenbeziehungen der römischen Kurie unter Paul V. Borghese (1605-1621)*, ed. Alexander Koller (Tübingen : Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008), 355-366.

décisions et interventions de Rome. Ce qui les a d'ailleurs amenés à s'intéresser à la naissance et l'essor des délégations apostoliques d'Ottawa et de Washington, ainsi qu'à la décision, prise au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, de défavoriser les missions autochtones au profit des missions auprès des immigrés<sup>47</sup>.

On peut parler dans leur cas d'une perspective plus italienne que nord-américaine, d'autant plus qu'ils se sont intéressés, l'un (Pizzorusso) à l'image des autochtones en Italie, l'autre (Sanfilippo) aux échanges culturels entre l'Amérique française et Rome (voyages, publications, etc.). Mais cette perspective leur a permis d'éclairer des questions, aujourd'hui peu étudiées, telle par exemple, la querelle relative au costume ecclésiastique dans les diocèses francophones, ou d'autres qui le sont encore, tels le problème des Franco-américains, ou

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<sup>47</sup> Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, "La Santa Sede e la geografia del Nuovo Mondo, 1492-1908" ; Benoit et Sanfilippo, "Sources romaines pour l'histoire de l'Église catholique du Canada" ; Pizzorusso, "Donato Sbarretti, delegato apostolico a Ottawa, e la difficile organizzazione del Concilio plenario canadese (1909)", *Annali accademici canadesi* 6 (1990) : 67-85 ; Pizzorusso, "Un diplomate du Vatican en Amérique : Donato Sbarretti à Washington, La Havane et Ottawa (1893-1910)", *Annali accademici canadesi* 9 (1993) : 5-33 ; Sanfilippo, "La Santa Sede, il Canada e la Delegazione Apostolica ad Ottawa", *Annali accademici canadesi* 2 (1986) : 112-119 ; Sanfilippo, "La Delegazione apostolica a Ottawa e gli immigrati italiani, 1899-1922", *Il Veltro* 34, no. 1-2 (1990) : 45-65 ; Sanfilippo, "Diomedede Falconio et l'Église catholique en Amérique du Nord", *Rivista di studi canadesi* 5 (1992) : 43-47 ; Sanfilippo, "Essor urbain et création de nouveaux diocèses dans l'Ouest : la correspondance des délégués apostoliques, 1902-1918", dans *Canada e Italia verso il Duemila : metropoli a confronto, I : Sezione storico-geografica-sociologica*, ed. Bruti Liberati et Massimo Rubboli (Selva di Fasano : Schena, 1994), 259-279 ; Pizzorusso, "Roman Ecclesiastical Archives and the History of the Amerindian Peoples of Canada", *European Review of Native American Studies* 4, no. 2 (1990) : 21-26 ; Pizzorusso, "Indians del Nordamerica a Roma (1826-1841)", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 116 (1993) : 395-411 ; Pizzorusso, "Du Nouveau Monde à la Ville Éternelle" ; Sanfilippo, "Le Saint-Siège, les délégués apostoliques en Amérique du Nord et les autochtones (1853-1915)", *Canadian Folklore Canadien* 17, no. 1 (1995) : 159-168 ; Sanfilippo, "'Questa mia missione così piena di rose e di spine' : il viaggio negli Stati Uniti di Monsignor Gaetano Bedini (1853-1854)", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 17 (1992) : 171-188 ; Sanfilippo, "Monsignor Gaetano Bedini e l'emigrazione verso le Americhe", *Studi Emigrazione* 106 (1992) : 277-286.

celui de la présence belge au Canada (étudiée avec l'historien belge Serge Jaumain), ou encore du caractère pluriel de l'Amérique française<sup>48</sup>.

Élargissant la perspective, Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo ont par ailleurs cherché à expliquer le caractère anglophile de la politique de Rome vis-à-vis de l'Amérique du Nord et les craintes qu'inspiraient au Saint-Siège les revendications francophones, le tout, selon eux, reposant sur la volonté des autorités romaines d'assurer l'avenir du catholicisme dans un continent vu d'abord et avant tout comme une entité anglophone. Tout compte fait, les interprétations de Pizzorusso et

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<sup>48</sup> Pizzorusso, "Du Nouveau Monde à la Ville Éternelle" ; Pizzorusso, "Gli Indiani del Nordamerica in due riviste" ; Sanfilippo, "Una lettera dal Manitoba sulle elezioni romane del 1907", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 109 (1986) : 239-250 ; Sanfilippo, "Dal Canada al Canada : appunti sui viaggiatori canadesi a Roma nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 112 (1989) : 493-508 ; Sanfilippo, "La Santa Sede, Ernesto Nathan e le ripercussioni internazionali delle celebrazioni per il 20 settembre 1910", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 113 (1990) : 347-360 ; Sanfilippo, "Les historiens italiens et le Canada", dans *Canada ieri e oggi* 3, II : *Sezione storica, geografica ed economica*, ed. Bruti Liberati et Fabrizio Ghilardi (Fasano : Schena Editore, 1992), 81-103 ; Sanfilippo, "Il Canada nei resoconti dei viaggiatori italiani (1820-1915)", *Clio* 21, no. 1 (1995) : 159-168 ; Sanfilippo, "L'abito fa il missionario ?" ; Sanfilippo, " 'Une occasion d'humiliations' : l'abito talare, il clero cattolico e l'ovest canadese agli inizi del XX secolo", dans *Le stelle e le strisce. Studi americani e militari in onore di Raimondo Luraghi*, ed. Valeria Gennaro Lerda (Milano : Bompiani, 1998), 61-73 ; Sanfilippo, "The French-Canadian Question in the Dioceses of New England, 1895-1912. Preliminary Research in the Vatican Archives", *Storia nordamericana* 4, no. 1-2 (1987) : 205-222 ; Sanfilippo, "La question canadienne-française dans les diocèses de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1899-1922 : les sources documentaires romaines", dans *Canada ieri e oggi* 2, II : *Sezione storica e geografica*, ed. Rubboli et Franca Farnocchia Petri (Selva di Fasano : Schena Editore, 1990), 55-76 ; Sanfilippo, "L'immigrazione belge in Canada", *Studi emigrazione* 126 (1997) : 335-338 ; Serge Jaumain, "Les Belges au Canada : des immigrants très courtisés", dans *Les émigrants belges*, ed. Anne Morelli (Bruxelles : EUO, 1998), 115-132 ; Jaumain et Sanfilippo, "L'immigration belge au Canada : une histoire en devenir", dans *Les immigrants préférés. Les Belges*, ed. Jaumain (Ottawa : Université d'Ottawa, 1999), 3-25 ; Sanfilippo, "Le comunità di lingua francese nell'America anglo-celtica : divisioni interne e conflitti etnici", *Memoria e ricerca* 4, no. 8 (1996) : 115-136.

Sanfilippo, tout comme celles de Codignola, semblent déboucher sur une histoire des missions de type comparatif englobant l'ensemble des continents extra-européens (à ce sujet, voir leur participation au colloque "Les frontières de la mission" de 1992 ainsi que les travaux de Pizzorusso sur les Antilles et ceux de Sanfilippo sur la Chine et l'Inde)<sup>49</sup>.

Sur le versant canadien des recherches romaines, les angles de vision sont tout autres. Les premières études sur les rapports entre le Canada et le Saint-Siège dans la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle se concentreront surtout sur la personne de l'évêque de Montréal, Bourget. C'est peut-être que Bourget entretenait un rapport avec Rome beaucoup plus étroit que ses autres collègues, même si à Rome il n'était pas toujours très bien vu. On comprend que voulant écrire la biographie de cet ultramontain de premier plan, un Pouliot et un Perin aient senti le besoin d'aller explorer aux Archives de la Propagande la vaste correspondance échangée entre Bourget et Rome. On comprend également que les spécialistes de l'ultramontanisme, un Nive Voisine, un Philippe Sylvain, en aient fait autant, Voisine s'intéressant surtout à la bataille que les archevêques de Québec livrèrent contre le réseau ultramontain, mais également à l'attitude plutôt négative des représentants romains face aux chefs de ce réseau, qu'il s'agisse de Bourget, de l'évêque de Trois-Rivières, Louis-François Richer dit Laflèche, ou de leurs successeurs<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Pizzorusso et Sanfilippo, "La Santa Sede e la geografia del Nuovo Mondo" ; Sanfilippo, "L'image du Canada dans les rapports" ; Sanfilippo, "Curia di Roma e Corte di Francia".

<sup>50</sup> Philippe Sylvain et Nive Voisine, *Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898)* (Montréal : Boréal, 1991), vol. II/2 de *Histoire du Catholicisme québécois dirigé par Nive Voisine* (Montréal : Boréal, 1984-91), 2 vol. en 4 tomes publiés jusqu'à date ; Voisine, "Rome et le Canada : la mission de Mgr Conroy," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 3 (1980) : 499-519 ; Voisine, "La création du diocèse de Nicolet (1885)," *Les Cahiers nicolétains* 5 (1983) : 3-41 ; 6 (1984) : 147-214 ; Voisine, "L'ultramontanisme canadien-français au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle", dans *Les Ultramontains canadiens-français*, ed. Voisine et Jean Hamelin (Montréal : Boréal, 1985), 67-104 ; Voisine, "Monseigneur Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau et la création du diocèse de Nicolet", Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique,

Perin a souvent fait appel aux mêmes sources que Voisine, que ce soit pour ses études sur Bourget ou pour celles sur l'ultramontanisme québécois, mais sa perspective est très différente. Voisine exprimait le point de vue d'un catholicisme québécois passé au crible de la Révolution tranquille et convaincu que l'Église catholique devait s'ouvrir au monde. Sa recherche, comme celle de Jean Hamelin, soulignait l'incapacité des ultramontains à comprendre les nouveaux développements sociaux. Tout au contraire, Perin, plus jeune que Voisine et venant d'un autre horizon, est fasciné par ce qu'on pourrait appeler le "populisme" ultramontain et surtout l'âme (sociale, dirions-nous aujourd'hui) de Bourget voyant dans l'ultramontanisme le moyen de protéger ses diocésains contre l'engloutissement culturel par les "anglais". Dans cette perspective, l'Église ultramontaine est, selon Perin, une Église qui n'a pas oublié ses origines ethniques et qui entend protéger ses ouailles contre l'anglicisation. D'où la sympathie intellectuelle de Perin pour un certain catholicisme québécois traditionnel, allant de Bourget à l'abbé Lionel-Adolphe Groulx, en passant par Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin (1855-1915), archevêque de Saint-Boniface et Joseph-Thomas Duhamel (1841-1909), archevêque d'Ottawa. D'où, par contre, le jugement négatif qu'il porte à l'endroit de la diplomatie vaticane et de ses représentants au Canada qui, selon lui, n'avaient pas compris le rôle joué par l'ultramontanisme québécois et, en cas de conflit, étaient portés à favoriser plutôt le Canada anglais<sup>51</sup>.

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*Sessions d'Étude* 52 (1985) : 35-50 ; Voisine, *Louis-François Laflèche, deuxième évêque de Trois-Rivières* (Saint-Hyacinthe : Edisem, 1980).

<sup>51</sup> Perin, "St. Bourget, évêque et martyr", *Revue d'études canadiennes* 15, no. 4 (1980) : 43-55 ; Perin, "'Troppo ardenti sacerdoti' : The Conroy Mission Revisited", *Canadian Historical Review* 61 (1980) : 283-304 ; Perin, "Clercs et politiques au Québec 1865-1876", *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 50, no. 2 (1980) : 168-190 ; Perin, "Clerics and the Constitution : The Quebec Church and Minority Rights in Canada", Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* 56 (1989) : 31-47 ; Perin, "Nationalism and the Church in French Canada", *Bulletin of Canadian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1981) : 27-38 ; Perin, "'Una furia più che francese' : The Quebec Church and Vatican Diplomacy in the Age of Anglo-Canadian Protestant Domination", dans *Papal Diplomacy in the Modern Age*, ed. Peter C. Kent et John F. Pollard (Westport, Conn. : Praeger, 1994), 45-64 ; Perin, "La raison du plus fort

L'approche de Perin est de fait sociale, voire politique plutôt que strictement religieuse comme le montre d'ailleurs très bien son fondamental *Rome in Canada*, comme le montrent aussi ses études sur les migrations, elles-mêmes liées à celles qu'il avait consacrées aux ultramontains et à Rome. L'importance de la documentation romaine a poussé Perin à développer, à partir de suggestions du sociologue Fernand Dumont, la thèse de Rome comme troisième métropole du Canada, les deux autres étant naturellement Paris et Londres<sup>52</sup>. Cette thèse avait déjà été anticipée par Codignola dès 1989, mais dans une acception plus restreinte. La thèse de Perin a été fort bien reçue et, encore tout récemment, reprise et développée par l'historien montréalais Yvan Lamonde<sup>53</sup>.

Il faut toutefois reconnaître que du point de vue de l'histoire religieuse comme telle, Perin n'a pas suscité beaucoup d'intérêt parmi les spécialistes québécois, ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que son approche n'est pas familière aux historiens de l'Église québécoise. Mais cette approche sociale, plutôt que socio-religieuse comme au Québec, lui a toutefois permis de rédiger l'excellent chapitre sur le Canada français que l'on trouve dans la *Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, dirigé par Terrence M. Murphy et par lui-

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est toujours la meilleure : la représentation du Saint-Siège au Canada, 1877-1917", Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 50 (1983) : 99-117 ; Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity and Identity : Placing the Immigrant within the Church", *Canadian Studies/Thèmes Canadiens* 7 (1985) : 212-229 ; Perin, "Clerics and the Constitution" ; Perin, *Rome in Canada : The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1990).

<sup>52</sup> Perin, *Rome in Canada* ; Perin, *Arrangiarsi : The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. Perin et Franc Sturino (Montréal : Guernica, 1989) ; Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic. The Third Force in Canadian Historiography", *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (December 1983) : 441-457 (une importante réflexion) ; Perin, "Rome as a Metropolis of Canada", dans *Italie-Canada-Recherche*, II: *Études canadiennes*, ed. Sanfilippo (Ottawa: Centre Académique Canadien en Italie, 1991), 21-31.

<sup>53</sup> Codignola, "The Rome-Paris-Québec Connection" ; Yvan Lamonde, *Ni avec eux ni sans eux. Le Québec et les États-Unis* (Montréal : Nuit Blanche Éditeur, 1996) ; *Québécois et Américains. La culture québécoise aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Lamonde et Gérard Bouchard (Montréal : Les Éditions Fides, 1995).

même chapitre, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, faisant largement appel aux sources vaticanes. Notons que Murphy, lui aussi, s'est depuis longtemps intéressé à ces sources comme en témoignent certaines de ses publications<sup>54</sup>.

La thèse faisant de Rome la troisième métropole du Canada est difficile à apprécier. Rome avait des sentiments partagés vis-à-vis du Canada français. Gaetano Bedini (1806-64), son premier représentant au Canada, fut mal impressionné par le type de religion qu'il y rencontra<sup>55</sup>. De plus, Rome déplorait le trop grand nombre de mariages entre proches parents qui s'y célébraient et pour lesquels les évêques du Canada français demandaient continuellement des dispenses (voir à ce sujet la longue correspondance avec Bourget dans la série Udienze des Archives de la Propagande). Ces mariages étaient considérés à l'époque en Europe comme de véritables incestes. Par contre, Rome était rassurée par le fait, attesté dès le début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle par les évêques du Québec eux-mêmes, que la propagande protestante était de peu d'effet sur leurs fidèles. D'où peut-être, une certaine tendance à prendre le catholicisme canadien-français pour acquis. Chose certaine, les regards du Canada français étaient beaucoup plus tournés vers Rome que ceux de Rome ne l'étaient vers le Canada français. L'attestent les dizaines de milliers de documents

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<sup>54</sup> Pour un survol rapide, voir Guy Laperrière, "L'histoire religieuse du Québec, principaux courants, 1978-1988", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 42, no. 4 (printemps 1989) : 563-578 ; Laperrière, "L'histoire des congrégations du Québec : vue d'ensemble et recherches en cours", Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église catholique, *Études d'histoire religieuse* 57 (1990) : 21-27 ; Lucia Ferretti, "L'Église de Montréal (1900-1950) dans les mémoires et les thèses depuis 1980", Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église catholique, *Études d'histoire religieuse* 59 (1993) : 105-123 ; *Status Quaestionis*, ed. Hurtubise et Jean-Marie LeBlanc (Ottawa : Université Saint-Paul, 1994) ; Perin, "French Speaking Canada from 1840", dans *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, ed. Perin et Terrence M. Murphy (Toronto : Toronto University Press, 1996), 190-260 (sur ce livre, voir le Ch. 9 de la Partie II de cette anthologie) ; Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism", *Acadiensis* 13 (1984) : 29-49 ; Murphy, "The Religious History of Atlantic Canada : The State of the Art", *Acadiensis* 14 (1985) : 152-174 ; Murphy, "Religion and Ethnicity in Canadian Historiography", *Studi Emigrazione* 103 (1991) : 305-317.

<sup>55</sup> Sanfilippo, "Questa mia missione".



sur le Québec, sur le Canada français hors Québec et sur les communautés francophones aux États-Unis que l'on trouve aujourd'hui à Rome. Ne fût-ce que de ce point de vue, Rome mérite d'être considérée comme une véritable métropole de l'Amérique du Nord française. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de lire, par exemple, les travaux plus haut mentionnés sur l'émigration belge au Canada ou encore ceux sur les Franco-américains et sur les Acadiens menés par les historiens français François Weil et Claude Fohlen et l'acadienne Phyllis LeBlanc<sup>56</sup>.

Ces mêmes sources ont servi à étudier les conflits entre catholiques de langue française et de langue anglaise. Hurtubise, qui s'était déjà intéressé à la période coloniale, a cherché à faire le point de la situation, tandis que Benoit, à partir des documents de la Propagande, étudiait les voyages à Rome des évêques franco-canadiens pendant le pontificat de Léon XIII, puis comparait cette documentation à celle des Archives Secrètes du Vatican. John P. Comiskey s'est intéressé à la fondation du diocèse de London, qui comprenait alors une forte minorité francophone. Pour sa part, Pasquale Fiorino a produit une biographie de Michael F. Fallon, OMI (1867-1931), évêque de London de 1910 à 1931, dans laquelle il fait état des violentes confrontations entre l'évêque, d'un côté, son clergé et ses ouailles de

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<sup>56</sup> François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains* (Paris : Belin, 1989) ; Weil, "Religion et ethnicité franco-américaines en Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1860-1930", *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 84 (1993) : 189-199 ; Claude Fohlen, "Les Acadiens en quête d'un évêque", *Études Canadiennes/Canadian Studies* 43 (1997) : 43-59 ; Phyllis LeBlanc, "The Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church in Atlantic Canada : Policies Regarding Ethnicity and Language", dans *Papal Diplomacy in the Modern Age*, 65-74 ; Pour les Franco-américains, voir aussi Jean Lamarre, "La migration des Canadiens français vers le Michigan, 1840-1914" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, 1996) ; les recherches de Francine Roy et Voisine mentionnées dans Yves Frenette et Yves Roby, "Guide du chercheur en études franco-américaines : un projet", dans *Le Québec et la francophonie de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, ed. Dean Louder (Québec : Les Presses de Université Laval, 1991), 129-164 ; les annotations dans Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Crisis : Denis J. O'Connell. American Agent in Rome, 1885-1903* (Rome : Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1974) ; Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Stuggart : Anton Hiersemann, 1982).

langue française, de l'autre, mais où il se montre trop partial à l'endroit de l'évêque<sup>57</sup>. À noter qu'à la même époque, les immigrants d'origine italienne n'entretenaient pas toujours de bons rapports avec le clergé et les fidèles de langue française. Au Québec, plusieurs catholiques d'origine italienne se rangeront même du côté des Irlandais. Ce qui pourrait expliquer, comme le suggère Fohlen, que les choix du Saint-Siège se soient faits souvent à l'encontre des Canadiens de langue française, de crainte de perdre le contrôle des immigrants catholiques<sup>58</sup>.

Donald Tremblay a puisé aux Archives Secrètes du Vatican, mais aussi à la Propagande, chez les servites et à la Congrégation Consistoriale, les éléments de la biographie qu'il a consacrée à Francesco P. Stagni, OSM (1859-1919), délégué apostolique au Canada de 1910 à 1918. De cette thèse de doctorat, il a extrait deux articles, l'un sur la controverse du décret *Ne temere*, l'autre sur celle des écoles bilingues de l'Ontario. Sa position est proche de celle de Perin, bien que contrairement à Perin, il manifeste une certaine sympathie pour Stagni<sup>59</sup>. Le conflit des langues en Ontario a été

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<sup>57</sup> Hurtubise, "Ni janséniste, ni gallican, ni ultramontain : François de Laval", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 28, no. 1 (1974) : 3-26 ; Hurtubise, "Les mythes mobilisateurs de l'entreprise missionnaire et coloniale en Nouvelle-France", dans *Canada ieri e oggi*, III : 43-57 ; Hurtubise, "Il Canada negli Archivi della Congregazione de Propaganda Fide", *Il Veltro* 29, no. 1-2 (1985) : 107-112 ; Benoit, "Tribulations des évêques canadiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle à travers les Archives de la Propagande," *Annali accademici canadesi*, no. 3-4 (1987-1988) : 81-86 ; Benoit et Sanfilippo, "Sources romaines pour l'histoire de l'Église catholique du Canada : le pontificat de Léon XIII (1878-1903)", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 44, no. 1 (1990) : 85-96 ; John P. Comiskey, "The Foundation of the Diocese of London in Canada 1760-1856" (Mémoire de licence, Rome, Università Gregoriana, 1997) ; Pasquale Fiorino, "Bishop Michael Francis Fallon. The Man and His Times 1910-1931" (Thèse de doctorat, Rome, Università Gregoriana 1992) ; Fiorino, "The Nomination of Michael Fallon as Bishop to London", Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* 62 (1996) : 33-46.

<sup>58</sup> Sanfilippo, "Le comunità di lingua francese nell'America anglo-celtica" ; Fohlen, "Saint-Siège et Canada au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Études canadiennes/Canadian Studies* 33 (1992) : 45-58 ; Fiorino, "L'américanisation du catholicisme canadien," *Études Canadiennes/Canadian Studies* 43 (1997) : 43-59.

<sup>59</sup> Donald Tremblay, "Monseigneur Francesco Pellegrino Stagni, osm, et l'Église canadienne, 1910 à 1918" (Thèse de doctorat, Université Laval, 1993) ; Tremblay,

finalement exploré par l'ancien recteur de l'Université d'Ottawa, Roger Guindon, qui a produit quatre volumes sur la dualité linguistique à son université, utilisant pour son premier tome la correspondance des délégués apostoliques du Canada conservée aux Archives Secrètes du Vatican<sup>60</sup>.

Les historiens des ordres et congrégations religieuses au Canada ont aussi beaucoup emprunté aux sources romaines : Voisine, pour son histoire des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada ; Paul Laverdure pour ses travaux sur les rédemptoristes ; le jésuite Terence J. Fay, pour le dictionnaire biographique des jésuites canadiens anglais préparé sous sa direction ; sans compter les travaux plus anciens de l'oblat Gaston Carrière (n.1913) sur les missionnaires de son ordre au Canada et leurs rapports avec leur fondateur, Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod, OMI (1782-1861) ; ainsi que les recherches sociologiques de Bernard Dénault et Benoît Lévesque. Mérite aussi mention, l'étude de 1979 de Thomas-Marie Charland, OP (n.1900) sur la mission du dominicain Dominique-Ceslas Gonthier (1853-1917) à Rome de 1897 à 1898<sup>61</sup>.

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"Note sur la controverse du décret *Ne Temere*", *Annali accademici canadesi* 9 (1993) : 35-49 ; Tremblay, "Benoît XV, le Saint-Siège et la controverse des écoles bilingues de l'Ontario", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 32 (1994) : 195-251.

<sup>60</sup> Roger Guindon, *Coexistence féconde : la dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa* (Ottawa : Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1989-98), 4 vol. ; voir aussi John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto : Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montréal, Kingston : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

<sup>61</sup> Voisine, *Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada* (Sainte-Foy : Éditions Anne Sigier, 1987-91), 2 vol. ; Paul Laverdure, "The First Vice-Province of Toronto, 1898-1901", *Spicilegium Historicum* 41, no. 2 (1993) : 241-275 ; Laverdure, "Early American Redemptorists in British North America, 1834-1863", *The Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (1994) : 476-496 ; Laverdure, *Redemption and Renewal : The Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994* (Toronto : Dundurn Press, 1996) ; *Dictionary of Jesuit Biography : Ministry to English Canada, 1842-1987*, ed. Terence J. Fay (Toronto : Canadian Institute of Jesuit Studies, 1991) ; Gaston Carrière, *Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada* (Ottawa : Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1957-75), 12 vol ; Carrière, *Dictionnaire biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada* (Ottawa : Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1976-9) ; Carrière, "L'expansion missionnaire en Amérique du Nord", dans *Le grand*

Plusieurs historiens italiens et canadiens se sont par ailleurs intéressés au sort des immigrants italiens au Canada anglais et au Québec et pour ce faire ont eu recours à des sources romaines non ecclésiastiques – telles que les Archives d'État de Rome, les Archives centrales de l'État italien et les Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères italien – ou à des archives d'instituts religieux auxquels étaient confiés les émigrants partant vers l'Amérique du Nord. Bruti Liberati a analysé cette documentation pour chercher à comprendre l'emprise du fascisme sur certains québécois d'origine italienne. Il s'est aussi servi de sources vaticanes de l'époque de Léon XIII et de Benoît XV<sup>62</sup>. À Nicoletta Serio, à Fabrizio Ghilardi, à Teresa Gianna et à

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*héritage. L'Église catholique et la société du Québec*, ed. Jean Simard (Québec : Musée du Québec, 1984), 91-126 ; Eugène de Mazenod, OMI, *Lettres aux correspondants d'Amérique*, ed. Yvon Beaudoin (Roma : Postulation générale OMI, 1977), 2 vol ; Silvio Zavatti, "Il genovese Germano Eymard missionario nel Nord-Ovest canadese", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 3 (1978) : 201-228 ; Bernard Denault et Benoît Lévesque, *Éléments pour une sociologie des communautés religieuses au Québec* (Sherbrooke : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1975) ; Thomas-Marie Charland, OP, *Le père Gonthier et les écoles du Manitoba. Mission secrète à Rome (1897-1898)* (Montréal : Les Éditions Fides, 1979).

<sup>62</sup> Bruti Liberati, "La società canadese e il fascismo : 'Views from a fire-proof house'", *Storia Contemporanea* 13, no. 4-5 (1982) : 877-908 ; Bruti Liberati, "La comunità italo-canadese tra le due grandi guerre", dans *Gli Italiani fuori d'Italia*, ed. Bruno Bezza (Milano : Franco Angeli, 1983), 397-418 ; Bruti Liberati, "L'antifascismo italo-canadese durante la seconda guerra mondiale", dans *L'antifascismo italiano negli Stati Uniti durante la seconda guerra mondiale*, ed. Antonio Varsori (Roma : Archivio Trimestrale, 1984), 83-105 ; Bruti Liberati, "OVRA e Royal Mounted Police a confronto : il controllo politico sulla comunità italo-canadese negli anni tra le due guerre mondiali", *Storia Contemporanea* 15, no. 3 (1984) : 421-441 ; Bruti Liberati, "Italo-Canadian Antifascism during World War II : The Mazzini Society of Canada", *Rivista di studi anglo-americani*, no. 4-5 (1984-5) : 385-397 ; *Il Canada e la guerra dei Trent'Anni. L'esperienza bellica di un popolo multietnico*, ed. Bruti Liberati (Milano : Guerini, 1989) ; 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 storico e geografica*, ed. Rubboli et Farnocchia Petri (Selva di Fasano : Schena Editore, 1990), 77-95 ; Bruti Liberati, "La serie Affari Politici-Canada dell'Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 1931-1956", *Il*

Robert F. Harney nous devons par ailleurs des études sur l'émigration ou sur les rapports diplomatiques Italie-Canada<sup>63</sup>. L'assistance catholique aux émigrés italiens venant au Québec et en Ontario a fait l'objet de travaux de la part de trois historiens appartenant à la Congrégation des Missionnaires de Saint-Charles, dits scalabrinien : Mario Francesconi, Gianfausto Rosoli et Silvano M. Tomasi. Deux autres scalabrinien, Graziano Tassello et Luigi Favero, ont édité et commenté les documents officiels du Vatican sur les migrations des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles, incluant ceux portant sur l'Amérique du Nord<sup>64</sup>. Scardellato, qui s'est aussi intéressé à l'époque de la Nouvelle-France,

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*Veltrò* 34, no. 1-2 (1990) : 113-124 ; Bruti Liberati, "Il papa e la guerra. La società canadese e le iniziative di pace di Benedetto XV", *Rivista di studi canadesi* 7 (1994) : 145-158.

<sup>63</sup> Serio, "Canada as a Target of Trade and Emigration in Post-Unification Italian Writing", dans *Arrangiarsi*, 91-117 ; Serio, "Le relazioni tra Italia e Canada durante l'età di Laurier (1896-1911)", *Storia contemporanea* 20 (1989) : 199-210 ; Fabrizio Ghilardi, *Le relazioni italo-canadesi 1944-1947* (Pisa : ETS Editrice, 1991) ; Ghilardi, *Italia e Canada 1947-1951. Due esperienze a confronto* (Milano : Franco Angeli, 1997) ; Teresa Gianna, "L'antifascismo italo-canadese attraverso le fonti italiane : il casellario politico centrale", dans *Il Canada e la guerra dei Trent'anni*, 241-266 ; Robert F. Harney, "The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration", dans *Le società in transizione : italiani ed italo-canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo (Milano : Franco Angeli, 1991), 189-203.

<sup>64</sup> *Storia della Congregazione Scalabriniana, V : Il primo dopoguerra (1919-1940)*, ed. Mario Francesconi (Roma : Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1975) ; Gianfausto Rosoli, "La Federazione 'Italica Gens' e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano, 1909-1920", *Il Veltrò* 34, no. 1-2 (1990) : 87-99 ; *Una valigia piena di America. Antiche immagini fotografiche dell'emigrazione italiana nelle Americhe*, ed. Rosoli (Roma : Biblioteca Casanatense, 1992) ; Rosoli, "A Calendar of Vatican Documents for the History of Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada", *Annali accademici canadesi* 10-11 (1994-5) : 121-134 ; Silvano M. Tomasi, "Fede e patria : the 'Italica Gens' in the United States and Canada, 1908-1936. Notes for the History of an Emigration Association", *Studi Emigrazione* 103 (1991) : 319-340 ; Graziano Tassello et Luigi Favero, *Chiesa e mobilità umana. Documenti della Santa Sede dal 1883 al 1983* (Roma : Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1985).

a exploré le même thème de l'émigration à partir des archives romaines des servites (1989)<sup>65</sup>.

### *Conclusion*

À la lumière du bilan historiographique que nous venons de dresser et malgré ses inévitables limites, il nous semble que trois conclusions s'imposent. Une première, à l'effet que les importantes avancées archivistiques de ces dernières années en termes surtout d'inventaires sont encore trop peu connues et, pour cette raison peut-être, ignorées de ceux et celles qu'elles devraient intéresser au premier chef. Il faut trouver le moyen de vaincre cette ignorance. On nous permettra d'espérer que le présent bilan constitue un premier pas dans cette direction.

Notre seconde conclusion est d'ordre plus strictement historiographique. Il nous est apparu, en effet, au fil de l'analyse des travaux publiés depuis un certain nombre d'années sur l'axe Rome-Amérique du Nord française, que se dégagent de ces travaux une double perspective. L'une que l'on pourrait qualifier de "romaine", l'autre, de "canadienne". La première représentée surtout par des Européens : un Codignola, un Pizzorusso, un Sanfilippo, côté italien ; un Fohlen et un Weil, côté français ; un Jaumain, côté belge. La seconde, plus difficile à cerner, parce que plus fragmentée que l'autre :

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<sup>65</sup> Benoit et Scardellato, "The Flesh Made Word" ; Scardellato, "Rome, France and New France : A Pre-History of Italian-Canadian Relations", dans *Venezia e i Caboto. Le relazioni italo-canadesi*, ed. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi et Ugo Tucci (Venezia : Università degli Studi di Venezia, 1992), 81-88 ; Scardellato, "Beyond the Frozen Wastes : Italian Sojourners and Settlers in British Columbia", dans *Arrangiarsi*, 135-161. L'historien italien Emilio Franzina a dressé le tableau historiographique et historique de la plupart des recherches dans les archives romaines sur l'émigration italienne en Amérique du Nord. Voir Franzina, "Emigrazione e immigrazione all'estero 'lontano' : panoramica degli studi storici", dans *Emigrazione : memoria e realtà*, ed. Casimira Grandi (Trento : Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1990), 11-72 ; Franzina, *Gli Italiani al Nuovo Mondo. L'emigrazione italiana in America 1492-1942* (Milano : Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1995).

perspective anglo-canadienne, d'une part, perspective franco-canadienne de l'autre avec, dans ce dernier cas, les particularités des points de vue québécois, franco-ontarien et acadien, mais se distinguant habituellement de la première par son caractère "nationaliste", voire "régionaliste". Une meilleure connaissance des sources romaines permettrait, selon nous, d'élargir cette perspective, de la faire accéder à un autre niveau d'analyse et, par le fait même, de la rapprocher de la perspective "romaine".

Notre troisième conclusion concerne les projets d'inventaires jusqu'ici réalisés. Beaucoup a été fait, mais beaucoup reste à faire. Pour ce qui est du Vatican, comme nous l'avons indiqué plus haut, il reste à terminer l'exploration d'un certain nombre de fonds et de séries, mais aussi à entreprendre celle des archives d'autres grandes congrégations romaines (Consistoriale, Affaires ecclésiastiques, Saint-Office, etc.) où il y aurait sans doute beaucoup à trouver. Hors du Vatican, il faudrait prévoir un examen systématique des archives romaines des communautés religieuses ayant œuvré en Amérique du Nord. Si certaines sont assez bien connues (jésuites, oblats de Marie-Immaculée, rédemptoristes), d'autres le sont beaucoup moins. Beaucoup de chantiers aussi bien historiographiques qu'archivistiques restent donc à ouvrir.

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Rédigé avec Matteo Sanfilippo et publié sous le titre "Archivistes, historiens et archives romaines", dans *L'Amérique du Nord française dans les archives religieuses de Rome 1600-1922. Guide de recherche*, ed. Pierre Hurtubise, Luca Codignola et Fernand Harvey (Québec : Éditions de l'IQRC et Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1999), 29-52. Bien que conçu et écrit en collaboration, Codignola fut surtout responsable de la période avant 1846, et Sanfilippo de celle après cette date. Les co-auteurs tiennent à remercier Giovanni Pizzorusso, dont les commentaires et les suggestions ont été d'une grande utilité pour la rédaction du présent chapitre.





## 2. JESUIT WRITINGS ACCORDING TO R.G. THWAITES AND LUCIEN CAMPEAU, SJ: HOW DO THEY DIFFER?

All students of early North American history are aware of the existence of a *corpus* of sources usually referred to as the "Jesuit relations". These are written documents produced by the members of the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic regular order, during their missionary endeavour among the aboriginal peoples of North America in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. They chronicle the Jesuits' experience and often provide the only evidence we have, both historical and ethnological, on the so-called "contact period" and on the aboriginal peoples themselves. So much has been written on the origin and the history of the Jesuit relations that we can take this knowledge for granted. Suffice it to say that the Jesuit sources are not limited to the missionaries' reports subsequently published as books until 1672 – the relations proper. They also include many written documents which took several forms – letters, memoirs, petitions and journals.<sup>1</sup> Yet historians improperly tend to refer to this varied *corpus* of documents as "Jesuit relations" on account of their one-hundred-year association with an imposing 73-volume documentary collection, titled *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791*. This was edited by American historian Reuben G. Thwaites between 1896

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<sup>1</sup> See *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*, ed. Charles-Honoré Laverdière (Québec: Augustin Côté, 1858), 3 vol.; *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes relations (1615-1672)*, ed. Félix Martin, SJ (Paris: Charles Douniol Éditeur, 1861); *Le journal des Jésuites publié d'après le manuscrit original conservé aux archives du Séminaire de Québec par les abbés Laverdière et Casgrain*, ed. Laverdière et Henri-Raymond Casgrain (Montréal: Valois, 1871); Thomas A. Hughes, SJ, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal: Text and Documents* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907-17), 4 vols; *Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France*, ed. François Roustang, SJ (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1961).

and 1901 and reissued in reprint in 1959.<sup>2</sup> The Thwaites collection is often regarded as the definitive edition containing the whole *corpus* of Jesuit sources relating to North America. Almost thirty years ago, in 1967, a new edition of Jesuit sources, titled *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, began to appear in print.<sup>3</sup> This new collection was edited by Lucien Campeau, a Canadian Jesuit historian. In 1994 seven volumes were already available, covering the years 1602-50. The mid-1990s have thus witnessed a coincidence of related events. One the one hand, 1994 saw the completion of the crucial years of the contact period in New France in vol. 7 of Campeau's *Monumenta*. (As we know, in 1650 the Iroquois killed or adopted most Hurons and dispersed the others, thereby substantially changing the historical development of North-Eastern North America.) On the other, 1996 was the centennial of the publication of vol. 1 of Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*. This coincidence provides a good opportunity to attempt a preliminary comparison between the two documentary collections – the first ever to be attempted. It is, of course, a comparison limited to Campeau's vols. 1-7 vs. Thwaites' vols. 1-36. When the *Monumenta* reach 1791, it will be time to extend the comparison to Thwaites' remaining vols. 37-71. But Campeau's *Monumenta*, as we were warned in 1967 by Jesuit historian Joseph P. Donnelly (1905-82), "is a monumental undertaking which will probably not be completed for decades."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 73 vols. (hereafter cited as *JR*); *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Thwaites (New York: Pageant Books, 1959), 36 vols.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome: Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, and Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vols. (hereafter cited as *MNF*).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph P. Donnelly, SJ, *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations Errata and Addenda* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1967), 7.

### *Current Historians and Jesuit Sources*

The main question, of course, is whether we should keep on using Thwaites, switch to Campeau, or dismiss both as faulty and make a plea for a new edition of Jesuit sources. One would expect that historians of the first half century of North American contact switched from Thwaites to Campeau as soon as a new volume of the *Monumenta* became available. Not so. Hardly any English-speaking historian, either American or Canadian, writing in the past decade or so use the *Monumenta*.<sup>5</sup> Some others barely acknowledge their existence.<sup>6</sup> They all, however, amply use Thwaites' *Relations*. The only exception is Canadian historian William J. Eccles, who in 1982 stated that any re-examination of the role played by the church in New France should first await the completion of Campeau's "magisterial

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<sup>5</sup> Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of the Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York, London: W.W. Norton 1984); James L. Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); James W. Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987); Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England*, ed. Calloway (Hanover, London: University Press of New England, 1991); Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Karen L. Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York, London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> John W. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nation: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992).

series."<sup>7</sup> Ignorance of languages other than English is, of course, part of the problem. Campeau publishes his documents in their original languages – mostly French, Latin, and Italian with his own commentary in French. Thwaites, on the other hand, coupled all original documents with their translations into English. Even among French-speaking historians Campeau has not fully replaced Thwaites. Some ignore Campeau and prefer not only Thwaites, but even the Laverdière 1858 edition of the Jesuit documents.<sup>8</sup> Others acknowledge Campeau's existence, but are uncomfortable with his interpretation.<sup>9</sup> Only a small number have abandoned the *Jesuit Relations* in favour of the *Monumenta*.<sup>10</sup> John A. Dickinson, who writes both in French and in English and knows Campeau well, prefers to use Thwaites when writing in English on account of the familiarity with the latter of his English-speaking audience.<sup>11</sup> In the French-speaking milieu, Thomas Wien provides the most explicit statement in support of Campeau's *Monumenta*. He defines it as the "definitive collection of Jesuit

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<sup>7</sup> William J. Eccles, Preface to "The Role of the Church in New France," in Eccles, *Essays on New France* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 27.

<sup>8</sup> Denys Delâge, *Les pays renversés. Amérindiens et européens en Amérique du nord-est 1600-1664* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985); Marc Jetten, *Enclaves amérindiennes: les "réductions" du Canada 1637-1701* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Guy Lafleche, *Les Saints martyrs canadiens* (Québec: Les Éditions du Singulier Ltée, 1988-95), 157; Alain Beaulieu, *Convertir les Fils de Caïn. Jésuites et Amérindiens en Nouvelle-France, 1632-1642* (Québec: Nuit Blanche Éditeur, 1990), 157.

<sup>10</sup> Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France, III/2: La seigneurie des Cent-Associés, 1627-1663. La société* (Montréal: Fides, 1983); Ghislaine Boucher, *Le premier visage de l'Église du Canada. Profil d'une Église naissante. La Nouvelle-France, 1608-1688* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1986); Dominique Deslandres, "Le modèle d'intégration socio-religieuse, 1600-1650. Missions intérieures et premières missions canadiennes d'intégration" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> John A. Dickinson, "Native Sovereignty and French Justice in Early Canada," in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law, V: Crime and Criminal Justice* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1994): 17-40.

relations, letters, and other documents."<sup>12</sup> By and large, it appears that the rejection of Campeau's *Monumenta* on the part of the English-speaking historians is linked to language problems. One might also suspect that, having compiled their notes from Thwaites, they often refrain from looking up the new reference in Campeau. Among the French-speaking ones, however, this has much to do with an outright rejection of Campeau's interpretation of the missionary work. The Jesuit historian believed that the presence of the missionaries among the aboriginal peoples contributed to their material havoc, but also to their spiritual improvement and their abandonment of their "primitive" state. He also believed that the acceptance of Catholicism on the part of several individual American Indians was very much an act of free will.<sup>13</sup> This is at odds with a school of thought represented by the works of Henry W. Bowden, Robert Conkling, Denys Delâge, François-Marc Gagnon, John W. Grant, Cornelius J. Jaenen, P.-G. Leblanc, Daniel K. Richter, James P. Ronda and Bruce G. Trigger, which questions the *bona fide* nature of aboriginal conversions.<sup>14</sup>

Historians who reject Campeau often keep on using Thwaites. His *Jesuit Relations* have long become a sort of Jesuit encyclopedia, rather than a selective collection of edited sources. Thwaites' prefaces and annotations are hardly glanced at. When they do not content themselves with the handy anthologies compiled by Edna Kenton (1876-1954) and Stanley R. Mealing (1924-2003),<sup>15</sup> historians pull out Thwaites' very detailed index (vols. 72-73) and try to figure out the location of their hoped-for citation. Would it be under "Sagamité (sagamita), used in torture" (*JR*, XXVI: 47)? Or under "Louis XV, of

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas Wien, "Canada and the *Pays d'en haut*," in *Canadian History: A Reader's Guide*, I: *Beginnings to Confederation*, ed. Martin B. Taylor (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 42.

<sup>13</sup> Luca Codignola, "Note Critique," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 44, no. 1 (1990): 97-103.

<sup>14</sup> See Beaulieu, *Convertir les Fils de Caïn*, 157.

<sup>15</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1791)*, ed. Edna Kenton (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1925); *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: A Selection*, ed. Stanley R. Mealing (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

France, Illinois chant prayer for" (*JR*, LXVIII: 209)? Or else under "Brandy, converts refuse" (*JR*, LXII: 62, 249)? Seldom do they read Thwaites' endnotes or prefaces. Even more rarely do they know how the Thwaites collection came into being or do they question its documentary reliability. In sum, historians accept the *Jesuit Relations* at face value.

One must admit that this cavalier attitude is not a recent one. In fact, the soundness of Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations* has rarely been challenged during the past one hundred years. The 73 volumes appeared in rapid succession at the turn of the century, when in North America positivism in the historical profession was at its zenith. Historians supported the manifest destinies of their nations, these being the post-Civil War United States, Canadian Confederation or Catholic French Canada.<sup>16</sup> They believed that their profession mainly consisted in showing the origin of their nation by finding, collecting, collating and publishing the supporting documents. This was the great age of the local historical societies and their circles of antiquarian historians, who were often at loggerheads yet regularly corresponded with each other. They published their findings in such periodicals as the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society and the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada. This was also the age of the sweeping multi-volume syntheses. At the same time, american historians George Bancroft, John D.G. Shea, Francis Parkman, Justin Winsor (1831-97), John Fiske (1842-1901), Henry Harrisse (1829-1910); French archivist Pierre Margry (1818-94); Canadian historians Hospice-Anthelme-Jean-Baptiste Verreau (1828-1901), Cyprien Tanguay (1818-1902), John George Bourinot (1836-1902), Henri-Raymond Casgrain, James

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<sup>16</sup> David W. Noble, *Historians Against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing Since 1830* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965); Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Literature and Thought* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976); Serge Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920. La Nouvelle-France de Garneau à Groulx* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978).

Hannay (1842-1910), all died within few years of the publication of the *Jesuit Relations*. Thwaites' collection immediately became an unchallenged monument to scholarship. In 1951 Canadian historian and archivist Gustave Lanctôt (1883-1975) still spoke for all his colleagues when he described the *Jesuit Relations* as the "édition ... la plus complète et, peut-on dire, l'édition définitive."<sup>17</sup>

### *Thwaites and His Team*

Indeed, Thwaites proved to be an outstanding organizer and editor. We do not know why The Burrows Brothers, a Cleveland publishing house, decided to publish the collection (750 sets were eventually printed), and why they chose Thwaites for the task. He was 41 in 1894, when the project was conceived, and did not have a distinguished career behind him. The son of a Wisconsin farmer from Oshkosh, a former immigrant from Yorkshire, he had had little schooling and, so far, had not published much. He could claim a book on canoeing in historic waterways, a survey of the American colonies, and three short articles in the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In Madison, as managing editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* (from 1876), he had befriended Lyman C. Draper (1815-91), corresponding secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and author of books on the American Midwest and colonial military history. Thwaites had become his assistant (1885) and, at Draper's retirement in 1887, he had replaced him as chief executive officer, a responsibility that he kept until his death.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Gustave Lanctôt, *L'Oeuvre de la France en Amérique du Nord. Bibliographie sélective et critique* (Montréal, Paris: Fides, 1951), 27.

<sup>18</sup> Donnelly, *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations Errata*, 20; *JR*, LXXII: 9; Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après beaucoup de documents inédits* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané Éditeurs, 1895-6), I: xvii; Thwaites, *Historic Waterways: Six Hundred Miles of Canoeing Down the Rock, Fox, and Wisconsin Rivers* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1888); Thwaites, *The Colonies, 1492-1750* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1891); Thwaites, "Story of the Black Hawk War," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 12

The editorship of the *Jesuit Relations* gave Thwaites fame and success among American historians. In 1900 he was elected President of the American Historical Association and Chairman of its Historical Manuscript Commission. Yet Thwaites was not and did not become an outstanding historian. His biographies of the Jesuit Jacques Marquette (1637-75), Daniel Boone (1734-1820), and George R. Clark (1752-1818) have little to recommend them, and his syntheses *France in America* and *Wisconsin* were soon forgotten.<sup>19</sup> Thwaites' lasting legacy rested in his abilities as cultural entrepreneur and editor of documentary collections. Almost at the same time as he put together the 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*, the collection for which he is still mostly remembered, he also edited a three-volume *The French Regime in Wisconsin* and 32 volumes of another major collection, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*.<sup>20</sup> When he died in 1913, at the relatively young age of 60, the Memorial Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was read by Frederick J. Turner. Turner's famous lecture on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History"<sup>21</sup> was listed by Thwaites in the bibliography of his *Jesuit Relations* (*JR*, LXXI: 323).

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(1892): 217-265; Thwaites, "Notes on Early Lead Mining in the Fever (or Galena) River Region," *ibid.*, 13 (1895): 271-292; Thwaites, "The Story of the Chequamegon Bay," *ibid.*, 13 (1895): 397-425.

<sup>19</sup> Thwaites, *Father Marquette* (New York: D. Appleton, 1902); Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (New York: D. Appleton, 1902); Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest and Other Essays in Western History* (Chicago: A.A. McClurg & Co., 1903); Thwaites, *France in America, 1497-1763* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1905); Thwaites, *Wisconsin: The Americanization of a French Settlement* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908).

<sup>20</sup> *The French Regime in Wisconsin, 1634-1760*, ed. Thwaites (Madison: Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1902-8); *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846: A Series of Annotated Reprints of Some of the Best and Rarest Contemporary Volumes of Travel, Descriptive of the Aborigines and Social and Economic Conditions in the Middle and Far East, during the Period of Early American Settlement*, ed. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904-7).

<sup>21</sup> Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1893): 79-112; Turner, *Reuben Gold Thwaites, a Memorial Address* (Madison: State Historical Society, 1914).



From an editorial point of view, the *Jesuit Relations* are a remarkable achievement. The collection required the ability to couple a demanding pace of publication with an unusual internal consistency. Thwaites possessed both qualities. He initialled the preface of each volume and always dated them from Madison, indicating the month and the year of his signature. Sometimes he sent three volumes to the press in a single month. In 1898 and 1899 respectively 23 and 24 volumes were published. From October 1897 to June 1900 not a month went by without Thwaites initialling at least one volume. Eventually 73 volumes were published in only 65 months, an average output of 1.12 volumes per month (*JR*, VII: 10). Thwaites was not alone in this enterprise. He directed a small team which included one assistant editor, Emma H. Blair (d.1911), who was with the project from August 1895 until the end of it in 1901 (*JR*, I: 5; LXXII: 11). In 1911-2 there appeared a collection of documents on the western aboriginal peoples which is still cited today.<sup>22</sup> The person who was to become the most distinguished member of Thwaites' team was Bibliographical Adviser Victor H. Paltsits (1867-1952), a 30-year-old assistant librarian with the Lenox Library, the collection of James Lenox (1800-80). Paltsits' assistance was acknowledged from the beginning of the *Jesuit Relations*, but he officially joined the team in 1897 (*JR*, I: 12; VI: v, 4). He was later to publish extensively in the field of early Americana. The rest of the team consisted of one index compiler and ten translators. The latter's work is almost indistinguishable.

It is on account of the inadequacy of their translations that the *Jesuit Relations* received their earliest negative criticism. In 1914 American historian Clarence W. Alvord (1868-1928) pointed out that translations could have been better had Thwaites' team been more

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<sup>22</sup> *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, as Described by Nicolas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest; Bacqueville de La Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston, American Army Officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States Agent at Fort. Armstrong*, ed. Emma H. Blair (Cleveland: Arthur. H. Clark 1911-2), 2 vols.

versed in the vocabulary of Catholic institutions.<sup>23</sup> In 1967 Alvord's viewpoint was confirmed by Donnelly in the first and only cover-to-cover analysis to date of the collection. One should add that Donnelly found little else to criticize in it.<sup>24</sup> We have to await the age of "political correctness" in order to find a new challenge to Thwaites. In 1990 Maureen Korp, then with the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Ottawa, bluntly stated that "the Thwaites edition is so outdated as to be a minefield of misinformation, perhaps even disinformation."<sup>25</sup> She showed little interest in Alvord's and Donnelly's criticism of Thwaites' translations: "[M]y guess is the percentage of word choice change to the text would be fairly small."<sup>26</sup> Korp explained instead that the two main problems of the *Jesuit Relations* were "editorial misunderstanding of text content and inappropriate scholarly annotation and commentary."<sup>27</sup> As regards editorial misunderstanding, all she was able to produce was a discussion of the words *barbarian* and *savage*, which Thwaites, according to her, should have challenged, but did not.<sup>28</sup> Yet what really disturbed Korp was Thwaites' "inappropriate" annotation and commentary. She pointed her finger at Thwaites' inability to present the aboriginal peoples' point of view. According to her, Thwaites did not "correct or balance or place in context the ethnocentric biases of the original seventeenth century text. In some important ways the Thwaites edition refurbishes old prejudices,"<sup>29</sup> as his "historical introduction ... continues in the same pejorative way to introduce" the aboriginal peoples.<sup>30</sup> Korp concluded with a plea for a new edition of

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<sup>23</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, "A Critical Analysis of the work of R. G. Thwaites," Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings* (1913-4): 321-333.

<sup>24</sup> Donnelly, *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations Errata*.

<sup>25</sup> Maureen Korp, "Problems of Prejudice in the Thwaites Edition of the Jesuit Relations," Canadian Society of Church History, *Papers* (1990): 100.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

the *Jesuit Relations* in which all biased annotations be erased and the aboriginal peoples be allowed "to tell the other side of the story."<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, today's reader shudders at Thwaites' matter-of-fact introduction of the "rival tribes among the Red Indians of North America": the Algonkins, "savages [who] were rude in life and manners ... intensely warlike;" the Iroquois, "craftiest, most daring, and most intelligent ... yet still in the savage hunter state;" the "Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles ... rather in a barbarous than in a savage state;" the Dakotas, who "were and are a fierce, high-strung people" (*JR*, I: 9-12). Yet there are three reasons to be wary of Korp's criticism. The first is that she reached her conclusions on a rather cursory analysis of Thwaites' vols. 1-4 only. The second is that she did not even acknowledge the existence of any literature, primary or secondary, in languages other than English, including Campeau's *Monumenta*, and even her English authorities were rather weak. The third, and most important, is that she made no effort to place the Thwaites collection in its historical context. She refused to accept that Thwaites was not an orthodox ethnohistorian of the 1980s, but a traditional scholar of the 1890s. Korp's question should instead have been – did Thwaites share the commonly-held views of his time? The answer is that he indeed did so.

### *Thwaites and his Times*

In fact, Thwaites made good use of an international circle of friends and acquaintances that was much larger than the small team under contract with The Burrows Brothers. A glance at his acknowledgements and at his bibliography provides a window into an impressive scholarly and institutional network, on both sides of the American and the Canadian border, which could not easily be surpassed in his time. In Canada, he was in touch with historians such as Bourinot, who was 60 in 1896 when the *Jesuit Relations* appeared in print. Bourinot was clerk of the House of Commons, honorary secretary and former

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 119.

president of the Royal Society of Canada, editor of the first 19 volumes of the society's *Proceedings and Transactions*, and the author of several books on the history of Canada, the Maritime provinces, and parliamentary procedure. Thwaites was also in touch with Narcisse-Eutrope Dionne (1848-1917), 48, librarian to the Québec provincial legislative assembly, a profusive writer on some of the main characters of New France and on the history of currency in Canada; with James H. Coyne (1849-1942), 46, the author of a book on the Neutrals and later an expert on Great Lakes exploration; with William O. Raymond (1853-1923), 43, an Anglican clergyman from Saint John, who was president of the New Brunswick Historical Society and had published in its *Collections*; and with Pierre-Georges Roy (1870-1953), 26, a young archivist who was to become famous for his editorship of the recently-founded *Bulletin des recherches historiques*. Thwaites also corresponded with a number of priests who had taken on the task of writing the history of early Canada from a rather strong confessional viewpoint.<sup>32</sup> Best known among them were the *abbé* Verreau, 68, Frédéric-Ernest-Amédée Gagnon, known as Ernest (1834-1915), 62, and Auguste-Honoré Gosselin (1843-1918), 53. Verreau, an educator and a historian, had been sent to London, Paris, and Rome in 1873 to investigate documents relating to the history of the country. He was professor of history at Université Laval, president of the Société Historique de Montréal, and a biographer of Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. Gagnon was employed as secretary of the Ministère des Travaux Publics of the province of Québec, but was also a polygraph with a special interest in French-Canadian music, folklore, and history. Gosselin, later the author of several influential ecclesiastical syntheses, had recently retired to his native Saint-Charles-de-Bellechasse to devote himself entirely to the writing of the history of Québec. He had already produced a number of biographies of New France churchmen. Somewhat younger, Lionel S. Lindsay (1849-1921), 47, and Henry A. Scott (1858-1931), 38, belonged to the same community of scholar priests, although their major historical contributions would come later.

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<sup>32</sup> Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920*, 34-35, 207-286.

The circle of Thwaites' correspondents in the United States was smaller, possibly because the American scholarly community was less interested in the history of the Jesuits of New France. Thwaites' most influential correspondents were ethnologist William M. Beauchamp (1830-1925), 66, the author of several monographs on the prehistoric material culture of the aboriginal peoples of New York State; John N.B. Hewitt (1859-1937), 37, a member of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, DC, and a specialist in the Iroquois; and William Francis Ganong (1864-1941), 32, a professor of botany at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, already well known for his work on historic sites in the Maritimes. Among the several librarians with whom Thwaites was in constant contact, one should mention Winsor, 65, then The Librarian of the Harvard College Library and editor of a multi-volume *Narrative and Critical History of America*;<sup>33</sup> William H. Tillinghast (1854-1913), 42, a member of Winsor's staff as Assistant Librarian and a contributor to the latter's *History*; Wilberforce Eames (1855-1937), 41, Paltsits' superior at the Lenox Library; and young George P. Winship (1871-1952), 25, librarian at the John Carter Brown Library and a specialist in Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1510-54). The Catholic circle of Thwaites' American correspondents included Andrew A. Lambing (1842-1918), 54, a Pittsburgh priest who was the founder and the editor of *Catholic Historical Researches* and had done some work on the Canadian officer, Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville (1693-1759); and the Jesuit Henry S. Spalding (1865-1934), 31, then of Creighton University, in Omaha, who later worked on early Midwest exploration and published an article on the "ethnological value" of the Jesuit relations.<sup>34</sup>

Outside of Canada and the United States, Thwaites' acknowledgements show relationships with two French Jesuits. One was the Jesuit Camille de Rochemonteix (1834-1923), 62, who gave Thwaites "valuable assistance in investigations in French archives"

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<sup>33</sup> *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884-9).

<sup>34</sup> Henry S. Spalding, SJ, "The Ethnologic Value of the *Jesuit Relations*," *American Journal of Sociology* 34 (1929), 882-889.

(*JR*, XXX: 16). He was the recent author of a history of the Jesuits in seventeenth-century New France which Thwaites amply used.<sup>35</sup> The second was Alfred Hamy (b.1838), 58, who had written on Jesuit iconography. Thwaites also knew French ethnologist and archivist Julien Girard de Rialle (1841-1904), 55, then director of the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and British scholar Henry P. Biggar (1872-1938), in 1900 a 28-year-old professor at New College, in Oxford. He provided copies of documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and was soon to become one of the foremost authorities in the history of early North American discovery and exploration.

### *Hunter, Jones and Hughes*

Among Thwaites' many acquaintances and correspondents, two persons deserve to be singled out. The first is Andrew F. Hunter (1863-1940), 33, who was much more than an "antiquarian" from Barrie, Ontario, as Thwaites described him (*JR*, I: xiii). Several of his monographs had already been published in the *Annual Archaeological Report* of Ontario. In fact, as explained by ethnohistorian Bruce G. Trigger, Hunter "systematically recorded 637 sites in northern Simcoe County, the historic homeland of the Hurons. He noted the location of each site, classified it according to function, estimated its size, and sought to determine, as a clue to its age, whether it yielded many, few, or no European artifacts." Hunter's was, according to Trigger, "the most comprehensive survey of a historical area so far carried out in North America."<sup>36</sup> Hunter was one of the very limited number of scholars whose contributions were printed in the editorial part of the *Jesuit Relations*.<sup>37</sup> Incidentally, his major role in the *Jesuit Relations* is one of the several clues to the fact that the aboriginal peoples were

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<sup>35</sup> Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

<sup>36</sup> Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 60-61.

<sup>37</sup> Andrew F. Hunter, "Research in the Huron Country," in *JR*, V: 295-298; Hunter, "Map Showing Huron Mission Sites," in *JR*, X: 319.

very much at the core of Thwaites' interest in planning his collection. In fact, a simple look at Thwaites' "Introduction" (*JR*, I: 1-44) or at his "List of Authorities" (*JR*, LXXI: 219-365) shows the central importance of American Indian matters within the collection's framework.

The second person that deserves to be singled out is 58-year-old Jesuit Arthur E. Jones (1838-1918). He was the archivist of Collège Sainte-Marie, where, as we will see later, documents relating to the history of the Jesuits in New France were preserved at the time. Jones had indeed a major influence over the project and assisted Thwaites throughout it. From its earliest stage, Thwaites explained, Jones "opened his heart to this enterprise, and has not only given us *carte blanche* to ransack his priceless stores, but has contributed invaluable suggestions and data, almost without number (*JR*, I: xi-xii). In recognition of his debt, Thwaites published Jones' photograph (*JR*, XXXIV: 249). Later, when he informed his readers of Jones' regretted departure from the Collège Sainte-Marie in 1901 to become rector of Loyola College in Montréal, he described him as a scholar "whose knowledge of Jesuitica of New France is unapproached by any other authority (*JR*, LXXII: 11). When Thwaites began to publish his collection, Jones had edited some Jesuit sources relating to eighteenth-century North America. Thwaites printed Jones' map of Huronia with the latter's commentary and had the Jesuit scholar compile a thorough catalogue of Jesuit missionaries, which remains to this day a valuable source of information.

Paradoxically, the only scholar missing from Thwaites' list of acquaintances is yet another Jesuit, American Thomas Aloysius Hughes. Hughes was working almost in the same years as Thwaites at a full history of the Society of Jesus in English America. In the end, he would produce a massive, albeit rather confused, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* in four volumes, which appeared between 1907 and 1917.<sup>38</sup> Hughes acknowledged the existence of Thwaites' *Relations* only in the bibliography of his last volume,

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<sup>38</sup> Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*.

published in 1917.<sup>39</sup> For his part, Thwaites mentioned Hughes only once, as the copyist of one of his documents (*JR*, XXI: 266, 309). Yet they were well aware of each other. Not only did they share their interest in the early Jesuits of North America, but both duly acknowledged the assistance received from Jones, whom Hughes defined as "well known for his competency in French Canadian history."<sup>40</sup> As far as negative criticism received so far is concerned, then, we can conclude that Thwaites' translations could be better but are substantially sound, and that his knowledge of his topic was probably as good as that of his contemporary, if not better. To be sure, he shared with them what are considered, a century later, cultural prejudices.

### *Thwaites and his Sources*

To date nobody has challenged what has proved to be Thwaites' most important role – that of collector and editor of those Jesuit sources that historians of early North America still rely upon one century later. Are the *Jesuit Relations* as reliable as we have been led to believe ever since their publication in 1896-1901? In the "General Preface" to vol. 1, written when work was still in progress, Thwaites explained: "We shall ... reissue all the documents usually designated as *Relations* ... and to these will be added a very considerable collection of miscellaneous papers of importance, from printed sources and from manuscripts" (*JR*, I: ix). In the "Final Preface" written at the conclusion of the enterprise, Thwaites confirmed that it had been his intention to republish all *Relations* and to add "such MS. selections from secular and ecclesiastical archives and collections in America and Europe as cast strong light on the history of the Jesuit missions of New France" (*JR*, LXXII: 9). Because they have experienced Thwaites' editorship as being so thorough and consistent, modern users of his *Jesuit Relations* tend by inference to take Thwaites' commitment

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II: xxv.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II: 29.



with regard to his sources at face value. Unfortunately, in this regard Thwaites is not to be trusted at all. A close look at the 67 documents published by him that deal with the period considered here, 1610-50, shows that none of them is taken from its original source. They all derive from other books, contemporary copies, modern reproductions, modern translations, or modern transcriptions. Of these 67, only 26 present no problem, as they were taken from original printed books, including all the relations proper.

<b><i>67 documents published by Thwaites regarding 1610-50</i></b>	
<i>no.</i>	<i>origin</i>
26	original printed books
41	other origins

The remaining 41 documents could be subdivided into two major categories:

<b><i>41 documents (1610-50) not taken from original printed books</i></b>	
<i>10 copied from second-hand transcriptions</i>	
1	transcript stored at Library of Parliament, Ottawa
1	transcript from photograph in possession of The Burrows Brothers
1	transcript from copy done by Hughes in Rome
7	copies, translations or transcriptions kept in the archives of Collège Sainte-Marie
<i>31 copied from modern editions of documents</i>	
19	from the collections edited by Auguste Carayon in 1864
5	from documentary appendix published by Camille de Rochemonteix in 1895-6
3	from the reprint editions published by Edmund B. O'Callaghan

3	allegedly from manuscript sources preserved in Collège Sainte-Marie or in the Library of Université Laval, but almost certainly copied from their available printed version
1	from the <i>Rapport des Archives publiques du Canada</i>

Thus, in spite of his pledge, that "[s]o far as practicable, the Editor decided to go to the sources, never depending upon a printed version whenever the original manuscript could be obtained" (*JR*, LXXII: 10), Thwaites did use copies. For one thing, he had no time to gather originals. The project was conceived in 1894 and vol. I was initialled by Thwaites in August 1896. Barely was there time to consult with Jones and other librarians, to collate existing material available in print and to supervise the translations. Secondly, had Thwaites been willing "to go to the [manuscript] sources," he would have been confronted with the fact that Jesuit archives in France and in Rome were closed to the general public. They had been so far consulted by a very selected number of Jesuit historians.

At the core of the matter, then, is the fact that Thwaites was heavily dependent on other people's transcriptions, and that these were utterly unreliable. In fact, most of them can be traced back to one single researcher, the French Jesuit Martin. Martin, who lived in Canada from 1844 to 1861, had a special interest in the religious history of New France and spent the winter of 1857-8 in Paris and Rome on a contract with the government of Canada. In a very limited time, he had to find, read, select, copy, translate or summarize documents that were of interest for the early history of Canada and that nobody had ever known or used before. One can easily surmise that Martin selected the documents that best portrayed the heroic deeds of his seventeenth-century confrères. More importantly, however, what he took back with him was rather faulty even for nineteenth-century standards. Most of his copies, summaries, and translations were deposited in the archives of Collège Sainte-Marie, an institution that he himself had founded in 1844. (The college was located at 1180, rue Bleury, on the site where the Université du Québec à Montréal was later built.). Martin's copies became the documentary basis of several

documentary collections as if Martin's were the original documents. They were used by Carayon to edit his documentary collection; they were used by Shea, the pioneer of United States Catholic history, for his books and reprints of Jesuit sources; they were eventually used by Thwaites, through Carayon's collection or directly through copies provided by Jones, who since 1882 had been in charge of the archives of Collège Sainte-Marie. Both Jones and Shea had been students of Martin's in Montréal, thus extending even further Martin's influence. Incidentally, Shea was in constant correspondence with O'Callaghan, the Keeper of the Manuscripts of the State of New York, who between 1870 and 1871, just like Shea, issued several reprints of early Jesuit documents.<sup>41</sup>

In conclusion, none of the 67 documents published by Thwaites in vols. 1-36 of his *Jesuit Relations* and relating to the period 1610-50 is to be fully trusted. His collection has been very useful for almost three quarters of the twentieth century to historians and ethnologists, especially unilingual English-speaking ones, who picked freely for their own needs. Indeed, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations* have provided a *corpus* of documents which substantially ameliorated previously available collections. The time has come, however, to shelve vols. 1-36 of Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, not so much because his annotations are biased and the documents present an Eurocentric point of view. Quite simply, because the documents collected represent a very limited selection of the existing Jesuit sources and fall very short of current scholarly standards.

### *Campeau's Monumenta*

Should we then switch to Campeau's *Monumenta*? Indeed we should. For one thing, the sheer number of documents published by Campeau is astonishingly higher. Whereas Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations* presented 67 documents, Campeau's *Monumenta* publishes 963 of them. In fact, all Thwaites' documents are also in Campeau. Time, of course, will

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<sup>41</sup> Donnelly, *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations*, 8-13.

tell whether the *Monumenta* are as complete and inclusive as they appear to be. Secondly, Campeau did verify all his documents against their original manuscripts and set for himself the highest standards in terms of both transcriptions and scholarly annotations. Historians who do not subscribe to Campeau's interpretation should then think twice before dismissing his collection. Undoubtedly, Campeau's commentaries and annotations are often intended, one suspects quite deliberately, to irritate his critics and to throw the readers off balance. Seldom does he cite current historians, whom he knows very well, and when he does it is most often to contradict them. He is especially keen in attacking the ethnohistorians of the Trigger school, who explain the conversion phenomenon solely in terms of economic dependence within a market framework. He also likes to intersperse his scholarly annotations with statements of a moral nature which betray his providential vision of human history. One example might suffice. In 1638 the Jesuit superior, Paul Le Jeune (1592-1664), reported the case of an American Indian youngster who was finally understanding the existence of a Great Maker ("quelque grand ouvrier"). According to Campeau's commentary, the absence of divine grace prevented his primitive companions from reaching the same conclusions ("Dans sa simplicité, le brave jeune homme atteignait la profondeur. Car ses pareils ne possédaient aucune énergie autre qu'eux-mêmes pour mouvoir leurs fabrications") (*MNF* IV: 101).<sup>42</sup> The fact remains that Campeau's vols. 1-7 are vastly superior to Thwaites' vols. 1-36 and that today's student, provided he or she is fluent in the languages of the *Monumenta*, must discard the *Jesuit Relations* and replace them with the former. The battle between Campeau and Thwaites is, or should most definitely be, over.

### *A New Understanding of the Contact Period*

Is our overall knowledge and understanding of the first half century of North American contact likely to be changed on account of our switch

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<sup>42</sup> See also Codignola, "Note Critique."

from Thwaites' poorly edited 67 documents to Campeau's state-of-the-art 963? I believe it is, although Campeau's *Monumenta* have been so little used that no major innovations can yet be detected in the available historical literature. The only exception is Deslandres' doctoral dissertation and subsequent book, which shows the substantial similarity between French Catholic missions within France and in "the Indies," a notion which, at the beginning of her research, she derived from Campeau.<sup>43</sup> Still, the following forecasts can be made with some confidence. The common assumption that the Catholic Church was monolithic will have to be revised. Although we must accept a certain amount of generalization for the sake of clarity, once and for all we must abandon the Parkmanesque notion of a battle between "church and crown" in the first half of the seventeenth century. These two entities were very much the same thing. Most conflict, when it existed, was within them. The church consisted of several groups – the Jesuits, the Franciscans Recollet, the Franciscans Capuchin, the Sulpicians, the female communities, the seculars – which were very much at odds and spent a good part of their time fighting their ecclesiastical competitors. Campeau's new documents prove that this was very much the case. They also provide evidence that shows that even within members of the Jesuit order, so often depicted as the legendary crash-unit of the Catholic church, there was often dissent and opposition, both in France and in New France. Furthermore, Campeau's *Monumenta* do away with the commonly-held romantic image of hundreds or even thousands of French priests and nuns, Jesuits or from other orders, flocking to the New World looking for poor American Indian souls to be saved. Those who asked to go were very few. Those who knew about where they were being sent were even less. The vast majority of the French Jesuits wanted to stay at home or go to Asia. A small minority of the order's leaders

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<sup>43</sup> Dominique Deslandres, "Le modèle français d'intégration socio-religieuse, 1600-1650. Missions intérieures et premières missions canadiennes" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, 1990); Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire. Les missions françaises au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

allowed their members to waste their time with the North American aboriginal peoples.

As for the North American aboriginal peoples, the passage from Thwaites to Campeau is likely to provide more raw ethnographical material on which to base our knowledge of aboriginal cultures at the time of contact. As we all know, the relations proper, which were at the core of the Thwaites collection, were the final product which surfaced after a rather careful vetting and editing process. As Lanctôt explains, "il faut se rappeler toujours, en les utilisant, que ce sont de tracts de propagande ... avec embellissement des discours, où l'indien parle souvent à l'européenne en termes au delà de ses conceptions et de sa logique."<sup>44</sup> Campeau's reliance on a larger number of original letters and documents in general allows the reader to get closer to field observation. Yet no closeness will ever erase the cultural biases of the observant's viewpoint. It is from this angle that Campeau's *Monumenta* will probably be most useful. By enlarging our knowledge of the inner workings of the Society of Jesus, his documents allow the reader better to understand the background, the motivations, and the way of reasoning of the Jesuit missionaries. It should be easier, by consequence, to detect and remove some of the layers of the culturally-oriented observants' viewpoint and get closer to the object they observed, the North American aboriginal peoples. It is thanks to the documents published in Campeau's *Monumenta* that these conclusions, tentative as they still are, can be made. They would have been very difficult to conceive on the basis of Thwaites' highly selective *Jesuit Relations*.

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<sup>44</sup> Lanctôt, *L'Oeuvre de la France en Amérique du Nord*, 27.

### 3. A MAN WITH A MISSION: GUY LAFLÈCHE'S BATTLE AGAINST THE JESUITS OF NEW FRANCE

Guy Laflèche's fifth volume in his major work, *Les Saints martyrs canadiens*, appeared seven years after its first volume.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the author's own statement that "ce volume achève mon travail d'édition" (349), the inside jacket announced a sixth volume. *Le martyre de la nation huronne* consists of seven chapters selected from three different volumes of the Jesuit relations: that of 1653-4 (signed by François-Joseph Le Mercier [1604-90] and published in 1655), of 1656-7 (Jean de Quen [1603-59], 1658), and 1659-60 (Jérôme Lalemant [1593-1673], 1661). A modern edition of these texts is already available in American historian Reuben G. Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*,<sup>2</sup> but not in Canadian Jesuit historian Lucien Campeau's *Monumenta Novae Franciae*.<sup>3</sup> This is not a new diplomatic edition, but a 'régularisation éditoriale' which blends the orthography of classical French with a modern graphic environment (97).

The title of the book well explains the reason for the selection of the texts. According to Laflèche, the real martyrs of the years 1650-60 were the Hurons. After the removal of the few survivors to the vicinity of Québec in 1650, in 1656 the Hurons were massacred by an Iroquois war party, in 1657 they had to accept to emigrate and disperse among the Iroquois (especially Mohawk and Onondaga), and in 1660 they

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<sup>1</sup> Guy Laflèche, *Les saints martyrs canadiens* (Laval: Les Éditions du Singulier Ltée, 1988-95), 5 vols. to date: I: with François-Marc Gagnon, *Histoire du mythe* (1988); II: *Le martyre d'Isaac Jogues par Jérôme Lalemant* (1989); III: *Le martyre de Jean de Brébeuf selon Paul Ragueneau* (1991); IV: *Le martyre de Charles Garnier selon Paul Ragueneau* (1993); V: *Le martyre de la nation huronne et sa défaite avec Dollard des Ormeaux* (1995).

<sup>2</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), XLI, XLIII, XLV, XLVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome: Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, and Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vols.

were eventually involved in the Long-Sault battle. In a pioneering essay, Canadian historian John A. Dickinson had shown the mythical nature of the last stand of Adam Dollard des Ormeaux (1635-60).<sup>4</sup> Laflèche now maintains that forty Hurons, along with seventeen Frenchmen and four Algonkians, were sacrificed in an utterly useless expedition only motivated by the Jesuits' selfish commercial interests (179-180, 253).

Technically, the book is poorly organized and cumbersome to use. The actual text (51 pp.) must be read alongside 277 small-print pages that include endnotes, an annotated list of textual variants, a glossary and a chronology. There are several repetitions. Major interpretive issues are hidden by dozens of analyses of points of lesser significance which deflect the reader's attention and make it necessary to turn to the final chronology to place the events in a more logical sequence. More substantially, Laflèche is often blinded by his personal battle against the Jesuits. Campeau is viciously attacked for his "hypocrisie" and accused of being a racist (145, 180, 195). The Sulpician Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus is extolled (1612-77), with no explanation, as "le premier grand ecclésiastique de la Nouvelle-France" (268). Bishop François de Laval (1623-1708) is downgraded to the role of "créature" of the Jesuits, something he certainly was not, most probably on the basis of a tradition that originated with the Recollets and Governor Louis de Buade, *comte* de Frontenac (268, 270). Lastly, there was no Jesuit theocracy in seventeenth-century New France, because the concept itself implies a conflict between church and crown (the latter providing a viable alternative) that never existed during the French regime (21, 27, 139, 144, 179-180, 253, 257).

This writer believes that it is a real pity that Laflèche has brought upon himself the above negative comments, because his book is well researched, in line with recent historiography, original and innovative. As for historiography, that the Iroquois wars were mostly motivated not by economic and commercial aims, but by their desire to adopt the

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<sup>4</sup> John A. Dickinson, "Annaotaha et Dollard vus de l'autre côté de la palissade," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 35, no. 2 (septembre 1981): 163-178.



Hurons ("[N]e faire qu'un peuple") seems more and more plausible (17, 161-162, 185). The Jesuits' negative attitude towards the aboriginal cultures is rightly placed in a worldwide context and compared to the order's experience in China (135). Laflèche's originality consists in his careful re-examination of the available sources and in his use of the methods of textual analysis. Very convincingly, he dissects every single sentence of the printed relations and tells the reader who wrote it, what sources were used, how the material was edited, and the motivations of both the authors and the editors. For example, Laflèche's main thesis is that, under the leadership of Paul Ragueneau (1608-80) and Lalemant, the Jesuits knowingly sacrificed the Hurons because they feared the military conquest of the colony by the Iroquois and wanted to open a new mission among the latter. As supportive evidence, Laflèche shows how the convoluted and inconsistent prose of some of their less able confrères, such as de Quen and Le Mercier, unwittingly betrays them and unveils the strategy that the Jesuits had attempted to hide in their relations (16, 19-23, 27-28, 130, 137-138, 140, 146, 148, 150-151, 161, 165, 185, 190, 214-215, 217, 219, 242, 255-257).

Lastly, a quick review of some of his statements concerning a number of key characters, whose writings are the bread-and-butter of historians of seventeenth-century New France, well exemplifies Laflèche's contribution. The correspondence of the Ursuline nun, Marie de l'Incarnation (Marie Guyart-Martin, 1599-1672), is among the documents "les plus trompeurs" of the history of New France, lacking only "une motivation économique" to be used *verbatim* by modern historians (151-152) – a motivation, incidentally, provided by the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune (185). The narrative of the Sulpician historian François Dollier de Casson (1636-1701) has an hidden source in the Montréal devout, Jeanne Mance (1606-73) (223-224). As for the Jesuits, all too often depicted as a monolithic elite crash-unit of highly motivated, well-trained and self-effacing religious commandos, they were in fact persons of differing abilities whose strategies were often at variance. Le Mercier is "le moins autoritaire des tous les missionnaire" and writes "avec la poigne lui servant à diriger les

travaux matériels qui sont habituellement sa responsabilité" (15, 129). Simon Le Moyne (1604-65) is "un personnage secondaire" (29). De Quen has "la malchance d'être désigné supérieur" (142), but "on n'aurait jamais dû [le] sortir ... de sa réserve de Saint-Joseph à Sillery" (145). Lalemant's sober writing style hides a "profonde immoralité". He is a liar, and he lies "très franchement" (235, 257-258). Although some of the above statements and Laflèche's general interpretation of the 1650s can and will be challenged, future historians willing to make general statements about "the church" or "the Jesuits" will find it rather arduous to dismiss Laflèche's multi-layer and in-depth approach and to ignore his important contribution to scholarship.

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#### 4. MISSIONNAIRES JÉSUITES AU CANADA ET EN CHINE : UNE COMPARAISON QUI RESTE A FAIRE

Souvent, nous regrettons que des excellentes thèses de doctorat ne soient pas publiées plus rapidement. C'est véritablement à cause du succès de leurs thèses que leurs auteurs sont immédiatement embauchés par des universités, et, chargés de cours et dans l'espérance d'atteindre la permanence, cela leur prend des années avant qu'ils s'engagent dans une révision qui vise à la publication. Dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'Église catholique au Canada, c'est le cas, par exemple, du *Modèle français d'intégration socio-religieuse*, de Dominique Deslandres, ou du *Joseph-Octave Plessis* de James H. Lambert<sup>1</sup>.

D'autres thèses, au contraire, paraissent trop rapidement. C'est bien le cas de celle de Li Shenwen<sup>2</sup>. En Amérique du Nord, l'activité apostolique et ethnographique des jésuites reste un sujet d'importance primordiale, et de plus en plus les historiens, les ethnologues et les missiologues ne cessent d'insister sur le fait que les Pierre Biard (1567/8-1622), les Paul Le Jeune et les Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746) faisaient partie d'un projet d'expansion du christianisme

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<sup>1</sup> Dominique Deslandres, "Le modèle français d'intégration socio-religieuse, 1600-1650. Missions intérieures et premières missions canadiennes" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, 1990) ; James H. Lambert, "Monseigneur, the Catholic Bishop. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Church, State and Society in Canada : Historiography and Analysis" (Thèse de doctorat, Université Laval, 1981). La première ne devint un volume que quinze ans plus tard ; la deuxième fut partiellement utilisée pour un article. Voir Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire. Les missions françaises au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris Fayard, 2003) ; Lambert, "L'appropriation du pouvoir : l'apprentissage épiscopal de Pierre Denaut et de Joseph-Octave Plessis", *La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, Sessions d'étude* (1984) : 9-17.

<sup>2</sup> Li Shenwen, *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, et Paris : L'Harmattan, 2001). Selon l'usage chinois, le nom de famille précède toujours le prénom (274).

qui comprenait d'autres parties du monde, dont la Chine. Mais personne, jusqu'à date, avait osé examiner, en même temps, le Canada et la Chine, surtout à cause du fait que personne qui en avait l'intérêt maîtrisait les langues nécessaires à l'entreprise. Quant à eux, les sinologues purs, ils n'ont jamais trouvé de temps pour s'occuper de l'expérience jésuite au Canada, qui fut, en effet, très courte et d'importance mineure comparée à celle de la Chine impériale<sup>3</sup>.

Voilà donc l'oiseau rare, Li, un chercheur d'expérience, chinois d'origine, qui connaît la langue et l'histoire de son pays ainsi que les langues et l'histoire de son pays d'adoption. Avant de se transférer au Québec, Li avait déjà publié des articles sur le commerce à Pékin et sur les révoltes paysannes, ainsi que deux ouvrages en collaboration sur l'histoire et l'historiographie relatives à l'époque Ming<sup>4</sup>. L'ambiance scientifique du Centre d'études interdisciplinaires sur les lettres, les arts et les traditions (CÉLAT) de l'Université Laval, avec son emphase sur l'interculturel et le métissage de cultures, fut le lieu idéal pour entamer et poursuivre une recherche pareille. Mise de côté l'histoire de la Chine proprement dite, en 1995 Li publia, toujours en

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<sup>3</sup> Une exception à noter est celle représentée par les sinologues français, Isabelle Vissière et Jean-Louis Vissière, qui publièrent des éditions de documents relatifs à la Chine et au Canada. Li, qui les inclut dans ses Remerciements (XVI), mentionne leur *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites, 1702-1776*, ed. I. Vissière et J.-L. Vissière (Paris : Garnier-Flammarion, 1979), mais non pas leur *Peaux-Rouges et Robes noires. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des jésuites français en Amérique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. I. Vissière et J.-L. Vissière (Paris : Éditions de la Différence, 1993), peut-être à cause du fait que ce livre ne traite que du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>4</sup> Li, "Activité commerciale de Pékin à l'époque des Ming", *Revue académique de l'Université Nankai* 6 (1988) : 50-58, 80 ; Li, "Essai sur le commerce de Pékin à l'époque des Ming", *Ming Qing shi lunwenji* 2 (1991) : 144-165 ; Li, "Insurrection paysanne sous la direction de Zhang Xianzhong", *Revue littéraire et historique* 3 (1988) : 15-20 ; Nan Bingwen, Li Xiaolin et Li S., *Panorama des recherches sur l'histoire des Ming* (Tianjin : Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1989) ; Nan, Li X. et Li S., *Culture de la dynastie Qing : bilan des cultures traditionnelles et développement des grands échanges sino-occidentaux* (Tianjin : Guji chubanshe, 1991). Je donne ici les titres des travaux de Li en traduction française. La bibliographie de *Stratégies missionnaire* comprend soit les traductions soit leurs titres originaux en translittération.

chinois, un article sur les jésuites en Chine. Immédiatement après la soutenance, voilà deux autres articles en chinois sur le même sujet, dont un en collaboration avec l'historien canadien Laurier G. Turgeon, son directeur de thèse (1999)<sup>5</sup>.

Le temps qui s'écoula entre la soutenance de la thèse (1998) et la publication du livre de Li (2001) aurait été suffisant pour transformer un travail d'étudiant en une monographie savante. Malheureusement, le nouveau texte ne paraît avoir subi aucune révision, ou presque. Les Presses de l'Université Laval et L'Harmattan ont voulu saisir l'occasion d'un livre qui comblait un vide important. En effet, il est fort probable que *Stratégies missionnaires* se trouve déjà sur les rayons de toutes les bibliothèques, ainsi que dans les bibliographies des tous les étudiants d'histoire et d'ethnologie et dans celle de leurs professeurs. Sur la longue période, Les Presses de l'Université Laval se réjouiront du succès commercial du livre, chose en effet rare dans le monde de l'édition savante au Québec. (Pour en terminer sur la maison d'édition, on note avec plaisir dans le livre l'absence de coquilles typographiques, des beaux caractères d'impression, mais aussi des marges suffocantes.)

Comme une excellente thèse de doctorat devrait l'être, *Stratégies missionnaires* est très bien structurée. L'état de l'historiographie est suivi de l'historique et de l'analyse de la Compagnie de Jésus en

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<sup>5</sup> Li, "Stratégie des missionnaires jésuites français en Chine à l'époque des Qing", *Recherches sur l'histoire de la dynastie Qing* 3 (1995) : 48-61 ; Li, "Étude de l'arrivée en Chine des jésuites français à l'époque des Ming et des Qing", *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 2 (1999) : 51-59 ; Laurier G. Turgeon et Li, "Les jésuites français et les objets de curiosité occidentaux en Chine à la fin des Ming et au début des Qing", *Recherche d'histoire chinoise* 2 (1999) : 140-151. Un autre article, encore sur l'expérience jésuite en Chine, parut en français après la publication du livre dont il est question ici. Il s'agit de Li, "Adaptation et innovation : les stratégies évangélisatrices des missionnaires jésuites français en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle", dans *L'espace missionnaire. Lieu d'innovation et de rencontres interculturelles. Actes du colloque de l'Association francophone oecuménique de missiologie, du Centre de recherches et d'échanges sur la diffusion et l'inculturation du christianisme et du Centre Vincent Lebbe (Québec, Canada, 23-27 août 2001)*, ed. Gilles Routhier et Frédéric Laugrand (Paris : Karthala, et Sainte-Foy : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2002), 19-36.

France : établissement, membres, études, préparation au travail missionnaire (première partie). Le deux cas à comparer, Canada et Chine, suivent, avec l'analyse du cadre local, curieusement définis de "monde amérindien" et de "civilisation chinoise" (25), ainsi que des méthodes missionnaires, dites "stratégies" (deuxième et troisième parties). La quatrième et dernière partie analyse les réactions des missionnés, autochtones et chinois (ch. 8) ; se demande si les conversions furent des vraies conversions et essaie d'en fournir les statistiques (ch. 9, 11) ; discute des concepts tels que syncrétisme et acculturation (ch. 10) ; et se termine avec une conclusion (qui n'est en effet qu'un résumé du livre), une bibliographie, un index et un glossaire chinois.

Le but final du travail est la comparaison entre "la large gamme de stratégies mises en oeuvre par les jésuites en Nouvelle-France" et "leur action missionnaire en Chine" (9, 14). Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une histoire de deux expériences, mais d'une étude des "actions missionnaires" et des "réactions amérindiennes et chinoises" (25). La comparaison est possible, soutient Li, parce que la période chronologique significative est très proche, de 1611 à 1701 (90 ans) pour le Canada, de 1656 à 1717 (61 ans) pour la Chine (2, 17). Le nombre de missionnaires employés nous paraît moins comparable. Le répertoire de Li compte 68 jésuites français pour la période de 1610 à 1722 (183-187), soit 0.62 par an en moyenne, pour une population chinoise qui consiste en millions de personnes. Le répertoire du démographe canadien Louis Pelletier en compte 281 pour la période de 1615 à 1764, soit 1.93 par an en moyenne, pour une population canadienne de la vallée du Saint-Laurent qui n'atteignit jamais, avant 1701, les cent mille individus, tous inclus<sup>6</sup>.

Il faut insister sur le fait que Li ne s'intéresse qu'aux jésuites français. Il n'explique pas ce choix, mais vers la moitié du livre il soutient qu'entre 1687 et 1717 "les jésuites français auront joué un rôle

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<sup>6</sup> Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France. Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993). Ce livre n'est pas mentionné par Li, qui ne mentionne nullement les autres répertoires biographiques qui l'ont précédé.

prédominant en Chine, tant dans les oeuvres missionnaires catholiques qu'en matière de sinologie" (173). Les jésuites d'autres nationalités, qui pourtant y furent importants et nombreux, ne sont presque pas mentionnés, comme d'ailleurs ne le sont pas non plus les religieux non jésuites, par exemple les franciscains et les dominicains (202, 213-214), pourtant à l'origine de la célèbre controverse des rites. Il n'y a non plus aucune mention d'une autre célèbre controverse de la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, celle sur la création d'un clergé autochtone, qui vit d'un côté en faveur, le Saint-Siège et surtout la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propagande Fide", et les ordres religieux sur le terrain, aux Amériques comme en Asie<sup>7</sup>.

Par rapport à son propos de comparer les stratégies jésuites au Canada et en Chine et les réactions des autochtones et des Chinois, nous avons apprécié la clarté et le grand intérêt des portions de *Stratégies missionnaires* où Li essaie de répondre à ses questions principales, c'est à dire les paragraphes où l'auteur compare directement les deux expériences (39, 119, 123, 175, 177), le sous-chapitre sur les points communs du bouddhisme et du christianisme (166-167) et surtout le ch. 8, "Résistance et opposition". Li y réussit admirablement à montrer les différentes réactions vis-à-vis la présence et l'enseignement des jésuites et la difficulté de ces derniers à comprendre les réalités locales. On y parle de difficultés des langues et de mots qui manquent, de la façon de traiter les femmes chinoises (qui fit des jésuites des véritables subversifs), de la "vulgarité" de la religion chrétienne par rapport aux ordres supérieures de la société chinoise, de l'opposition entre moralité chrétienne et éthique traditionnelle chinoise et autochtone, de la violence exercée en Chine contre les chrétiens, qui n'eut pas d'égale au Canada, et, finalement, de l'importance somme toute mineure de la présence missionnaire dans

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<sup>7</sup> Pour une brève introduction, voir Luca Codignola, "The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British North America, 1486-1760", dans *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen O. Kupperman (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995), 195-242, en particulier 217-219.

les deux pays. Voilà donc un texte qui aurait fait un excellent article d'une trentaine de pages pour une revue savante.

Le reste du livre (350 pages), malheureusement, n'est pas à la hauteur de ces pages excellentes. On n'y trouve aucune nouveauté au niveau archivistique. Les sources imprimées n'ont pas été utilisées de façon correcte. Il y a très peu qui soit original dans le texte, la plupart des enseignements qu'il contient étant disponibles dans n'importe quel travail de synthèse et même dans les encyclopédies. Les références théoriques aux questions d'interculturalité, médiation culturelle et métissage, loin de faire partie intégrante de l'exposé de Li, sont superposées à une narration qui est, au contraire, très traditionnelle, et dirais-je même inacceptable par rapport aux autochtones. L'auteur ne maîtrise pas la littérature secondaire. Lorsqu'il aborde un problème historiographique, il paraît avoir terminé ses lectures avant les années 1980. En outre, plusieurs ouvrages d'importance majeure sont absents même de la Bibliographie.

Finalement, malgré son accès à la littérature en langue chinoise (que nous ne sommes pas en mesure de juger), les conclusions de Li sont franchement banales : "[L]es Amérindiens et les Chinois représentent ... les deux extrêmes de l'humanité non chrétienne, les premiers étant les plus 'barbares' et les seconds les plus 'civilisés'" (16). Je me permets de citer ma propre conclusion à propos du contraste entre Canada et Chine, une conclusion tentative qui date de 1995, qui était tirée tout simplement de sources européennes, n'ayant pas d'expérience directe des sources orientales : "[R]oom for cultural compromise would have been available, had Indian society proved to be less 'primitive' and more of an enviable alternative to European civility. Cultural compromise, in fact, did take place in the church's relationship with the sophisticated Asian societies and their religion. ... Asian societies could, and at times did, represent an interesting diversion for the European intellectual curiosity, while Indian societies were deemed to be too primitive to arouse much interest among Europeans"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 216.



Entrons dans le détail. Pour ce qui est des sources archivistiques, les seules sources utilisées sont un manuscrit du père jésuite Adrien Greslon (1618-97) qui se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris et qui existe aussi sous forme de livre<sup>9</sup>, ainsi que des rares renvois à la séries C<sup>11</sup>A des Archives des Colonies, une division des Archives nationales de France. Pourtant il y a confusion quant aux références aux séries MG1 et C<sup>11</sup>A, la première appartenant aux Archives nationales du Canada, non pas à celles de France, comme la deuxième<sup>10</sup>.

Pour ce qui est des sources imprimées de la Compagnie de Jésus d'intérêt canadien, Li utilise de façon non uniforme les différentes versions dont nous disposons (voir un exemple très évident aux p. 120-121). Il considère comme édition principale des *relations* celle en six volumes des Éditions du Jour (1972), qui pourtant n'est qu'une réimpression de l'édition de 1858 en trois volumes éditée par l'abbé canadien Charles-Honoré Laverdière (1826-73), sans qu'il le dise<sup>11</sup>. Il utilise aussi les deux volumes des *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France* publiées par les Éditions Élysée en 1974, sans dire qu'il s'agit d'une réimpression de l'édition publiée par le jésuite français Félix-François-Marie Martin, plus connu comme Félix Martin, en 1861<sup>12</sup>. Il

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<sup>9</sup> André Greslon, *Histoire de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares, où l'on verra les choses les plus remarquables qui sont arrivées dans ce grand empire depuis l'année 1651* (Paris : Chez Jean Hénault, 1671). Comme le dit Li, Greslon fut, avec Pierre Cheron d'Incarville (1706-57), un des deux jésuites français qui habitèrent au Canada et en Chine (47).

<sup>10</sup> Pourtant, Li lui-même dit qu'il a vu ses documents à Ottawa, et non pas à Aix-en-Provence (20).

<sup>11</sup> *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*, ed. Charles-Honoré Laverdière (Québec : Augustin Coté, 1858), 3 vol. ; *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*, ed. Laverdière (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1972), 6 vol.

<sup>12</sup> *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes relations (1615-1672)*, éd. Félix Martin (Paris Douniol, 1861), 2 vol. ; *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes*

ne considère la célèbre édition en 73 volumes, publiée sous la direction de l'historien américain Reuben G. Thwaites en 1896-1901<sup>13</sup>, que comme "une autre édition complète" (18).

Finalement, Li définit la magnifique et définitive édition des *Monumenta Novae Franciae* du jésuite canadien Lucien Campeau de "complément précieux aux corpus déjà publiés" (19). Pourtant, il ne connaît que les premiers cinq volumes des *Monumenta*, tandis que, au moment de la soutenance de sa thèse, il y en avait déjà trois autres (vol. VI à VIII)<sup>14</sup>. Mon article qui compare l'édition Campeau à l'édition Thwaites lui est inconnu<sup>15</sup>. Les sources publiées par Guy Laflèche dans sa collection, *Les Saints martyrs canadiens*, sont traitées ou comme sources secondaires, ou bien comme ouvrages de référence, c'est-à-dire de façon incorrecte dans les deux cas. En effet, d'un côté les documents publiés par Laflèche sont des sources primaires (mais alors il faudrait les citer lorsque ces documents n'apparaissent pas dans les autres corpus complets), tandis que de l'autre côté le commentaire de Laflèche est tellement opiniâtre, qu'on ne peut pas le traiter d'ouvrage de simple consultation neutrale. En outre, Li ne cite que le vol. V de la collection, les vol. I à IV lui étant apparemment inconnus<sup>16</sup>. Et, pour en terminer avec les relations,

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*relations (1615-1672)*, éd. Martin et Georges-Émile Giguère (Montréal : Éditions Élisée, 1974), 2 vol.

<sup>13</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland : The Burrow Brothers Company, 1896-1901), 73 vol ; réimpression (New York : Pageant Books, 1959), 36 vol.

<sup>14</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau (Rome : Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin, et Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vol., couvrant les années de 1602 à 1661. Campeau est pourtant remercié au début du livre (16).

<sup>15</sup> Codignola, "The Battle is Over. Campeau's *Monumenta* vs. Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 1602-1650", dans *Missionaries, Native Americans, and Cultural Processes*, ed. Sylvia S. Kasprzycki, numéro monographique de *European Review of Native American Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996) : 3-10 (voir le ch. 2 de la Partie II de cette collection).

<sup>16</sup> Guy Laflèche, *Les Saints martyrs canadiens* (Laval : Les Éditions du Singulier Ltée, 1988-95), 5 vol.

pourquoi mentionner la version raccourcie de Thwaites éditée par Edna Kenton, et non pas les versions plus récentes éditées par Stanley R. Mealing et par Allan R. Greer ? Pour ce qui est du *Journal des Jésuites*, édité par Laverdière et par l'abbé canadien Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Li n'explique pas pourquoi il utilise la deuxième édition, et non pas la première ou la dernière<sup>17</sup>.

Nous avons des problème du même type pour ce qui est des sources jésuites relatives à la Chine. Là nous n'avons pas des relations "à la canadienne", mais plutôt un corpus de "lettres édifiantes et curieuses" qui contiennent aussi de la documentation d'intérêt chinois. (Les *Annuae Litterae* sont relatives aux années de 1583 à 1658)<sup>18</sup>. Li mentionne plusieurs collections non contemporaines de *Lettres édifiantes*, mais pour ce qui est de la collection originale, qui parut en 34 vol. entre 1702 et 1776, elle est mentionnée comme ouvrage de 31 vol. parus entre 1717 et 1774<sup>19</sup>. À ce propos, il aurait pu profiter des

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<sup>17</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1791)*, ed. Edna Kenton (New York : Albert & Charles Boni, 1925 [première édition] ; New York : Vanguard Press, 1954 [dernière édition, utilisée par Li]) ; *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : A Selection*, ed. Stanley R. Mealing (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1963) ; *The Jesuit Relations : Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*, ed. Allan R. Greer (Boston, New York : Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000). Celle-ci est la seule qui, peut-être, n'était pas encore disponible au moment de la correction des épreuves de *Stratégies missionnaires*. De Greer, Li ne mentionne que *The People of New France* (Toronto, Buffalo, London : University of Toronto Press, 1997). Voir *Le Journal des Jésuites publié d'après le manuscrit original conservé aux archives du Séminaire de Québec par les abbés Laverdière et Casgrain*, ed. Laverdière et Henri-Raymond Casgrain (Montréal : Léger Brousseau, 1871) ; (Montréal : Valois, 1892 [nouvelle édition]) ; (Montréal, Laval : Éditions François-Xavier, 1973 [réimpression de l'édition de 1871]).

<sup>18</sup> Sur le *Annuae Litterae*, voir *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Campeau, I : *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-16)* (1967), 273\*-276\*.

<sup>19</sup> *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, ed. Charles Le Gobien et al. (Paris : Nicolas le Clerc, P.-G. Le Mercier, Jean Barbu, Le Mercier & Boudet, Frères Guerin, H.-L. Guerin & L.-F. Delatour, Ruault, De Hansy, J.-G. Clousier, Pierre Berton, 1702-76), 34 vol.

études du bibliothécaire américain Victor H. Paltsits et du jésuite américain Joseph P. Donnelly qu'il ne mentionne pas<sup>20</sup>.

Pour ce qui est de l'originalité du texte, les trois premières parties de *Stratégies missionnaires* (ch. 1 à 7) ne nous apportent rien de nouveau. Les débuts de la Compagnie de Jésus sont bien connus et les descriptions ethnographiques du "monde amérindien" et de "civilisation chinoise" innombrables. Avons-nous besoin d'un autre résumé de l'importance des rêves dans la société autochtone (65-68), ou d'autres précisions sur les différences entre confucianisme, taoïsme et bouddhisme (148-167) ? Est-ce qu'il est nécessaire d'expliquer au lecteur la pratique du don dans les "sociétés primitives" à "l'époque préhistorique" (121-122) ? Ou de faire l'histoire des concepts de syncretisme et d'acculturation (292-295, 300-302) ? Faut-il se référer aux questions de l'identité québécoise et citer le politologue français Julien Freund (1921-93) et l'anthropologue québécois Marc-Adélar Tremblay pour traiter des réductions du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (91-93) ? Tout cela est peut-être conseillé dans une thèse, mais il est à éviter dans une monographie. Les références aux questions d'interculturalité et de métissage, quant à elles, sont affirmées dans l'introduction ("conversion comme un moyen de transformation et de redéfinition de la culture de l'autre"), mais en effet elles apparaissent surtout dans les trente dernières pages du texte (16, 302, 309, 335) et ne constituent jamais une "nouveau" méthodologique par rapports aux anciens concepts relatifs aux dynamiques des rencontres culturelles. Le meilleur exemple de la nouvelle approche, l'article de Turgeon sur le chaudron de cuivre, n'est même pas mentionné<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Victor H. Paltsits, "[Étude sans titre des *Lettres édifiantes*]", dans *Jesuit Relations*, ed. Thwaites, LXVI : *Illinois, Iroquois, Lower Canada 1702-1712* (1900), 298-334 ; Joseph P. Donnelly, SJ, *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations Errata and Addenda* (Chicago : Loyola University Press, 1967), 6.

<sup>21</sup> Turgeon, "Le chaudron de cuivre en Amérique : parcours historique d'un objet interculturel", *Ethnologie française* 26, no. 1 (printemps 1996) : 58-73 ; Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle : Odyssey of an Intercultural Object", *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1997) : 1-29 ; Turgeon, "Le chaudron de cuivre. Parcours historique d'un objet interculturel", dans *Les espaces de l'identité*, ed. Turgeon et al. (Sainte-Foy : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997), 239-259.

Malgré cette tentative de montrer sa connaissance de l'apparat théorique, Li est, au contraire, très éloigné même de la rectitude politique de nos jours, surtout pour ce qui concerne les autochtones. Apparemment, il est du côté des autochtones, puisqu'il déplore l'absence de sources autochtones (20), et, avec Laflèche et l'archéologue canadien Bruce G. Trigger, il accuse les préjugés des anciens historiens (5-6) et souhaite une nouvelle historiographie qui ne soit plus centrée "sur la vision des Européens de souche" (11). En réalité, les autochtones de Li sont des marionnettes à la merci des Européens, incapables de prendre des décisions sinon par rapport aux besoins matériels créés par les Européens eux-mêmes.

En 1609, les arquebuses de Samuel de Champlain seraient "une des causes principales des conflits récurrents entre les Iroquois et les alliés des Français" (74). La volonté des Hurons de vivre en "réduction", de porter "volontairement le joug des jésuites" (105) et de se convertir est expliquée par la famine et la menace iroquoise et donc, par la dépendance matérielle et militaire des Français (105), par la peur de la puissance française (106), par la supériorité technologique européenne (125), par le désir de profiter de la traite des fourrures (282), par les couvertures, les objets de curiosité, les armes à feu et même par le désir des garçons de se marier avec des jeunes converties (283). Par ailleurs, Li explique, en dépit de leurs contributions matérielles, voire les canots, les mocassins et les raquettes de neige habituels (125), le véritable problème est qu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle "le Nouveau Monde n'est pas encore disposé à comprendre et à assimiler les réalisations culturelles et scientifiques occidentales" (130). Voilà un bel exemple d'eurocentrisme totalisant. Par rapport à la Chine, Li est sur la même longueur d'onde. Les Chinois qui acceptent la civilisation européenne et se convertissent ne sont motivés que par des raisons d'ordre matériel : les maladies, les miracles, les instruments scientifiques et les objets de curiosité (221, 229, 246, 286-289).

Le fait que les hommes et les femmes du Canada et de la Chine auraient pu prendre des décisions conscientes et intimes et choisir une autre religion (tel qu'on l'accepte des Européens de la même époque) n'est jamais mentionné parmi les causes de conversion. Au contraire,

Li insiste, sur la base d'une affirmation de Trigger, que "seuls de très rares convertis comprennent véritablement ce que le christianisme signifie pour les missionnaires" (300). Heureusement, Li mentionne au moins l'exemple des missionnaires (leur "sainteté") parmi les causes de conversion (288) et admet que parmi les autochtones convertis il y en avait une partie qui croyait "vraiment à la doctrine chrétienne et change[a] son comportement en profondeur" (318), aussi bien que certains néophytes chinois montrèrent une "adhésion sincère et convaincue à la nouvelle religion" (324). Une bonne partie des problèmes dont nous avons discuté jusqu'à ce point dérive d'une connaissance imparfaite de la littérature secondaire. Pour sa thèse, ainsi que pour son livre, Li utilise surtout une bibliographie antérieure aux années 1980. En outre, à quelques exceptions près, il montre une connaissance très modeste de la littérature en langue anglaise, pourtant très significative pour les trois volets de son travail : les jésuites, les autochtones et la Chine.

Pour ce qui est de la Compagnie de Jésus, l'activité des jésuites français n'est pas mise en contexte. Li nous donne l'impression que ces 68 jésuites ont inventé eux mêmes des méthodes apostoliques qui pourtant avaient été utilisés et vérifiées dans d'autres pays du monde, notamment en Amérique méridionale, depuis la moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et même avant la grande réforme du Concile de Trente<sup>22</sup>.

Le travail de A. Lynn Martin sur la mentalité jésuite n'est pas mentionné, ni les livres du jésuite américain John W. O'Malley, sauf pour un ouvrage collectif de 1999, qui pourtant n'est jamais utilisé dans le texte et qui paraît une addition bibliographique de la dernière minute. Le philosophe italien Giuliano Gliozzi et l'historien italien Antonello Gerbi (1904-76) ne sont pas mentionnés dans la Bibliographie non plus, bien qu'ils auraient été très utiles à comprendre

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<sup>22</sup> Voir, par exemple, Deslandres, "'Que du commencement il soit docile, & croye qu'on lui dira'. Influences espagnoles sur la méthodologie missionnaire française", *Cahiers d'histoire* 13, no. 2 (automne 1993) : 105-123 ; et surtout la synthèse comparative, Deslandres, "Le christianisme dans le monde. Dans les Amériques", dans *L'âge de raison (1620/30-1750)*, ed. Marc Venard (Paris : Desclée, 1997), 615-736.

le cadre idéologique et philosophique du ch. 6 de *Stratégies missionnaires*, celui sur "L'adaptation et la conciliation". Li ne connaît pas mon article sur les missionnaires en Nouvelle-France de 1610 à 1658. Celui-ci inclut une liste de tous les jésuites en Acadie et au Canada qui aurait pu servir de comparaison par rapport au répertoire des jésuites en Chine dressé par Li. Il est aussi plus détaillé par rapport à l'idée de réseau jésuite que Li mentionne, sans l'approfondir (45-46, 223).<sup>23</sup> Font exception à cette règle trois articles de Peter A. Goddard – un historien anglophone qui est bien connu, très apprécié (7) et souvent cité par Li – sur l'arrière-terrain philosophique et idéologique des jésuites en Nouvelle-France, et les livres d'Alain Beaulieu, Marc Jetten et Paul-André Dubois<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind : The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, NY, London : Cornell University Press, 1988) ; *The Jesuits : Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, SJ, et al. (Toronto, Buffalo, London : University of Toronto Press, 1999) ; Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Nuovo Mondo. La nascita dell'antropologia come ideologia coloniale dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500-1700)* (Firenze : "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1977) ; Antonello Gerbi, *La disputa del Nuovo Mondo. Storia di una polemica 1750-1900* (Milano, Napoli : Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1955), traduit en anglais sous le titre, *The Dispute of the New World. : The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900. Revised and Enlarged Edition*, ed. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973) ; Codignola, "Competing Networks : Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58", *The Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (December 1999) 539-584.

<sup>24</sup> Peter A. Goddard, "Science and Skepticism in the Early Mission to New France", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 6 (1995) : 43-58 ; Goddard, "The Devil in New France : Jesuit Demonology, 1611-50", *The Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (March 1997) : 40-64 ; Goddard, "Augustine and the Amerindian in Seventeenth-Century New France", *Church History. Studies in Christianity & Culture* 67, no. 4 (December 1998) : 662-681 ; Alain Beaulieu, "Convertir les fils de Caïn. Jésuites et Amérindiens nomades en Nouvelle-France, 1632-1642" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université Laval, 1986) ; Beaulieu, *Convertir les fils de Caïn. Jésuites et Amérindiens nomades en Nouvelle-France, 1632-1642* (Québec : Nuit Blanche Éditeur, 1990) ; Marc Jetten, "Les réductions amérindiennes en Nouvelle-France" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université Laval, 1988) ; Jetten, *Enclaves amérindiennes. Les "réductions" du Canada 1637-1701* (Sillery : Septentrion, 1994) ; Paul-André Dubois, "Naissance et évolution de la musique religieuse en langue vernaculaire

Le cadre historiographique relatif à la Nouvelle-France est le plus défectueux. Li n'a qu'un véritable modèle interprétatif, celui de Trigger<sup>25</sup>, auquel il ajoute, en tant qu'innovateurs de l'histoire autochtone, James L. Axtell et Denys Delâge (6-7). Pourtant, Axtell est très vite mis de côté, tandis que de Delâge Li utilise surtout son *Le pays renversé*, un ouvrage conçu pour une thèse de doctorat soutenue en 1981 et qui, dans son économicisme, est probablement le travail le moins innovateur et intéressant d'un auteur qui a subi depuis une évolution profonde qui l'a mené dans un sens exactement à l'opposé, faisant de lui un des ethnohistoriens de pointe dans le panorama nord-américain<sup>26</sup>. Au delà du fait que Li, pour ce qui est des "Guerre des

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dans les missions amérindiennes de Nouvelle-France au cours de la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université Laval, 1996) ; Dubois, *De l'oreille au coeur. Naissance du chant religieux en langues amérindiennes dans les missions de Nouvelle-France 1600-1650* (Sillery : Septentrion, 1997). Un autre article de Goddard, "Converting the Sauvage : Jesuit and Montagnais in Seventeenth-Century New France", *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (April 1998) : 219-239, n'est pas mentionné, ni l'est Goddard, "Canada in Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Thought : Backwater Or Opportunity?", dans *Decentring the Renaissance : Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin et Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto, Buffalo, London : University of Toronto Press, 2001), 186-199, probablement trop récent. Par ailleurs, Li mentionne un article de Goddard à "paraître" dans *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, qui à ma connaissance pour l'instant n'a jamais vu le jour.

<sup>25</sup> Bruce G. 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* (Montréal, Kingston, London : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976) ; *Northeast*, ed. Trigger (Washington, DC : Smithsonian Institution, 1978) ; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers : Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston, Montréal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

<sup>26</sup> James L. Axtell, *The Invasion Within : The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1985) ; Denys Delâge, "Amérindiens et européens en Amérique du Nord-Est 1600-1664" (Thèse de doctorat, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Université de Paris I, 1981) ; Delâge, *Le pays renversé. Amérindiens et européens en Amérique du nord-est 1600-1664* (Montréal : Boréal Express, 1985) ; Delâge, "Autochtones, Canadiens, Québécois", dans *Espaces de l'identité*, 280-301 ; Delâge, "Le Québec et les autochtones", dans *Penser la nation québécoise*, ed. Michel Venne (Montréal : Québec-Amérique, 2000), 215-228 ; Delâge, "L'histoire des autochtones d'Amérique



castors", s'appuie officiellement sur un article de Patrick J. Lomasney publié en 1933 (107), c'est à l'école de Trigger qu'il faut donc attribuer, par exemple, la meilleure formulation de cette idée d'un pouvoir militaire et technologique français tout puissant dès le début de la colonie de la Nouvelle-France et d'une organisation du pays (Européens et autochtones) complètement structurée autour du commerce des fourrures. C'est encore à Trigger qu'il faut remonter pour la discussion des niveaux de conversion des autochtones (281-282). Dans ce cadre, *Friend and Foe* de l'historien canadien Cornelius J. Jaenen n'est pas mentionnée du tout, ni l'article dans lequel Jaenen systématise son idée de conversion et catégorise les différentes réponses autochtones à l'enseignement des missionnaires. De plus et il sous-utilisé les travaux de Deslandres, dont plusieurs adressent la question de l'altérité<sup>27</sup>.

Or, tout historien a le droit de partager les convictions d'une école historiographique et rejeter les conclusions d'une autre, mais il doit au moins être au courant du débat historiographique. Les historiens

du Nord : acquis et tendances", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 57, no. 5 (septembre-octobre 2002) : 1337-1355. Sur Delâge, *Le pays renversé*, voir Codignola, "Historians against Contact. Indians and Europeans in the Early Northeast," *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, 5 (Spring/printemps 1992) : 157-174.

<sup>27</sup> Patrick J. Lomasney, "The Canadian Jesuits and the Fur Trade", *Mid-America*, new ser., 4, no. 3 (1933) : 139-150 ; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe : Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart Limited, et New York : Columbia University Press, 1976) ; Jaenen, "Amerindian Responses to French Missionary Intrusion, 1611-1760. A Categorization", dans *Religion/Culture : Comparative Canadian Studies/Études canadiennes comparées*, ed. William Westfall et al. (Ottawa : Association for Canadian Studies/L'Association d'études canadiennes (1985), 182-197, republié dans *Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals : Readings in Canadian Religious History. 1608 to Present*, ed. Mark G. McGowan et David B. Marshall (Toronto : McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), 3-15 ; Deslandres, "Mission et altérité : les missionnaires français et la définition de l'"Autre' au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle", dans *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society. Montréal, May 1992/Actes du Dix-huitième Colloque de la Société d'histoire coloniale française. Montréal, Mai 1992*, ed. James S. Pritchard (Cleveland : French Colonial Historical Society/La Société d'histoire coloniale française, 1993), 1-13.

canadiens John A. Dickinson et José A. Brandão ont bien montré que le véritable pouvoir des Français dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent ne commença qu'avec la fin des années 1650 et que les Guerres des Castors ont très peu à voir avec la prédominance dans le commerce des fourrures<sup>28</sup>. D'ailleurs, si les "causes structurelles" étaient si puissantes, comment expliquer les nombres très réduits de conversions autochtones, vraies ou prétendues qu'elles fussent, que Li lui-même définit de "maigres" (313) ? À ce propos, il faut aussi ajouter qu'évaluer les convertis au 30 pour cent de la population autochtone pendant le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (334) montre, au contraire, un pourcentage très élevé, qu'il serait plus utile d'attribuer à des périodes mieux définies plutôt qu'à l'ensemble du siècle. Pour compléter le cadre historiographique relatif à son sujet de recherche, Li aurait dû mentionner, au moins dans la Bibliographie, les livres de James T. Moore, Elizabeth Jones et Karen L. Anderson<sup>29</sup>.

Passons à l'historiographie sur la Chine, sur laquelle l'auteur de cette note avoue de n'avoir que des connaissances bien limitées. Li s'occupe principalement de l'est de la Chine, "où la population est plus dense et où l'économie est plus développée" (142). Pour ce qui est du cadre général, mais heureusement sans pousser trop loin son affirmation, Li répète trois fois que la présence européenne en Chine s'inscrit "dans une période de conquête occidentale du monde" qui dure tout au long du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles (174). La venue des

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<sup>28</sup> John A. Dickinson et Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec : A Socio-Economic Perspective* (Toronto : Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988) ; José A. Brandão, *"Your fyre shall burn no more" : Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln, London : University of Nebraska Press, 1997). Brandão a utilisée de façon magistrale les relations des jésuites, à travers l'édition Thwaites.

<sup>29</sup> James T. Moore, *Indian and Jesuit : A Seventeenth-century Encounter* (Chicago : Loyola University Press, 1982) ; Elizabeth Jones, *Gentlemen and Jesuits : Quests for Glory and Adventure in the Early Days of New France* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1986) ; Karen L. Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot : The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York, London : Routledge, 1991). Le livre de Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls : The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montréal, Kingston : McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), est probablement trop récent.

Européens, qui se situe "après les 'Grandes Découvertes' (135)<sup>30</sup>, provoqua "certains problèmes comparables" en Amérique du Nord et en Chine (174, 170). Voilà un lieu commun qu'on pourrait accepter dans un article d'encyclopédie, mais qui est inacceptable dans une monographie. En premier lieu, si les Amériques et l'Océanie furent en effet conquises (mais cela prit au moins trois siècles), l'Afrique et l'Asie ne le furent jamais. En deuxième lieu, les Amériques subirent des phénomènes d'importance capitale que l'Asie n'expérimenta jamais, tels que les épidémies, les migrations européennes, les guerres de conquête et, surtout, la colonisation européenne permanente.

Pour ce qui est plus proprement de la Chine, son point de départ est l'historien français Jacques Gernet, qui en 1982, avec son *Chine et christianisme*, a véritablement révolutionné l'historiographie chinoise, tel que l'explique Li lui-même (10-12). Gernet utilisait pour la première fois le concept de confrontation entre deux grandes civilisations, tout en plaçant l'action jésuite à l'intérieur du cadre chinois. Selon la synthèse historiographique du jésuite Philippe Lécivain, l'interprétation de Gernet est maintenant acceptée comme le nouveau point de départ de la sinologie. Pourtant, l'historiographie a continué à évoluer, et au moins les travaux de l'historien américain David E. Mungello, premièrement son *Curious Land*, devraient être discutés comme représentatifs d'une perspective différente<sup>31</sup>.

Dans la perspective de *Stratégies missionnaires*, pourtant, il nous intéresse d'évaluer non pas le niveau de connaissance de l'historiographie sur la Chine, mais plutôt ce qui a trait à la problématique du livre, à savoir, les actions jésuites et les réactions

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<sup>30</sup> Ici la référence en note au bas de page est la célèbre synthèse historiographique de l'historien français Pierre Chaunu, *Conquête et exploitation des nouveaux mondes (XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1969).

<sup>31</sup> Jacques Gernet, *Chine et christianisme. Action et réaction* (Paris : Gallimard, 1982), révisé sous le titre *Chine et christianisme. La première confrontation* (Paris : Gallimard, 1991) ; Philippe Lécivain, "Le christianisme dans le monde. La fascination de l'Extrême-Orient, ou le rêve interrompu", dans *L'âge de raison*, ed. Venard, 755-834 ; David E. Mungello, *Curious Land : Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart, Wiesbaden : F. Steiner Verlag, 1985). Mungello et Lécivain ne sont pas mentionnés par Li.

chinois. Li n'arrive pas à se sortir de sa contradiction. D'une part, il soutient que ni la technologie ni la science européenne impressionnèrent les Chinois (126, 229) ; que l'économie chinoise n'était pas intéressée aux marchandises européennes (171), et finalement, que les effets de la prédication jésuite en Chine furent minimales, voire 0.2 pour cent de convertis sur une population d'environ 150 millions en 1700 (212, 236, 273 n79, 313-314, 319-320, 324, 326)<sup>32</sup>. Somme toute, l'arrivée des Européens "n'ébranle pas le système économique, politique et culturel" de la Chine (173). Voilà donc un cadre qui paraîtrait montrer une présence jésuite insignifiante, ou bien significative seulement pour les jésuites eux-mêmes et les très rares Chinois qui les rencontrèrent. Pourtant, Li contredit cette impression, lorsqu'il nous explique que les Chinois étaient préoccupés pour le destin de leur "société confucianiste" (174) pour la préservation de "leur propre culture de l'invasion européenne" (174), pour "les actes de piraterie" (174), et pour "la sécurité nationale" (278). Tous ces éléments leur causent "plusieurs remous" (277), et ce serait "la proscription des cérémonies chinoises par le pape", c'est-à-dire la constitution *Ex illo die* (1715) de Clément XI (1649-1721) contre les "rites chinois", qui causa l'interdiction du christianisme par l'empereur Kangxi (1654-1722) en 1717 (278-279).

En conclusion, *Stratégies missionnaires* s'avère donc une opportunité perdue de dire un mot important sur la relation entre l'expérience jésuite en Nouvelle-France et en Chine. Au Canada, en particulier dans le Canada de langue française, il s'agit pourtant d'un livre destiné à rester longtemps et à jouer un rôle majeur dans l'historiographie relative à l'expérience du contact au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pourvu que ses lecteurs soient conscients du décalage historiographique et d'une insuffisante d'originalité d'exposition, ils profiteront certainement de ces pages où, plus directement qu'ailleurs, Li adresse le sujet de comment ce nombre très limité de jésuites, issus

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<sup>32</sup> Pour le rapport entre population et convertis, Li s'appuie sur Guo Xiwei, "Discussion sur la prospérité et le déclin du catholicisme en Chine à l'époque des Ming et des Qing", *Recherches sur les religions du monde* 1 (1993) : 78-92, en particulier 83-84, article qui n'a pas été traduit dans une langue européenne.

du même pays, des mêmes écoles et du même réseau missionnaire, aient différencié leurs méthodes par rapport aux populations des deux pays de mission qui étaient, selon eux, aux deux extrêmes du monde connu.

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Publié ici pour la première fois, ce compte-rendu de Li Shenwen parut en version abrégée dans *Histoire sociale/Social History* 36, no. 72 (novembre/November 2003) 540-543, comme compte-rendu de Li, *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, et Paris : L'Harmattan, 2001).



## 5. FRANCISCAN RECOLLETS IN CANADA, 1615-84

Pauline Dubé is a literary critic who specializes in the edition of seventeenth century texts relating to New France. In 1993 she published a collection of documents on the years (1682-5) of Governor General François Le Febvre de La Barre (1622-88). She has now made her 1991 Master of Arts thesis, prepared under the direction of Université Laval literary critic Réal Ouellet, into a new edition of a Recollet manuscript tract preserved in the Archives départementales des Yvelines, in Versailles, France. The tract, titled "Memoire [*sic*] Instructif Contenant La conduite des Peres [*sic*] Recollets de Paris en leur mission de Canada," is dated 1684 and consists of nine folios, or some 5,300 words.<sup>1</sup> Its author is still unknown, and Dubé makes no attempt to solve the problem. According to her the faults contained in the two previous editions of the "Mémoire," respectively published in French archivist Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français* of 1879 and *Quebecen: Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. Servi Dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval* of 1961, called for a fresh scholarly effort (8).<sup>2</sup>

The "Mémoire" is followed by an appendix of 58 contemporary documents (143-230, 241-242). Of them, nine have already been published. The rest of the documents are preserved in several archives, mainly at the Archives nationales (Archives de Colonies) in France, in the Archives of the Archidiocèse de Québec, and in the Archives du

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<sup>1</sup> Pauline Dubé, *Les frères insoumis ou "L'ombre d'un clocher": "Memoire instructif contenant la conduite des peres recollets de Paris en leur mission de Canada depuis l'année 1615 jusques en la presente année, 1684"* (Québec: Nuit blanche éditeur, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754): Mémoires et documents originaux recueillis et publiés par P. Margry*, éd. Pierre Margry (Paris: Maisonneuve frères et Ch. Leclerc, 1879-88), I: 18-33; Sacra Rituum Congregatio, *Quebecen: Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. Servi Dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval Episcopi Quebecensi (+1708). Altera nova positio super virtutibus ex officio critice disposita* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1956), 311-328.

Séminaire de Québec. As a documentary edition, Dubé's work is to be fully praised. All selected documents, including the "Mémoire," are meticulously transcribed and fully annotated, with all names, facts, dates and sequence of events well explained.

However, this is not a simple compilation of documents, because Dubé has two further aims. She also wants to establish the circumstances of the Recollet missions in New France and to explain the rhetoric of the "Mémoire" (8-9). As for the latter, Dubé limits herself to a painstaking dissection of the "Mémoire" (34-71) which is entirely based on the treatise by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. The overall results of her analysis does not strike this reader as very illuminating, but there seems to be nothing wrong with them.<sup>3</sup> Where Dubé's book is seriously at fault, however, is in her second aim, that is, the discussion of the Recollet presence in New France. This she does in the Introduction, in a very long Chronology (1669-93), and in 439 footnotes.

The "affaire du clocher" ("the steeple affair"), that originated the Recollet "Mémoire" and now inspires the title of Dubé's book, was an exhausting legal battle over the Recollets' privileges relating to a new building they had raised in the town of Québec in 1682-3. In spite of Dubé's statement that this was "perhaps the most embarrassing affair" of François de Laval's episcopate (29), its importance lies in its being the final step in the almost 65-year-old confrontation between the Recollet branch of the Franciscan order and the rest of the Canadian church, represented in its latest instance by the Bishop of Québec, Laval. Contemporaries and historians have focused their attention on four major questions originating from this confrontation: [1] Why were the Recollets selected for New France in the 1610s; [2] Whether they invited the Jesuits or were they imposed upon them; [3] Why were the Recollets kept out of Canada in 1632; [4] Why were they summoned back to Canada in 1670.

In none of the above questions are Dubé's answers satisfactory. [1] She does not discuss why the Recollets were selected in the 1610s (9).

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<sup>3</sup> Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Le champ de l'argumentation* (Bruxelles : Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1970).



[2] Dubé still maintains that the Recollets invited the Jesuits (10, 106) and chooses to ignore the evidence provided by Jesuit historian Lucien Campeau in vol. 2 of his *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (1979).<sup>4</sup> [3] She explains the fact that the Recollets were not returned to Canada in 1632 as a malicious scheme involving practically everybody who mattered – Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal de Richelieu (1585-1642), the Capuchin leader Joseph de Paris (François-Joseph Du Tremblay, 1577-1638), the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, the future governor Jean de Lauson (c.1584-1666), the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649), and the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. They all would have been deceived by the Jesuits who "possibly had some interests with the associated merchants" (11-12). The evidence? Two documents dated 1643 and 1651 that show favours later granted to the Jesuits (11). [4] According to Dubé, the return of the Recollets in 1670 was due to their "moderating role" (16) in the crisis between crown and church in Canada. The crown wanted to crush the "largely theocratic politico-religious regime" (13) established by Laval and the Jesuits through the latter's "inquisition" (19, 140-141). This theocracy was contrary to the Gallican ecclesiastical regime and to the hierarchical order of an absolute state, where the crown must rule upon its church (14, 16-17, 108, 110).

It is this writer's opinion, however, that the return of the Recollets had little to do with Gallicanism – a doctrine which, at any rate, assigned complementary roles to crown and church and did not prefigure later preoccupations with a non-confessional state. The real issue at stake was the dispute over the brandy and the fur trade with the Indians, which placed the whole church, led by Laval, against the crown representatives, led by Governor General Louis de Buade, *comte* de Frontenac. In this dispute, the Recollets were quickly used by Frontenac against the rest of the church (15-16, 110-111). They became so subservient to the governor and his circle that they went as

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<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome : Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin, et Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1979), II : *Établissement à Québec (1616-34)* (1979).

far as to accuse Laval and the Jesuits of wanting to be sole traders in the brandy and fur trade (27, 153).

Whereas Dubé travels in familiar waters in her role as textual editor, her extensive bibliography does not shelter her from the traps of a limited familiarity with her sources. Except when she cites Laval and the Jesuits, all her primary sources belong to the same side (Jean-Baptiste Colbert [1619-83], Jean Talon [1626-94], Eusèbe Renaudot (1646-1720), but mostly on Frontenac and René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle [1643-87]), and it is on them that she bases her picture of a Canadian people ill at ease with New France's theocratic regime. With regard to her secondary sources, she mostly relies on books that have long been relegated to the shelves of historiography, such as Francis Parkman, Margry, Benjamin Sulte (1841-1923), the Jesuit Camille de Rochemonteix, Samuel M. Eastman (1882-1968), the Franciscan Odoric-Marie Jouve, or have no authority on the matters treated, such as Gustave Lanctôt and Church of England minister H.H. Walsh. Finally, given her topic, how could Dubé ignore William J. Eccles's *Frontenac* (1959)<sup>5</sup>.

In conclusion, the reader must be aware that Dubé's understanding of the relationship between church and crown in the old regime is seriously flawed and that she is somewhat unfamiliar with the recent historiographical debate. However, this is a book that must be recommended for the care with which Dubé has edited an important

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<sup>5</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Discovery of the Great West* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1869); *Lettres de Cavelier de La Salle et correspondance relative à ses entreprises (1678-1685)*, ed. Margry (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879); Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des canadiens-français, 1608-1880: origine, histoire, religion, guerres, découvertes, colonisation, coutumes, vie domestique, sociale et politique, développement, avenir* (Montréal : Wilson, 1882); Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle : d'après beaucoup de documents inédits* (Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1895) ; Samuel Mack Eastman, *Church and State in Early Canada* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1915); Odoric-Marie Jouve, OFM, *Les Franciscains et le Canada, I: L'établissement de la foi 1615-29* (Québec : Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915); Lanctôt, *Histoire du Canada* (Montréal : Beauchemin, 1959-64), 3 vol. ; H.H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956); William J. Eccles, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1959).

Recollet manuscript document, discussed its rhetorical structure, and selected and edited her documents.

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## 6. HENRY J. KOREN, CSSP, OU L'ÉCHO ENCORE BIEN VIVANT DES MISSIONNAIRES BARRICADIERS DE LA FRONTIÈRE ATLANTIQUE

Voilà un livre qui ne cesse d'intéresser les spécialistes d'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'histoire de l'Église catholique de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et du début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>1</sup>. Publié pour la première fois en 1962 en anglais sous le titre *Knaves or Knights*, il fut traduit en français dix-sept ans plus tard par une équipe de Spiritains canadiens (Armand Larose, Henri Lestage et Antoine Mercier) sous le titre *Chenapans ou chevaliers* ?<sup>2</sup>. Maintenant, deux éminents historiens et membres de la Congrégation, Jean Ernoult et Paul Coulon, nous livrent une nouvelle édition, *Aventuriers de la mission*, qui a été "revue, adaptée et augmentée en lien avec l'Auteur" (3). Malheureusement, l'auteur, Koren lui-même, n'a vu son dernier ouvrage que dans l'état d'épreuves et n'a jamais eu le plaisir de feuilleter ses pages ou d'apprécier la belle page couverture qui représente le Dix Commandements écrits en langue mi'kmaq. Koren est décédé aux États-Unis le 8 février 2002, à 90 ans, peu après avoir signé le nouvelle préface à la dernière édition de son livre. Celle-ci fut en effet datée de Bethel Park, en Pennsylvanie, le 27 mai 2001 (14) et représenta la fin d'une longue vie dévouée à la recherche et à l'enseignement. Comme l'écrivent Ernoult et Coulon dans leur Avant-Propos, Koren était né au Pay-Bas le 12 décembre 1912, se joignit à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit en 1931, étudia à l'Université Grégorienne à Rome et à la Catholic University of America à

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<sup>1</sup> Henry J. Koren, CSSp, *Aventuriers de la Mission. Les spiritains en Acadie et en Amérique du Nord 1732-1839*, ed. Jean Ernoult, CSSp, et Paul Coulon, CSSp (Paris : Éditions Karthala, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Koren, *Knaves or Knights ? A History of the Spiritan Missionaries in Acadia and North America, 1732-1839* (Pittsburgh, Louvain : Duquesne University Press, 1962) ; Koren, *Chenapans ou chevaliers ? L'histoire des missionnaires spiritains en Acadie et Amérique du Nord, 1732-1839*, ed. Armand Larose, CSSp, et al. (Montréal : Maison Provinciale, 1979).

Washington et enseigna ensuite dans plusieurs universités américaines (9). Parmi les nombreux ouvrages de Koren, il faut au moins mentionner son édition des écrits du premier supérieur de la Congrégation, l'histoire générale de la Congrégation, celle-ci aussi publiée en français et en anglais à plusieurs reprises, et le dictionnaire biographique des Spiritains<sup>3</sup>. Pour une appréciation de sa vie et de sa carrière, nous invitons le lecteur à consulter l'article de M. Coulon qui parut peu après la mort de Koren<sup>4</sup>.

*Aventuriers de la mission* se compose de six chapitres de différente longueur. Le premier traite des débuts de la Congrégation et du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit, ainsi que des origines des missions spiritaines en Amérique du Nord et de la nature des relations entre les Spiritains et le célèbre Pierre de La Rue, abbé de L'Isle-Dieu. Ce dernier fut pendant longtemps le responsable (*aumônier*) des missions françaises et grand vicaire à Paris de l'évêque de Québec. Ce chapitre est très intéressant. Nous y apprenons que notre difficulté à définir et même à reconnaître les missionnaires spiritains en Amérique du Nord est fondée sur une confusion des rôles qui remonte aux origines de la Congrégation elle-même. En effet, il ne faut pas oublier que la Congrégation fut dès sa fondation et continue à être une communauté de prêtres diocésains et non pas un ordre régulier tel qu'à l'époque on définissait ces organismes. Au début, Koren l'explique, les Spiritains proprement dits n'étaient que les professeurs et les directeurs de séminaires de Paris, de Verdun et de Meaux, mais bientôt tous les prêtres qui avaient étudié dans leurs séminaires furent appelés

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<sup>3</sup> *The Spiritual Writings of Father Claude Poullart des Places, Founder of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost*, ed. Koren (Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 1959) ; Koren, *The Spiritans : A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost* (Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 1959) ; Koren, *Les Spiritains. Trois siècles d'histoire religieuse et missionnaire. Histoire de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1982) ; Koren, *To the Ends of the Earth : A General History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost* (Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 1983) ; Koren, *A Spiritan Who Was Who in North America and Trinidad 1732-1981* (Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Coulon, "Henry J. Koren (1912-2002), universitaire et historien de la congrégation du Saint-Esprit", *Mémoire spiritaine* 15 (1<sup>er</sup> semestre 2002) : 135-150.

Spiritains. Par ailleurs, bon nombre d'entre eux entrèrent dans d'autres congrégations religieuses ou travaillèrent sous l'autorité d'un évêque comme prêtre diocésain et n'utilisèrent plus leur acronyme traditionnel, CSSp, d'où souvent la difficulté de les identifier (17).

Le premier chapitre nous montre pourquoi en 1752 la Couronne de France choisit la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit pour fournir et gérer les missionnaires pour les missions lointaines. Il explique aussi l'évolution de ses rapports avec le Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères (qui jouissait par exemple de relations privilégiées avec le Séminaire de Québec), spécialement le rôle fondamental joué par l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu (30). C'est surtout à ce dernier, pendant les supérieurs de Louis Bouïc (1684-1763) et de François Becquet (1705-88), et avec leur appui, qu'il faut attribuer un certain virage dans la vocation de la Congrégation, qui depuis 1770 "cesse de se confiner dans les oeuvres d'éducation et s'engage dans l'apostolat direct", bien qu'il faudra attendre la période après 1878 pour voir la majorité des Spiritains s'orienter vers les missions" (19). Soit dit en passant, comme il a été remarqué par plusieurs intervenants lors du colloque "Les Spiritains: trois siècles d'histoire missionnaire (1703-2003)" qui s'est tenu à Paris du 14 au 16 novembre 2002, il est bien fâcheux de s'apercevoir qu'il n'existe aucune monographie scientifique de l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, pourtant un personnage clef dans l'histoire de l'Église catholique française pendant un demi siècle. Koren lui-même souligne que, par exemple, l'inventaire de la correspondance de l'abbé, publié en 1935-8, reste "la source la plus importante pour l'histoire des spiritains en Acadie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (190).

Le deuxième chapitre traite des missions acadiennes et de celles auprès des autochtones entre 1735 et 1772. Nous y trouvons non seulement des grands événements de l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord, tels que le "Grand Dérangement" des Acadiens (1755-63) et la Conquête du Canada (1760-3), mais aussi les grands noms de l'activité missionnaire spiritaine, voire Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard (c.1710-62) et Jean-Louis Le Loutre (1709-72). La présence des Spiritains était de toute importance. En 1756, lors de la conquête britannique de Fort Beauséjour, sur huit missionnaires en Acadie, cinq ou six étaient

membres de la Congrégation (60-62). Ce chapitre, il faut l'avouer, ne nous apporte pas grande chose sur l'histoire de cette période et même sur les Spiritains, sauf pour le fait que les informations sur ces derniers sont maintenant résumées dans un seul livre, au lieu d'être éparpillées dans plusieurs livres et articles. (Nous reviendrons plus bas sur l'utilisation des sources secondaires.)

Le troisième chapitre, très court (sept pages de texte), est dévoué à la petite mission de Saint-Pierre et Miquelon pendant les trente ans de son existence, de 1763 à 1793. Ce chapitre, contrairement à celui qui le précède, est très original et intéressant. Cette mission fut entièrement gérée par la Congrégation, bien que seulement la moitié des huit prêtres qui s'y rendirent furent des Spiritains. Les seuls travaux historiques dignes de ce nom publiés jusqu'à date ont été les petits livres d'Albert David, CSSp (1872-1939) et surtout de Jean-Yves Ribault<sup>5</sup>. Curieusement, Koren ne paraît pas les connaître, puisqu'il ne les mentionne nulle part.

Le quatrième chapitre est en effet la suite du deuxième, et nous conduit de 1772 à 1819. Il y est surtout question de l'activité de Joseph-Mathurin Bourg (1744-97), un acadien qui avait été envoyé en France au moment de la déportation des Acadiens et qui fut le supérieur des missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse auprès des Acadiens et des autochtones jusqu'à sa mort. Jean-Baptiste Bro (1743-1824), Thomas-François Le Roux (1730-94) et François Lejamtel (1757-1835) furent d'autres importants missionnaires de langue française

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<sup>5</sup> Albert David, CSSp, *Les Îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, 1820-1920. Un centenaire d'apostolat* (Paris : Gabriel Enault éditeur, 1928) ; Jean-Yves Ribault, *Histoire des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. (Des origines à 1814)* (Saint-Pierre : Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1962) ; *Histoire des Îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (La vie dans l'Archipel sous l'Ancien Régime)* (Saint-Pierre : Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1962). À ce sujet, voir maintenant Luca Codignola, "Missionnaires français à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon à l'époque des révolutions (1763-1816) : nombre, qualité, réseaux", *La Société Historique Acadienne, Les Cahiers* 36, no. 4 (décembre 2005) : 140-203 ; Codignola, "Les missionnaires spiritains à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (1763-1816)", dans *Claude-François Poullart des Places et les Spiritains. De la fondation en 1703 à la restauration par Libermann en 1848*, ed. Coulon (Paris : Éditions Karthala, 2009), 287-319.



dans la région maritime. Le premier était, lui aussi, originaire d'Acadie. Le deuxième, au contraire, ne paraît pas avoir été un ancien élève des Spiritains. Comme le deuxième chapitre, celui-ci n'est pas très original et il ne fait que faciliter le repérage de données sur les membres de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, sans rien y apporter de nouveau.

Le cinquième chapitre traite, de façon sommaire, de l'activité des Spiritains dans la région de Québec, de 1732 à 1835. Voilà un autre chapitre qui, bien que très bref (12 pages), est très utile parce qu'il est sous l'égide directe de l'évêque de Québec et dans des institutions telles que le Séminaire de Québec, où on est moins à l'aise dans l'identification des Spiritains. Les pages que l'auteur consacre à René-Jean Allenou de La Ville-Angevin (1687-1753), qui fut à Québec de 1741 jusqu'à sa mort, et à son conflit avec l'évêque, Henri-Marie Dubreil de Pontbriand (1708-60), sont très intéressantes, bien qu'elles rapportent des faits connus surtout à travers le vol. III de la vieille synthèse de l'abbé Auguste-Honoré Gosselin. La période de Monseigneur de Pontbriand reste une des moins étudiées dans l'histoire de l'Église catholique du Canada. À ma connaissance, il n'y a presque rien de nouveau après la thèse de maîtrise de Claudette Lacelle, jamais publiée<sup>6</sup>.

Le sixième et dernier chapitre rapporte les activités des Spiritains dans le territoire actuel des États-Unis, en Guyane et dans les Îles Vierges, de 1794 à 1839. Il s'agit là surtout de suivre la carrière de certains individus qui avaient abandonné la France à la suite des vagues des milliers de "prêtres émigrés", dont quelques dizaines étaient arrivés en Amérique du Nord. On y traite ici de Spiritains comme Mathieu Hérard (1763-1839), Jean-François Moranvillé (1760-1835) et Charles Duhamel (c.1759-1818), ce dernier à ne pas confondre avec le capucin Benjamin Duhamel (m.1777), qui fut grand-vicaire du vicaire apostolique de Londres à la Grenade. On y

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<sup>6</sup> Auguste-Honoré Gosselin, *L'Église du Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête* (Québec : Typographie Laflamme & Proulx, 1911-4), 3 vol. ; Claudette Lacelle, "Monseigneur Henry-Marie [*sic*] Dubreil de Pontbriand : ses mandements et circulaires" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université d'Ottawa, 1971).

traite aussi d'un missionnaire aventurier et controversé tel que le trappiste Francis J. O'Flynn (c.1788-1831). Celui-ci est probablement le meilleur chapitre du livre du point de vue de sa contribution à l'innovation à la recherche.

Le livre se termine avec un répertoire biographique des Spiritains qui furent actifs dans le continent américain, issu et traduit par Gérard Sireau, CSSp, à partir du répertoire de Koren publié en 1983, mentionné plus haut. Il s'agit d'une liste de vingt-quatre Spiritains, qui sera très utile aux nombreux chercheurs qui ne jouissent pas d'accès facile au *Spiritan Who Was Who*. Nous pourrions la réviser surtout par rapport à François-Xavier Paradis (1736-post 1786), qui était né à Paris le 28 janvier 1736 (et non pas vers 1742), et à François Lejamtel, qui ne s'appellait ni "Jean-Baptiste" ni "de La Blouterie", celle-ci n'étant qu'une spécification de son lieu de naissance, peut-être un hameau près de Granville, en Normandie. Il s'agit là d'un instrument de travail qui est le meilleur à notre disposition et qui améliore non seulement l'ancienne liste de l'abbé Cyprien Tanguay, mais aussi l'ouvrage plus récent de Louis Pelletier<sup>7</sup>. L'aspect typographique est de qualité. J'ai noté vingt-six coquilles typographiques, mais aucune d'importance.

Il s'agit donc d'un livre qui ne doit manquer ni dans la bibliothèque ni dans les bibliographies de tout et toute spécialiste de l'histoire de l'Église catholique en Amérique du Nord et de l'histoire de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit. D'ailleurs, les trois éditions de cet ouvrage témoignent d'un intérêt constant. Ceci dit, et justement à cause de son succès passé et de son utilisation certaine à l'avenir, il ne faut pas passer sous silence certaines faiblesses de l'ouvrage, dans l'esprit de servir de guide aux chercheurs. À l'origine de la plupart de ces faiblesses, il y a le fait que *Aventuriers de la mission*, en dépit de ses rééditions, est un livre qui a été conçu, recherché et écrit surtout

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<sup>7</sup> Cyprien Tanguay, *Répertoire général du clergé canadien par ordre chronologique depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours* (Québec : Darveau, 1868) ; Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France. Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993).

pendant les années 1950 et qui n'a pas subi de variations importantes dans les éditions de 1979 et 2002.

Il faut le remarquer dès le début. Koren est un historien et un chercheur très soigneux et de grande honnêteté intellectuelle. Son effort d'aller aux sources est remarquable. Son affirmation, selon laquelle, "[p]artout où l'exigeait l'importance de la question (en particulier le chapitre relatif à l'Acadie), nous avons utilisé les sources originales", est aisément vérifiable dans ses notes en bas de page et dans sa bibliographie. Koren arrive à se plaindre du fait qu'il aurait voulu avoir accès aux sources utilisées par l'historien américain du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Bernard U. Campbell, mais malheureusement l'épouse de ce dernier, après sa mort, avait brûlé tous les papiers de l'historien (129). Finalement, pour ce qui est des Archives nationales (Paris), il avoue qu'il a travaillé "principalement à partir des transcriptions canadiennes" (190). En outre, Koren se déclare "incapable de résoudre" son grand problème historiographique, voire jusqu'à quel point les missionnaires français en Acadie étaient justifiés à agir en "patriotes", c'est à dire à inciter les ouailles à la violence contre les Anglais envahisseurs et en faveur "des revendications et aspirations coloniales de la France" (88). Il le dit clairement dès le début de son ouvrage: "Il serait vain de penser que ce travail puisse clore deux siècles de controverses" (13).

Et pourtant, les préjugés de Koren en faveur de la France et contre l'Angleterre sortent de toute évidence, malgré l'effort d'objectivité, de l'historien lui-même. Le Loutre reste un "prêtre et ... patriote" (49) qui met "en garde contre les dangers de se rallier à la cause anglaise" (54). Thomas Pichon (1700-81) n'est qu'un "traître français" (55) qui reçoit une "pension digne d'un traître" (59). La déportation des Acadiens est définie d'"atroce tentative de génocide" (59). L'évêque de Québec, Jean-Olivier Briand (1715-94), est un "grand anglophile" qui "n'hésita même pas à ordonner de mentionner au canon de la messe le nom du roi d'Angleterre" (86).

Koren partage aussi les préjugés de son époque envers les autochtones. Dans notre époque de rectitude politique, qui encore oserait qualifier les autochtones de "féroces 'enfants de la forêt'" (36),

"[t]oujours sauvages [qui] gardent leurs instincts guerriers et leurs coutumes barbares" (41), dont "[l]'unique espoir reposait dans un changement progressif" causé par les missionnaires (41) ? Qui encore expliquerait la façon d'agir des autochtones du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avec une affirmation du jésuite Paul Le Jeune qui remonte aux années 1630, sinon dans un cadre qui postule l'immutabilité des cultures autochtones?

D'autres définitions qui ne se situent pas dans le domaine de la rectitude politique et qui ne touchent pas aux sensibilités des autochtones ou au conflit entre français et anglais, nous font sourire. Le seul Mi'kmaq converti par les Protestants serait un "néophyte ivrogne" (102). Le conflit entre Pontbriand et Allenou s'explique aussi par le fait qu'il s'agissait de "deux têtes carrées de Bretons" (120). Les révolutionnaires de Cayenne n'étaient qu'une "poignée de têtes chaudes" (132) et, finalement, l'adhésion de Jean Longueville (c.1753-1820) au serment révolutionnaire "demeure répréhensible" (97). Pourtant, les quelques références de Koren aux problèmes de son époque – aux aumôniers militaires (90), à l'oecumenisme (86) ou à l'âge nucléaire (86-87, 90) – ne posent pas des véritables problèmes de méthode, étant donné qu'elles sont très clairement séparées du propos historiographique.

Les éditeurs de *Aventuriers de la mission* ont bien fait de ne pas retoucher le texte de Koren ou de censurer les expressions les plus datées. Il s'agit, après tout, d'un livre publié en 1962 et, pour cette époque, son auteur exprimait des sentiments tout-à-fait répandus et acceptés. En effet, un coup d'oeil sur la littérature secondaire utilisée ou citée par Koren nous montre de quelle façon l'historiographie sur l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord, et en particulier sur celle de l'Église catholique en Amérique du Nord, a été complètement révolutionnée depuis la publication de la première édition d'*Aventuriers de la mission*. Tous, et j'insiste sur tous, les livres mentionnés par Koren ont été relégués aux oubliettes par les historiens à la fin des années 1960, sauf par quelqu'un qui a été transféré sur les rayons de l'histoire de l'historiographie. Voir, par exemple, le débat sur le rôle de Le Loutre, pour lequel Koren utilise les ouvrages de David, ainsi que de John B.

Brebner (1895-1957), Norman McLeod Rogers (1894-1940) et John Clarence Webster (1863-1950)<sup>8</sup>. Pour ce qui est plus en général de la Bibliographie de Koren, voilà les seuls auteurs dont les ouvrages mentionnés datent d'après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale : Lawrence H. Gipson (1880-1971), Adolphe Cabon, CSSp (1873-1961), René Baudry, CSC (1910-72), Marcel Trudel et Joseph Michel, CSSp (1912-66)<sup>9</sup>.

Par ailleurs, Ernoult et Coulon auraient pu être plus sévères au niveau des références archivistiques ou des noms de personnes. Depuis le temps que Coulon a effectué ses recherches, l'uniformisation du système archivistique et biographique est allée à pas de géant. Pour ce qui est des noms de personne, il aurait fallu s'uniformiser au *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, le model reconnu dans son genre au niveau international. Par exemple, "Henry du Breil de Pontbriand" (40) devrait être "Henri-Marie Dubreil de Pontbriand". Pour ce qui est des références archivistiques, voilà les exemples plus évidents d'utilisation d'abréviations qui ne respectent pas le nouvel acronyme universellement reconnu: Arch. Archd. Q au lieu de AAQ ; Arch. Can. au lieu de ANC (anciennement APC) ; Arch. Col. au lieu

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<sup>8</sup> John B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost : Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York : Burt Franklin, 1937) ; Norman McLeod Rogers, "The Abbé Le Loutre", *Canadian Historical Review* 11, no. 2 (1930) : 105-128 ; John Clarence Webster, *The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia, with a Translation of his Autobiography* (Shediac, NB : Privately printed, 1933).

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution : Provincial Characteristics and Sectional Tendencies in the Era Preceding the American Crisis*, V : *Zones of International Friction : The Great Lakes Frontier, Canada, the West Indies, India, 1748-1754*, and VI: *The Great War for the Empire : The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946) ; Adolphe Cabon, CSSp, "Le clergé de la Guyane sous la Révolution", *Revue d'histoire des colonies* 131-132 (1950): 173-202 ; René Baudry, CSC, "Un témoin de la dispersion acadienne, l'Abbé Le Guerne", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 7, no. 1 (juin 1953) : 32-44 ; Marcel Trudel, "The Jumonville Affair," *Pennsylvania History* 21, no. 4 (1954): 351-381, traduction en anglais de *L'affaire Jumonville* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1953) ; Joseph Michel, CSSp, *Claude-François Poullart des Places, fondateur de la Congrégation du Sain-Esprit, 1679-1709* (Paris : Éditions Saint-Paul, 1962), ce dernier étant un livre sur Poullart des Places.

de AN, Col ; Arch. Prop. au lieu de APF ; Arch. Q. au lieu de *RAPQ* (une publication périodique) ; Arch. Sém. Q. au lieu de ASQ ; BC Arch. au lieu de AAB ; finalement BM au lieu de BL (bien que cette dernière ne figure que dans les notes en bas de page et non dans la Bibliographie). Cependant, à l'intérieur des vedettes archivistiques, il est normalement assez simple de comprendre les références aux séries et aux documents, sauf que pour les Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec, où depuis longtemps toutes les séries répondent à un système numérique (donc par exemple "22 A", et non pas "Copie de Lettres" ou "Cop. d. L. ").

En conclusion, *Aventuriers de la mission* devrait être lu et utilisé par tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'Église catholique aux Amériques, bien qu'ils doivent être conscients du fait que le cadre historiographique dont ce livre fait partie est celui des années 1950 et du début des années 1960. Les spécialistes, quant à eux, peuvent se dispenser de la lecture des chapitres 2 et 4. Pourtant, le reste du livre se situe à la fine pointe de la recherche sur les Spiritains en Amérique du Nord. Il n'y a rien de mieux et il sera difficile, pendant longtemps, d'améliorer le travail de Koren.

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## 7. CHARLES DOMINIC FRENCH, OP: A SCOUNDREL PRIEST IN NEED OF A DEFENCE LAWYER?

Charles French (or, more correctly, "ffrench"), a Dominican priest of Irish origin, was a rather controversial character for at least half of his adult life. Father Dominic in religion, he lived in Ireland, Portugal, New Brunswick, New York and Massachusetts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Before moving to the United States for good in 1826, French could not refrain from enmeshing himself in controversy. He was accused of all sorts of misdeeds – defrauding old widows, abandoning and robbing his parishioners, staggering in the streets due to heavy drinking, enjoying the company of women and impregnating young servants, and inciting popular violence against episcopal and sacerdotal authority.

In short, whenever contemporaries and historians after them needed to show the quintessential misbehaving Irish priest in North America, they selected French and picked at random among his long list of misdeeds. Now Lawrence A. Desmond, a medieval historian, and Donna M. Norell, a French literature specialist, attempt to redress the balance by showing that, in spite of an irksome character, French was a good missionary who was unjustly accused for most of his life. Indeed, throughout a short book written in the sharp, dry, and cogent prose of a court case (well reflected in the book title), the authors argue that the accusations were "all false" (14); that there is an "absence of firm evidence" against French "other than malicious rumours, confessed lies, and suspect testimony" (127); and that his "negative reputation" is due to "baseless" charges (159).<sup>1</sup> As any good defence lawyer would do, on the one hand Desmond and Norell describe the context that made such a hostile environment possible and identify the causes of this unfair treatment, therefore providing the

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence A., Desmond and Donna M. Norell, *The Case for Fr. Charles Dominic Ffrench (1775-1851)* (Yorkton, Sask.: Laverdure & Associates, Historians & Publishers, 2004).

customary circumstantial evidence. On the other hand, they take apart the direct evidence on which the case against French was built and provide new evidence in French's favour.

With regard to context, Desmond and Norell maintain that French suffered from the personal antipathy of several ecclesiastics who made up accusations or publicized unwarranted rumours until these reached his highest territorial superior. In fact, the archbishop of Québec, Joseph-Octave Plessis (1763-1825), who had disliked him right from their first meeting (1812), in the end revoked all his spiritual powers, except that of celebrating mass (1817). This generalized "aversion" (141) towards French was bred in a conflict of an ethnic nature, in which French suffered on account of his Irish origin, his English language, and his belonging to a conquering nation. Indeed, the French case is, according to the two authors, "the most glaring example of the negative results of French-Irish tensions in the early nineteenth-century Canadian Church" (17). In depicting this context of personal antipathy and ethnic bias, Desmond and Norell are convincing. Ethnicity *was* a major factor in the history of the Catholic church in North America during French's lifetime. Admittedly, most of the evidence against French is provided by francophone sources, whereas most of the evidence in his favour comes either from French himself or from priests of Irish origin. (It should be pointed out, however, that French's earliest accuser was the priest Nicholas Murphy, an Irishman, and that several Catholic English-speaking personalities sided against him, such as Andrew Morris, Thomas Stoughton (c.1748-1826), Lewis Willcocks, and priests Paul McQuade and William Taylor.)

Circumstantial evidence cannot stand alone in a courtroom, as it needs direct evidence as well. On this, however, Desmond and Norell's case is rather shaky, in spite of the fact that the book is replete with archival references. The two main documents on which they base their defence, *A Short Memoir* (1822) and "Conversion" (1840), were authored by French himself. (The authors should of course be congratulated for having brought these significant documents to light.) Other documents they cite in French's defence all originated in



English-speaking circles. Yet, if the authors do not accept francophone documents due to their inherent ethnic bias, why do they not attribute a similar bias to their ethnic opponents? Desmond and Norell themselves fall in this ethnic trap when, for example, they unequivocally state that the anti-French "clique ... adopted another ploy" (72); or that Taylor, "it was widely held, sought only the mitre" (68). Only once, among several instances of such an attitude (57, 63, 68, 117), do the authors admit that obfuscation "by racial bias" "is, of course, only hypothesis" (83).

Furthermore, their methodology in collecting and using evidence would give plenty of ammunition to any crown prosecutor in a Canadian court or district attorney in a US court. What at first glance appears to be a long list of visited archives and digested documents does not hold up under cross-examination. Papers from the Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec, by far the most important in the French case, are mentioned in a format that has not been in use for several decades ("Régistre des lettres" for 210 A, etc.). Most likely, these documents were used via Ivanhoë Caron's summaries as they appeared in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de Québec* in 1927-36. For example, Malcolm's Chapel is thrice misspelled on the basis of Caron, and a "probable mis-reading" (156) of some significance for which Caron is held responsible is not further investigated. The papers belonging to the discarded Diocese of Québec series (DQ) were rearranged a long time ago, so that the May 1813 petition of the Irish inhabitants of Québec, mentioned as "IQ [sic] I no. 100," is now 61 CD, I, 67a (132).<sup>2</sup> Documents from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore

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<sup>2</sup> Ivanhoë Caron, "Mgr Joseph-Octave Plessis. Inventaire de la correspondance de Mgr Joseph-Octave Plessis, archevêque de Québec," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1927-8): 213-316, (1928-9): 87-208, (1932-3): 1-244; Caron, "Mgr Jean-Olivier Briand. Inventaire de la correspondance de Mgr Jean-Olivier Briand, évêque de Québec, de 1741 à 1794," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1929-30): 45-136; Caron, "Mgrs Louis-Philippe Mariauchau D'Esgly, Jean-François Hubert et Charles-François Bailly de Messein," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1930-1): 183-351; Caron, "Mgr Pierre Denaut. Inventaire de la correspondance de Mgr Pierre Denaut, Évêque de Québec," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1931-2): 127-242; Caron, "Mgr

are again imprecisely cited according to a long-discarded style. (Numbered cases have not been in use for over half a century.) There is no mention of their belonging to the Abp. Maréchal Papers series (Ambroise Maréchal, 1764-1828), and reference to individual items is often forgotten, making their identification very difficult. For example, Plessis's letter to French of 15 June 1817 (cited as AA Balt, Case 22a P1) (59), is in fact part of an inventory of documents in Plessis's possession, compiled by Bernard-Claude Panet (1753-1833) for Maréchal's use. (The modern correct reference is, AASMSU, AAB, Abp. Ambrose Maréchal Papers, 22A P 1.) Documents from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" also suffer from their provenance as copies and microfilms prepared by Canadian archivist and historian Alexander Baran, now available at the St. Paul's College Library at the University of Manitoba. For example, the "Voto" drafted by the Carmelite priest, Giuseppe Maria Mazzetti (1778-1850), is at ff. 510rv-515rv, not 466r-471r (74 and following pages); the letters of the Belgian Jesuit, Pierre-Antoine Malou (1753-1827), and Giulio Maria Cardinal Della Somaglia (1744-1830) are in vol. 938, not in vols. 935-948 (70, 80, 91); Propaganda's letter to the Dominican priest, John Connolly (1751-1825), of 18 August 1821 is at f. 352rv, not f. 252rv. And so on.

A number of other mistakes, minor as they are, are not likely to increase the reader's trust in Desmond and Norell's methodology. The Sulpician Jean-Henri-Auguste Roux (1760-1831) was vicar general, not vicar apostolic, of Montréal. Mazzetti, in religion Giuseppe (not "Guiseppe"), never became a cardinal. And the Irish priest, Patrick "Gibbins," should be Patrick Gibbons, though this is probably a typo, Caron's summaries providing the correct family name. In one case, the translation from French into English of a rather important document regarding French's drinking habits is wrong. The end words of "[A]ller de maison en maison, ... boire partout, vin, leaudevie, Genievre, comme cela se présentait" mean "as it was available," not "without it

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Bernard-Claude Panet. *Inventaire de la correspondance de Mgr Bernard-Claude Panet, Archevêque de Québec*, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1933-4): 233-459, (1934-5): 319-420, (1935-6): 155-262.

ever showing." On the basis of this erroneous translation, Desmond and Norell make a case for the New York priest, Malou, allowing that his archenemy, French, did not indulge in his habits in public (69-70). Finally, the authors' argument, based on the photocopy of a document of unknown provenance, does not convince this reviewer that an 1840 manuscript outlining the project for a new vicariate apostolic in the Maritimes (Appendix D) had been conceived, let alone drafted, by French.

In conclusion, the case for French, as presented by Desmond and Norell, would not stand in a court of law – or of history. If anything can be learned from *The Case for Charles Ffrench*, it is that we will never know whether French was a good priest or an impenitent rascal – though one wonders why his brother, the Irish Dominican Edmund French (1774-1852), bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, not even once in his life intervened in defence of his slandered brother. The book, however, is not devoid of virtues. The effort in locating new sources and in assembling the known ones is praiseworthy. Some of the new evidence it presents is very interesting – land deeds in New Brunswick, the documents by Lorenzo Caleppi (1741-1817) when nuncio in Lisbon, French's account of his conversion in the Collegio San Clemente archives in Rome, Irish Dominican papers, and, most of all, Dominican historian Victor F. O'Daniel's unpublished study. Furthermore, by inviting historians to reassess French's personality and career, the two authors help re-establish the central importance of ethnic conflict in early nineteenth-century North America.

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## 8. THE CHURCH AND RELIGION OF W.J. ECCLES

In 1992 I had the privilege to write two essays under the supervision of Dr. William J. Eccles. They were two short chapters for the *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies* which Eccles co-edited with a number of American colonial historians.<sup>1</sup> Almost two decades had elapsed since the first assignment I had written under Eccles's supervision (1974), a long essay on the military history of the Seven Years' War which was required for the completion of my Master of Arts programme (History) at the University of Toronto.

Editing the *Encyclopedia* was no easy task. Eccles used most of 1991 and 1992 reading, revising, rewriting, and most often rejecting the essays written for the *Encyclopedia* that were almost daily pouring onto his desk. (Eventually 274 of them were published.) Constantly toying with the thought of resigning, he often wondered in despair why he was doing all that, as his revisions and rejections went mostly unnoticed and were disregarded by his American co-editors. The latter, in fact, represented a constituency of 85 per cent of the contributors. In the end, however, not a single line that pertained to the French colonies was printed without Eccles's *imprimatur*. This does not mean that all the entries were written as he would have written them – witness Jacques Mathieu's "French Settlements," and John J. Bosher's "Taxation," neither of which corresponds to the views expressed in Eccles's writings. He took to himself the entries for which he had developed, over the years, a rather original and provocative approach: "Manners," "Sexual Mores and Behavior," and "Schools and Schooling."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies*, ed. Jacob E. Cooke, with William J. Eccles, Ramon A. Gutierrez, Milton M. Klein, Gloria Lund Main, Jackson T. Main and Alden T. Vaughan (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 3 vols..

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Mathieu, "French Settlements," in *Encyclopedia*, I: 133-139; John J. Bosher, "Taxation: The French Colonies," in *ibid.*, I: 384-385; Eccles, "Manners: The French Colonies," in *ibid.*, II, 631-633; Eccles, "Sexual Mores and Behavior:

My assignments were two essays dealing with religion in the French colonies.<sup>3</sup> Eccles had never been specially interested in the role of the church, in spite of four chapters devoted to it in *Frontenac, Canada under Louis XIV*, *The Canadian Frontier*, and *France in America*, besides a 1975 public lecture on "The Role of the Church in New France" which was subsequently published.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this, my task for the *Encyclopedia* called for a new reading of Eccles's writings with this new religious perspective in mind. Two things soon became clear. The first was that the understanding of the relationship between church and crown that we now tend to take for granted owes much to his original and innovative depiction of Canadian society. The second was that ever since Eccles's earliest writings his treatment of the church showed no perceptible changes in sources, points of fact or of interpretation. In fact, Eccles's statement that over the century and a half of its existence "[l]ittle significant change occurred in the structure and working of the Church [in New France]" could be well applied to his own treatment of it.<sup>5</sup>

Any summary of Eccles's view of the church oversimplifies it and, more importantly, hides the *ancien régime* context against which the role of the church must be viewed. Yet its main points might be recalled. As we know, Eccles views the beginning of the personal administration of the King of France, Louis XIV (1638-1715), in the early 1660s as the first turning point in the history of the French colonies, including New France. Prior to the 1660s, the church was

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The French Colonies," in *ibid.*, II: 697-700; Eccles, "Schools and Schooling: The French Colonies," in *ibid.*, III: 476-479.

<sup>3</sup> Codignola, "Church and State: The French Colonies," in *Encyclopedia*, III: 517-520; Codignola, "Roman Catholicism: The French Colonies," in *ibid.*, III: 543-553.

<sup>4</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac: the Courtier Governor* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1959); Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1964); Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969); Eccles, *France in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); Eccles, "The Role of the Church in New France," in *Religion in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Richard E. Morton and John D. Browning (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), 41-57.

<sup>5</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 10.

"[t]he agency mainly responsible for the development and expansion of the colony"<sup>6</sup> without whose efforts "it is doubtful if New France would have survived."<sup>7</sup> The settlement of New France was carried out mainly by the regular orders, and by the Jesuits in particular. In the same way the religious revival of the early seventeenth century tried to ameliorate "the appalling religious condition" of the faithful in Europe<sup>8</sup> so the early missionaries acted "for purely altruistic reasons: to serve the Indian population in this world and gain entry for as many as possible into the next."<sup>9</sup> They only "inadvertently served French economic and political interests."<sup>10</sup> This is not to deny that, in the long run, there had never been any doubt that "missionary activity, commerce, and imperialism inevitably closely intertwined, as all three depended upon the Indians to achieve their aims."<sup>11</sup>

The Jesuits were "all intelligent men, of exceptionally strong character, militant, and highly disciplined. Their zeal for missionary work verged on the fanatical; death in the pursuance of their task held no fears for them. They regarded martyrdom as a most sublime end."<sup>12</sup> These were men willing to endure "incredible hardship, even torture and slow death,"<sup>13</sup> to undergo a "wretched, arduous existence" and "almost incredible sufferings."<sup>14</sup> To a lesser extent, this was also true of most ecclesiastical personnel who operated in New France.<sup>15</sup> Their motivations were also shared by the circles of French devout, people

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<sup>6</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 39.

<sup>7</sup> Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 27.

<sup>8</sup> Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 28-29 (quotation); Eccles, *France in America*, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 50 (quotation); Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 39-40.

<sup>10</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XI*, 68-69 (quotation), 149; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 26, 32, 44, 46; Eccles, *France in America*, 44.

<sup>11</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier* 32, 44 (quotation); Eccles, *Frontenac*, 58; Eccles, *France in America*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 32.

<sup>14</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 26, 223 (quotation, "wretched"), 224 (quotation, "incredible"); Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 26, 46.

<sup>15</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 12; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 7; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 29.

like the members of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement.<sup>16</sup> In spite of all this, these men failed in achieving their grand design<sup>17</sup> and the contact between Indians and Europeans simply showed that, according to Eccles, "each race quickly acquired the worst habits of the other."<sup>18</sup> In spite of its failure with the aboriginal peoples, this devotional drive "imparted a very puritanical aura to [Canadian] society"<sup>19</sup> which was shared by the clergy and the population at large.<sup>20</sup>

After the 1660s overzealous priests were often kept at bay by French bureaucrats<sup>21</sup> supported by prime minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who was "markedly anticlerical and particularly suspicious of the Jesuits."<sup>22</sup> The influence of the clergy waned but at the same time in the mid-1680s piety became "the order of the day" and the court "had the air of a seminary."<sup>23</sup> At that point, in spite of stubborn leaders such as bishops François de Laval – "strong-willed, puritanical, and extremely devout"<sup>24</sup> – and Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) – "extremely stubborn, irascible"<sup>25</sup> –

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<sup>16</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 49.

<sup>17</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 55; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 86-87, 223-224; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 7, 39, 45; Eccles, *France in America*, 26, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 57 (quotation), 275; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 68-70, 87; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 7, 91, 126.

<sup>19</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 4, 16, 27, 69 (quotation); "William J. Eccles Interviewed by Luca Codignola: New France and the History of North America," *Storia nordamericana* 2, no. 2 (1985), 63-73.

<sup>20</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 228, 230; Eccles, *France in America*, 146; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 36-37.

<sup>21</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 12, 295-297; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 72, 229; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 40; Eccles, *France in America*, 49-54; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 36-37; Eccles, "New France," 66.

<sup>22</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 75 (quotation); Eccles, *Frontenac*, 52; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 70-71.

<sup>23</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 12, 204 (quotation); Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 222-223; 229-230, 239; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 40; Eccles, *France in America*, 143, 181; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 36; Eccles, "New France," 66.

<sup>24</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 56; Eccles, *Frontenac*, 60; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 16, 27 (quotation).

<sup>25</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 296 (quotation), 297, 306-307; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 139, 229.



according to Eccles there was never any doubt that the clergy performed tasks that were essential to the well-being of the society at large, but did so in a position that was "subservient to the Crown."<sup>26</sup> In fact, after the 1660s the missionaries with the aboriginal peoples – men like the Jesuits Charles Albanel (1616-96), Jean Enjalran (1639-1718), Jacques Frémin (1628-91), Julien Garnier (1643-1730), Jean de Lamberville (1633-1714), Sébastien Râle (1652-1724), the Spiritan Jean-Louis Le Loutre, and Louis-Pierre Thury (c.1644-99) – "became instruments of the Crown" to "a considerable degree."<sup>27</sup>

Nothing was farther from the truth than the interpretation of American historian Francis Parkman, who portrayed New France as a "priest-ridden ultramontanist theocracy."<sup>28</sup> In his customary provocative fashion, Eccles reminds the reader that "[i]f one seeks a theocracy in America, one should look towards seventeenth-century Massachusetts, not Canada,"<sup>29</sup> and points out that the "wave of witchcraft hysteria that swept through New England in the 1690s" never occurred in New France.<sup>30</sup> If anything, the French colony suffered from a shortage of clergy that even the French bureaucrats lamented.<sup>31</sup>

After the 1660s the church openly opposed the royal officials only on the issue of the trading of brandy to the Indians – and lost.<sup>32</sup> Those clashes that indeed shook the colony after the 1660s involved

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<sup>26</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 11, 36, 68-72, 218; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 26-27, 72-73, 86, 222, 227-228; Eccles, *France in America*, 8, 75, 76 (quotation), 128, 137, 139, 144; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 26, 29; Eccles, "New France," 66.

<sup>27</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 92, 117, 119, 133, 166, 168, 183, 189-190; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 27 172; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 114, 117, 133, 149-151, 153, 159, 193-194, 223-225; Eccles, *France in America*, 92, 97, 145; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 29 (quotation), 35.

<sup>28</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 225; Eccles, *France in America*, 76, 144 (quotation).

<sup>29</sup> Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 29.

<sup>30</sup> Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 26, 230; Eccles, *France in America*, 27, 31, 61, 146 (quotation); Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 35.

<sup>31</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 11, 54; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 225; Eccles, *France in America*, 143-144; Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 30.

<sup>32</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 61; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 14-15, 72, 87-89; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 57; Eccles, *France in America*, 75.

conflicting personalities, such as Governor General Louis de Buade, *comte* de Frontenac, and Saint-Vallier, or jealousies between interest groups, not church and crown *per se*.<sup>33</sup> These clashes were all too frequent even within the clergy. But then the French are a "quarrelsome race, not given to compromise."<sup>34</sup> Eccles reminds the reader that, in spite of the dispute between gallicans and ultramontanists,<sup>35</sup> "the clergy, royal officials, and laity were all members of the same church; all desired the same main end, to attain access to heaven and avoid going to hell. They merely differed on occasion how best to achieve it."<sup>36</sup>

In 1987, when he reprinted his essay on "The Role of the Church," Eccles added the following *caveat*: "We now need a thorough re-examination of the roles played by the Church and the clergy in New France ... It would be best, however, were the work to await the completion of the magisterial series *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, presently being edited by Lucien Campeau, SJ, before being undertaken."<sup>37</sup> This disclaimer does not come as a surprise. It is so much typical of Eccles not only to rely solely on primary sources (he welcomed Campeau's first volume, which appeared in 1967,<sup>38</sup> as one that set "a standard for scholarship rarely attained"<sup>39</sup>), but also to see his own writings, no matter how innovative or controversial, as work in progress in need of constant revision. His dedication to my own copy of his *Canada under Louis XIV* reads, for example, "A book that should have been allowed to go out of print." I know Eccles

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<sup>33</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 11, 59, 73; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 225, 238.

<sup>34</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 16 (quotation); Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 225; Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Eccles, *Frontenac*, 50; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 76 (quotation); Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 29.

<sup>37</sup> Eccles, "The Role of the Church," 27. See *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome: Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, and Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vols.

<sup>38</sup> This was a reference to *ibid.*, I: *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)* (Rome: Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, and Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967).

<sup>39</sup> Eccles, *France in America*, 259.

entertained the same view of his other books, except, perhaps, *Frontenac and Essays on New France* (1987), the latter because it contains a number of articles written after *France in America* in which he modified opinions he had previously espoused.

Could we take Eccles's *caveat* as a disclaimer of everything he wrote on the topic? Do Eccles's writings really need "a thorough re-examination" of the roles he assigned to church and religion? In writing my two entries for the *Encyclopedia* I was often confronted by these two questions. Undoubtedly, he never subjected the history of the church to a methodical archival examination as he did, for example, with the French bureaucracy or the Canadian fur trade. He mostly relied on Reuben G. Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*<sup>40</sup> and on the original correspondence between church and crown bureaucrats that he exploited for his masterful depiction of Canadian society during the *ancien régime*. These primary sources he placed against the background of the French new social history of the 1960s and early 1970s (John McManners [1916-2006], Louis Pérouas (1923-2011, Robert Mandrou (1921-84), Pierre Goubert, Jean Delumeau, and Olwen H. Hufton).

What I wrote for the *Encyclopedia* entries show, I believe, that there are minor points of contention. It also shows that I personally tend to place Canadian Catholicism within a larger North Atlantic context and that I do not view the relationship between the French and the Canadian churches as a simple bilateral affair. Undoubtedly, however, by and large I do agree with Eccles's general framework. I may also add that in cautioning historians to wait for the completion of the *Monumenta Novae Franciae* before attempting to re-examine the role of the church in New France Eccles was right again. One thing those documents very clearly show is that the Society of Jesus was not a monolithic order but had many voices and many minds, and that dissent was not only among regular orders but also within them. In fact, most of the ecclesiastics – bishops, missionaries, men and

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<sup>40</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 73 vols.

women that Eccles encountered in his primary sources – are persons made of flesh and mind with individual features and very much alive. Yet the church as such and many of its structures, for example the orders, are on the contrary rather stilted and do need to be freshened up.

In conclusion, we do not need, as yet, "a thorough re-examination" of the role of the church in Eccles's writings, nor do we need, for that matter, to distance ourselves from the way Eccles placed the church within the general framework of the history of New France. What we need is on the one hand quite simply to find new sources and to re-read the old ones. We also need in-depth studies of special issues and good biographies, almost non-existent so far. More than anything, we need to avoid the hagiography that has so much discredited Roman Catholic historiography of the past; to shy away from the more recent economic determinism that explains people's actions only in terms of greed and material acquisition; and to refrain from anachronistic tirades against the church in its role as part of an invading European civilization. "Inadvertently," as he would phrase it, Eccles showed us the way to the true church of his own *ancien régime*.

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9. TERRENCE MURPHY AND ROBERTO PERIN'S  
*HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY:*  
INNOVATIVE AND NATIONAL, PERHAPS TOO MUCH SO

One wonders why, almost four years after its appearance, this book has not been more widely reviewed and debated.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, in an age of political correctness and historiographical fragmentation, it does not pay to write "nationally" – witness all the recent multi-authored histories of Canada, before which John Michael Bumsted's *A History of the Canadian Peoples* and its 1992 predecessor stand as the only notable exception.<sup>2</sup> Yet *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, is, by far, the best history of Christianity in Canada that has ever appeared and it is not even "concise", as the title misleadingly suggests. Of the five chapters it contains, Terrence M. Murphy's "The English-Speaking Colonies to 1854" (108-188) and Roberto Perin's "French-Speaking Canada from 1840" (190-259) are highly original, innovative and challenge commonplace interpretations; Brian Clarke's "English-Speaking Canada from 1854" (261-369) is a book in itself; and Terry A. Crowley's "The French Regime to 1760" (1-55) and Jesuit Gilles Chaussé's "French Canada from the Conquest to 1840" (56-106) draw upon their authors' previous works to give the reader a clear overview of facts and problems.

The book was initially meant to replace the old *History of the Christian Church* edited by John W. Grant. This series consisted of three volumes, one by H.H. Walsh on the French regime, a second volume by John S. Moir on the British regime, and a third one by Grant himself on the Canadian era.<sup>3</sup> The series strongly leaned

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<sup>1</sup> *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, ed. Terrence M. Murphy and Roberto Perin (Toronto, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> John Michael Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada. A Pre-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992); Bumsted, *A History of the Canadian Peoples* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> *A History of the Christian Church in Canada*, ed. John W. Grant (Toronto: The Ryerson Press and McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1966-72), 3 vols.; H.H. Walsh, *The*

towards the ecumenism of the times, emphasizing similarities among Christian churches. Furthermore, since its appearance new worldwide research on the part of a new generation of scholars had enriched our knowledge of the history of Christianity in North America far beyond the framework of institutional development. The Grant series was followed by two syntheses that touched upon the whole of English- and French-speaking North America, *A History of the Churches* by Robert T. Handy (1918-2009) and Mark A. Noll's *History of Christianity*.<sup>4</sup> They devoted most of their attention to the United States and, in spite of the fact that the two authors belong to different generations of scholars, they did little to change the historiographical perspective on Canada.

As far as French Canada is concerned, the rather traditional synthesis by Hermann Plante, *L'Église Catholique au Canada*, was followed by the innovative series, edited by Nive Voisine, which goes under the overall title *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*. The series consists of three volumes in five tomes, of which all but one have been published so far: Lucien Lemieux, *Les années difficiles*; Philippe Sylvain and Voisine, *Réveil et consolidation*; Jean Hamelin, *Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; and Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. A shorter collective synthesis, edited by Hamelin on *Les Catholiques d'expression française*, was not of the same quality as the multi-volume *Histoire*.<sup>5</sup>

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*Church in the French Era: From Colonization to the British Conquest* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press and McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1966); John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press and McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972); Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era. The First Century of Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972).

<sup>4</sup> Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Plante, *L'Église Catholique au Canada (1604-1886)* (Trois-Rivières: Éditions du Bien Public, 1970); *Histoire du Catholicisme québécois dirigé par Nive Voisine* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984-91), 2 vols. in 4 tomes to date: II/1: Lucien Lemieux, *Les années difficiles (1760-1839)* (1989); II/2: Philippe Sylvain and

The authors of *Concise History of Christianity* draw on new scholarship to show their awareness of fields of investigation that became fashionable in the past twenty years, such as popular beliefs and practices or gender and aboriginal issues. Furthermore, they are also quite keen in showing denominational and regional differences. In doing so, the authors well show their deep knowledge and clear understanding of their period. For example, Murphy's pages dealing with religious tolerance, interdenominational co-operation, social utility of religion and evangelicalism are among the best in the whole volume (122-137), and so are Perin's pages on the centrality of religion in the survival of the French-Canadian culture, although the latter's defence of Monseigneur Ignace Bourget "from the left" is likely to remain controversial for some time (223-228).<sup>6</sup>

What is in for Newfoundland in *Concise History of Christianity in Canada*? Given the fact that chapters are subdivided mostly by linguistic areas, the province goes almost unmentioned in three of the five essays (Crowley, Chaussé, Perin). Conversely, Murphy's chapter follows the history of Newfoundland step by step. This allows the general reader to place Newfoundland matters in the context of British North America and makes it possible to follow the island's developments by piecing together the several paragraphs dealing with it. One goes from the earliest Catholic priests of George Calvert, Baron Baltimore (1580-1632), to the occasional missionaries between 1630 and 1750, the denominational establishments of the 1780s, and the end of all restrictions to Catholics in 1830. Of special interest Murphy's discussion of lay initiatives both in recruiting new clergy and in providing spiritual and formal services to their communities (114-116). Murphy's chapter ends with the end of the ascendancy of the Church of England, the class structure of the island's

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Voisine, *Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898)* (1991); III/1: Jean Hamelin, *Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. 1898-1940* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984); III/2: Hamelin, *Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. De 1940 à nos jours* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984); *Les Catholiques d'expression française en Amérique du Nord*, ed. Hamelin (Turnhout: Éditions Brepols, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> On his definitive appraisal of Ignace Bourget, see Perin, *Ignace de Montréal. Artisan d'une identité nationale* (Montréal: Boréal, 2008).

denominations, the origins of Newfoundland sectarianism, the creation of church societies, and the establishment of the island's special educational system which a referendum reformed as late as 1997. As for Clarke's essay, he picks up the history of Newfoundland in 1854. The basic statistical evidence on Newfoundland's denominations are given in the context of a general overview. A specialist of nineteenth century Toronto, he is, however, much less consistent in following the island's developments. Except for a paragraph on Newfoundland's educational system, the island is barely mentioned (261-266).

In conclusion, specialists in the history of *post-1854* Newfoundland would still need to rely on *Concise History of Christianity's* logical predecessor, *Creed and Culture*, a book that anticipated many of its original and innovative features.<sup>7</sup> Yet *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* should be in the office and the home of anyone who is interested in the history of Christianity in North America.

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<sup>7</sup> *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, ed. Murphy and Gerald J. Stortz (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).



## 10. THE FRUSTRATING SEARCH FOR THE PERFECT INDIAN: JOËLLE ROSTKOWSKI'S UNACCOMPLISHED CONVERSIONS

European scholars seem to have outgrown their sense of guilt for the wrongdoings of their ancestors. Following in the steps of their North American colleagues, they have begun to leave their moral tirades aside and to concentrate on more analytical and discerning monographs. *La conversion inachevée*, written by French ethnohistorian Joëlle Rostkowski, is then a most welcome addition to the recent European literature on the American aboriginal peoples.<sup>1</sup>

Rostkowski studies the impact of Christian missionary efforts on two well known nations, the Pueblo and the Sioux. In spite of their significant differences, Rostkowski dearly shows the similarity of their spiritual systems of values and of their reactions to the Christian message. According to Rostkowski, by concentrating on the traditional religions and by desperately searching for the "Indien hiératique et figé, résistant farouchement à l'acculturation, miraculeusement préservé des métissages spirituels" (302, also 26), anthropologists lost sight of the fact that the Christian Gospel was quite easily accepted by the aboriginal peoples (41). The spread of Christianity, however, did not imply outright conversion, that is, according to Rostkowski, a "changement radical de la conduite morale et religieuse" and the abandonment of aboriginal values (41). This is why the author maintains that the process of conversion has been and still is incomplete ("inachevée" [41, also 26]). In fact, Christian churches replaced a policy of eradication of aboriginal beliefs with the doctrine of "inculturation," one that accepts traditional religions as a source of spiritual enrichment and, in practice, encourages aboriginal peoples to participate in both spiritual systems, aboriginal and Christian (15, 42, 162, 283, 343, 350, 360). The chapters on the Sioux are the best of the entire book (218-238, 287-321).

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<sup>1</sup> Joëlle Rostkowski, *La conversion inachevée. Les Indiens et le christianisme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998).

The book has its flaws. Original archival sources (Marquette University, Holy Rosary Mission in Pine Ridge, St. Francis Mission in Rosebud, Augustana College in Sioux Falls) were only used in conjunction with the Sioux and almost exclusively in three chapters out of eighteen. There is no reference to important books such as *Countering Colonization* by American historian Carol Devens Green-Ramirez (c.1952-2003) or *Cultural Transfer, America and Europe*, edited by Canadian historians Laurier G. Turgeon, Denys Delâge, and Réal Ouellet, the latter a literary critic. (The special 1998 issue on "Native-American Catholics" of *US Catholic Historian*, with articles on the Pueblo and the Sioux, was published in the same year as Rostkowski's book.)<sup>2</sup> There are also some minor factual errors: Spanish *conquistador* Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (c.1490-c.1557/9) can hardly be described as a "défenseur résolu" of the aboriginal peoples (63); the spelling of the Jesuits Gabriel Druillettes (1610-81) and Nicolas Degonnor (1691-1759) and of the Fox Indians is wrong (183); Joseph-Norbert Provencher (1787-1853) and Sévère-Joseph-Nicolas Dumoulin (1793-1853) were hardly two unknown priests active between 1718 and 1723, as they were a bishop and his assistant, active in southern Manitoba one century later (183); and in the eighteenth century *coureurs-de-bois* were known as *voyageurs* (184).

In conclusion, in spite of its limited archival research, this book offers a balanced scholarly approach to a most important topic. Students will read it as an interesting case study of aboriginal-European relations. Specialists of the contact period will appreciate its contribution to the better understanding of the conversion phenomenon.

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<sup>2</sup> Carol Devens Green-Ramirez, *Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique/Europe XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle/Cultural Transfer, America and Europe: 500 Years of Interculturation*, ed. Laurier G. Turgeon, Denys Delâge et Réal Ouellet (Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, and Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); *Native-American Catholics*, special issue of *US Catholic Historian* 16 no. 2 (Spring 1998): 1-121.

Originally published in *Journal of American History* 36, no. 4 (March 2000): 1751-1752, as a review of Joëlle Rostkowski, *La conversion inachevée. Les Indiens et le christianisme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998).



### III.

## EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD



## 1. HOW WIDE IS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN? LARGER AND LARGER

By the mid-seventeenth century the Atlantic Ocean had become a European Mediterranean sea, which was much more familiar to the Europeans than the real Mediterranean Sea. Europeans were on both sides. Religion was the same, or at least the variety of Christian denominations were all well recognizable. Societal organizations, languages and even food were comparable. North American aboriginal peoples were indeed different, but, though far from displaced from the coastal regions and often living in constant relationship with the Europeans, they were not and had never been a significant factor in oceanic navigations.<sup>1</sup> Compare this sense of familiarity with the profound differences that Europeans felt whenever they met with the peoples that lived on the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, Arabs as well as non-Arabs. During the long time span known as the Crusades (1096-1270), Christians – as the Europeans of the time should more appropriately be called – had succeeded, at least for a time, in conquering Jerusalem and other Muslim towns in the Middle East and in establishing feudal states in their midst. None of these achievements had lasted, however, and Christians had to wait until well into the nineteenth century to regain a foothold on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Foreign these shores did remain, in spite of the fact that some European nations, such as the Genoese, had always been in constant relationship with their inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The two shores had little in

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<sup>1</sup> On the North Atlantic in the seventeenth century, see the magisterial book by Kenneth G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1974), which is still the best one-volume synthesis. Davies' early work on Africa makes him an Atlanticist *ante litteram*.

<sup>2</sup> See Gabriella Airaldi, *Genova e la Liguria nel Medioevo* (Torino: UTET, 1986); Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

common except their reciprocal hostility. Societal organization, languages, food, down to the colour of the skin – everything was different.<sup>3</sup> The same cultural gap applied to the commercial posts established by the Portuguese along the western African coast since the fifteenth century. No conquests were ever made nor was there any form of cultural integration. In fact, these posts were mainly used by the Europeans to deter other Europeans and, just as in Asia, they were tolerated by the Africans as long as they suited their needs.<sup>4</sup>

This notion of the Atlantic Ocean as a European Mediterranean sea is at the root of the new Atlantic history school, a school that does not seem to have made any inroad outside of French Canada and the English-speaking world except for Henry Kamen's bold new interpretation of the Spanish empire.<sup>5</sup> One of the issues examined by

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<sup>3</sup> For an interpretation, see Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, London: Norton, 1982); Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). For the last outpouring of Western anti-Islamic sentiments before the twenty-first century, see Michael L.S. Kitzen, *Tripoli and the United States at War: A History of American Relations with the Barbary States, 1785-1805* (Jefferson, NC, London: McFarland, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> See John W. Blake, *European Beginnings in West Africa 1454-1578: A Survey of the First Century of White Enterprise in West Africa, with Special Emphasis upon the Rivalry of the Great Powers* (London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, 1937), also published with a new preface as *West Africa. Quest for God and Gold, 1454-1578. A Survey of the First Century of White Enterprise in West Africa, with Particular Reference to the Achievement of the Portuguese and their Rivalries with Other European Powers* (London, Dublin, Totowa, NJ: Curzon Press, 1977); John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, Oxford: Ohio University Press, James Currey, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Whether an Atlantic history school as such really exists in terms of methodology and aims is a matter of contention. There is, however, a new awareness of the fact that there was more that crossed the Atlantic than English colonists or French enlightened ideas going to the British continental colonies, and that the whole interaction between the several ethnic communities present on both shores, including the aboriginal peoples, must be taken into account. For the "old" Atlantic history



this school relates to the width of the Atlantic Ocean. To be sure, the physical and psychological extent of the gap between the two shores has been a matter of contention ever since Genoese-Spanish navigator Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) set foot in America. As for the physical distance, once this was determined there was little historians

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school, see Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959-64), 2 vols; Jacques-Léon Godechot, *Les Révolutions (1770-1799)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963); Charles Verlinden, *Les origines de la civilisation atlantique: de la Renaissance à l'Âge des Lumières* (Neuchâtel, Paris: Albin Michel, 1966). For an extremely perceptive discussion of the new Atlantic historiography, see Nicholas P. Canny, "Writing Atlantic History; or, Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1093-1114. For the new school's cultural manifesto, see *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), which includes Armitage's "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," 11-27, 250-254. In terms of this school's impact outside of French Canada and the English-speaking world, see Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492-1763* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), published in the United States as *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003). It is worth noting that Kamen now teaches in Spain after a long career in England. The French have not yet succeeded in transforming what used to be straight colonial history into something more appealing to a new generation of historians, as is evident in Gilles de Gantes, "De l'histoire coloniale à l'étude des aires culturelles: la disparition d'une spécialité du champ universitaire français," *Outre-mers. Revue d'histoire* 90, nos. 338-339 (1<sup>er</sup> semestre 2003): 7-20. Colonial history is apparently dead, and the new political correctness has simply consigned the history of French and European expansion into the hands of literary critics and trendy cultural historians. The Portuguese and the Dutch, for their part, still devote more attention to their former African and Asian empires. Aside from the language used, Canadian historiography in French is fully part of the English-speaking world. See traces of this debate in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Leslie P. Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants: Modernity and Tradition in the Peopling of French Canada* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1997); Peter N. Moogk, *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada. A Cultural History* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 2000), and James S. Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

could contribute.<sup>6</sup> With regard to the psychological distance, however, interpretations swung from utter discontinuity (i.e., American exceptionalism) to cultural transfers and subsequent modifications. Atlantic history practitioners now seem to have abandoned this either/or attitude in favour of the notion of a continuing correlation between Europe and the Americas.<sup>7</sup> For example, two books on early Newfoundland and the northern fisheries confirm that the psychological break with the mother country, so customarily emphasized with regard to New England, was rather exceptional. According to these books, many colonists experienced a "dual identity" that placed England and their newly adopted country "as part of a single cultural continuum."<sup>8</sup> One should recall that Newfoundland was not an isolated outpost. The island was, on the contrary, at the centre of a network of transatlantic communication. The "two-way impact of colonies and metropolis" is also at the core of US historian Carla Gardina Pestana's comprehensive study of the interrelations between England and its continental and island colonies in the crucial

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<sup>6</sup> In a similar vein, the discussion on the depth of the Atlantic Ocean that was presented in a 1997 book was not on physical measurement but rather on the historical development of the fishery over some centuries. See *How Deep is the Ocean? Historical Essays on Canada's Atlantic Fishery*, ed. James E. Candow and Carol Corbin (Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), well demonstrates the extent of this Atlantic web.

<sup>8</sup> Jerry Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699-1832* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 158 (quotation); Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004). The latter makes a similar point throughout his book, but explicitly at 79. On the issue of cultural continuity, see also H.V. (Huw) Bowen, *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire 1688-1775* (Basingstoke, London, New York: Macmillan, 1996), 125-130; and the *William and Mary Quarterly* issue devoted to a discussion of David H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 48, no. 2 (April 1991): 222-308 (articles by Virginia D. Anderson, Jack P. Greene, James P.P. Horn, Ned C. Landsman and Barry Levy, with Fischer's response).

two decades of the English Civil War. In refusing to consider 1660 as a historical watershed, she convincingly argues that the new English world in some respects "departed radically from European practices," whereas in others it "participated in trends that were also shaping England at this time."<sup>9</sup> In spite of this continuing correlation, however, the width of the Atlantic Ocean, far from shrinking with time as one might logically surmise, grew larger and larger with the passing of time.

One element remained constant. This was travel time, which did not change much before the steamship era in the nineteenth century. It took Columbus 33 days to cross over from Palos to San Salvador in 1492, and it might take as little as three weeks for a fishing boat to go from Ireland to Newfoundland, the closest distance between the two shores.<sup>10</sup> If that may seem a lot compared to the week or so it took a steamship in the nineteenth century, we should not forget that other routes were much, much longer. The 1497 voyage of Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama (c.1460-1524) from the Cape Verde Islands to St. Helena Bay required an open-sea crossing of 96 consecutive days. From there he still had 200 kilometres to go in order to simply reach the Cape of Good Hope – before being able to start the second and longer leg of his voyage towards India.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, in the early modern age a return voyage to the Spice Islands would normally take three years. A comprehensive database on the African slave trade from

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<sup>9</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 4, 212, 328 n48. See ch. 5 of Part III of this anthology.

<sup>10</sup> See *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America 1492-1493 Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, ed. Oliver C. Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. (Norman, London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Codignola, "Préface," in Christophe Colomb, *Relation du premier voyage entrepris par Christophe Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau-Monde en 1492* (Montréal: Boréal, 2005), 9-24. For Newfoundland, see Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649* (Kingston, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 176; Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

the fifteenth to the nineteenth century shows that there was little variation in the tonnage of slave ships, the average number of slaves carried, the feeding and handling of them, or their mortality figures.<sup>12</sup> In spite of some technical improvements, then, the structures of oceanic travel evolved so slowly over the four centuries of European expansion that passengers did not really notice any difference.

On the top of all this, voyagers could not discount the possibility of being captured in time of war – let alone being subject to the vagaries of oceanic weather. Trans-Atlantic communication was highly seasonal. Hurricanes in the south and ice in the north made it impossible, or very risky, to travel during many months each year. One could leave Nantes bound for Montréal and end up in the West Indies. In Napoleonic times, the Franciscan Observant James L. O'Donel (1737-1811) left St. John's in Newfoundland to be consecrated bishop (1796), only to return home over a year later after a voyage that had to make unplanned stops in Québec, Halifax, Guernsey and Ireland.<sup>13</sup> This uncertainty involved mail as well as people, so much so that anybody who wanted to be certain that their papers reached their addressees, such as merchants, crown bureaucrats, and church leaders, took care to send them via different routes in duplicate or even triplicate. Finally, migrants, soldiers, and slaves, who normally had little familiarity with the sea, continued to be terrorized by the Atlantic crossing. All this changed little throughout the early modern age.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Herbert S. Klein, "The Structure of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: An Assessment," *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire* 89, no. 336-337 (2<sup>e</sup> trimestre 2002): 63-77.

<sup>13</sup> Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" (Rome), Congressi, America Antille, vol. 3, ff. 136rv-137rv, James L. O'Donel to [Giacinto S. Gerdil], Waterford, 29 January 1797, now printed in *Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters: The Letters of Bishops O Donel, Lambert, Scallan and Other Irish Missionaries*, ed. Cyril J. Byrne (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1984), 149-150.

<sup>14</sup> Steele, *English Atlantic*; William J. Eccles, "Quelques réflexions sur la correspondance entre la Nouvelle-France et le ministère de la Marine," in *La lettre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et ses avatars: Actes du Colloque international tenu au Collège universitaire Glendon Université York Toronto (Ontario) Canada 29 avril-1<sup>er</sup> mai 1993*, ed. Georges Bérubé and Marie-France Silver (Toronto: Éditions du GREF,

If travel time remained constant, familiarity with the Atlantic Ocean and its two shores did not. To be sure, this discussion does not apply to the African slave community, the only group that experienced immediate severance with their original communities. We often forget that it was not until the 1830s that the numbers of free European migrants to America finally surpassed the annual arrival of African slaves. We are speaking of some 12 million slaves, mostly brought over in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, versus some one and a half million Europeans who came over in the period known as early American history.<sup>15</sup> If any subfield has greatly profited from the new Atlantic history trend, it is scholarly work on the slave trade. Witness the pioneer works of Philip D. Curtin (1922-2009), Herbert S. Klein and, more recently, of Paul E. Lovejoy, John K. Thornton, and David Eltis.<sup>16</sup> In fact these historians have practiced Atlantic history well before the new trend had become an acknowledged field of enquiry. For the African slaves the Atlantic Ocean – the distance between the two shores – could not have been larger. It is a well-known fact that they managed to reconstitute or to re-invent their culture in the New World. Transatlantic communication, however, was never an option for them.

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1996), 209-215; Jane E. Harrison, *Until Next Year: Letter Writing and the Mails in the Canadas, 1640-1830* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), also published as *Adieu pour cette année: la correspondance au Canada, 1640-1830* (Hull: XYZ pour le Musée canadien de la poste et le Musée canadien des civilisations, 1997); Kenneth J. Banks, *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763* (Montréal, Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> "To Make America:" *European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ida Altman and Horn (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>16</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Thornton, *Africa and Africans*; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

With regard to those of European origin, fishermen and traders as well as ship captains and crew travelled along very familiar routes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In spite of the vastness of the ocean and the length of the American coastlines, they seemed not only to know where to go, but they also seemed to be well acquainted with each other and to know whom to trust and whom to fear. They often came from the same region, spoke the same language and spread information about landing places or fishing spots by word of mouth. Trade competition went along with a certain measure of human co-operation. Unwritten customs seemed to be respected by all, like those that English entrepreneur Humphrey Gilbert (1539?- 83) tried to change in his favour in Newfoundland in 1583. He called himself Lord Paramount, formally annexed the island to the crown's domains, then appropriated all existing fishing and drying gear nearby, at the same time leasing them in perpetuity to their holders – to no avail. His visionary colonization plan, impossible to implement, died with him a few weeks later.<sup>17</sup> The best spots in the fisheries, which by the mid-sixteenth century were used by thousands of Europeans, were customarily handed out on a first-come, first-served basis. The master of the first English ship to arrive in a given harbour after 25 March was acknowledged by all as the local authority for the following fishing season. This system applied to the British fishing fleet until well into the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> In the words of Canadian historian Peter E. Pope, the seventeenth century North Atlantic was

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<sup>17</sup> David B. Quinn, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Newfoundland on the Fourth Hundredth Anniversary of his Annexation of the Island to the Realm of England* (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1983), reprinted with additions in Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (London, Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 207-223; Shannon Miller, "Producing the New World, or Reproducing the Old? Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Newfoundland Project," in "Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multi-Disciplinary Perspective, 1350-1700" (working paper, Victoria College, University of Toronto, 7-10 March 1996), 132-140. This article was not published in the final proceedings of the conference, issued as *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

<sup>18</sup> Bannister, *Rule of the Admirals*.

indeed "a small place". North Americans "were dispersed but not disconnected, either from one another or from their kin and creditors in the Old World."<sup>19</sup>

For those who did not limit their activities to water but included the land in their itineraries, the aboriginal peoples of the Americas became very much part of this familiar network. Convenient locations along the coasts and the rivers were set up as seasonal meeting places where both parties expected to renew acquaintances and conduct trade according to established routines. Chains of trust were established that required the presence of familiar faces, the participation in certain ceremonies, the development of elementary contact languages as well as the greetings of former acquaintances who could not be present but had been expected to be.<sup>20</sup> Right from Columbus's first voyage, aboriginal children were taken to Europe, often forcibly, to learn the language and to be used as interpreters. Similarly, European children, boys and girls, were brought to and abandoned in America for the same purpose.<sup>21</sup> The assumption was that the two parties would meet at the same location one year later. Most of what we know, of course, comes from European sources, and we know very little, if anything, of how aboriginal peoples viewed the Atlantic Ocean. Only one book comes to my mind, Québec historian's Charles A. Martijn's 1986

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<sup>19</sup> Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 79.

<sup>20</sup> Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 164-165; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Oxford, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), especially 14; *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Gray and Norman S. Fiering (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, ed. Janet Whatley (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 7, 170. De Léry's book, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique*, was originally published in 1578. See also Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 190.

collection on the Mi'kmaq.<sup>22</sup> Not that the aboriginal peoples ever attempted – as far as we know – to get to the other side of the Atlantic, but many of them were brought over to Europe as prisoners, presents, living evidence of new found lands and new Christians to be baptized with pomp and circumstance. Most of them died during the voyage or soon thereafter. The touching account by British historian David B. Quinn (1909-2002) of the earliest Inuit brought over to England in the late-fifteenth century by the English navigator, Martin Frobisher (c.1535-94), speaks volumes of what the experience must have been for those people who, at home, had mastered the perils of the sea so well.<sup>23</sup>

With time, the improvement in the overall knowledge of the New World by the Europeans made the psychological distance between the two shores larger and larger. That distance grew in proportion to the growth of the European population of the New World and the differentiation of transatlantic networks. Towns grew in number and in size, and it became more and more difficult for any arriving European to recognize a face or to hear a familiar voice or accent. From the last quarter of the eighteenth century onwards, a typical feature of any United States town, and especially of the major urban centres of the northeast coast, was the ethnic variety of their population. Philadelphia, New York and even Boston hosted representatives from most countries in Europe. For example, in 1785 the Irish Capuchin Charles M. Whelan (1741-1806) remarked that it was useless to send a missionary to New York, unless he was able to speak Irish (i.e., Gaelic), English, French and Dutch, and that some Portuguese and Spanish would also help.<sup>24</sup>

This combination of growth in numbers and ethnic mixing was somewhat less evident in British North America where a much smaller

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<sup>22</sup> *Les Micmacs et la mer*, ed. Charles A. Martijn (Québec: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1986).

<sup>23</sup> Quinn, Neil M. Cheshire, Tony Waldron and Alison Moffat Quinn, "Frobisher's Eskimos in England," *Archivaria* 10 (Summer 1980): 23-50.

<sup>24</sup> Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" (Rome), Congressi, America Centrale, vol. 2, ff. 442rv-443rv, Charles M. Whelan to [Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili], [New York], 28 January 1785.



overall population, together with the absence of the common ideological bonds born out of the American Revolution, allowed for each province to proceed along separate routes long after Confederation in 1867. It also allowed most major ethnic communities – French, Scots, Irish and even aboriginal peoples – to continue to keep their separate identities for much longer.<sup>25</sup> Familiarity between newcomers and the welcoming community in British North America was also helped, for a longer time than in the United States, by the fact that until the mid-1840s migration from the British Isles into British North America was mainly chain migration – a cousin inviting a cousin, a friend calling a friend, and a trader sending his junior partner. This migration was regional in origin and emigrants retained many characteristics of their lives from the Old World, including language, upon arrival. Again Newfoundland is a most typical case in point. The island received mostly Englishmen until the 1760s, specifically from Devon. Then the Irish began to replace them, arriving in droves in the 1840s and completely changing the ethnic balance of Newfoundland.<sup>26</sup> Not only did the Irish come from particular regions of their country, but they tended to stay with their own kind even in the New World – Munster men would not mingle with Leinster men, and Waterford settlers would look down on people from Sligo.<sup>27</sup> The Catholic church, for one, had its share of problems in this regard. Each ethnic community insisted on being served by a

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<sup>25</sup> The psychological severance of the United States from Great Britain which followed 1776 is, however, very similar to French Canada's psychological abandonment of France which followed the French Revolution. See Codignola, "The Rome-Paris-Quebec Connection in an Age of Revolutions, 1760-1820," in *Le Canada et la Révolution française: actes du 6<sup>e</sup> colloque du CIEC. 29, 30, 31 octobre 1987*, ed. Pierre H. Boulle and Richard A. Lebrun (Montréal: Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études européennes, 1989), 115-132.

<sup>26</sup> Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 236.

<sup>27</sup> There is an interesting attempt by a human geographer to give some coherence to apparent ethnic confusion in Donald W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America. A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History I: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1986), 213-226. If I were to employ Meinig's terminology, I would broadly describe British North America as a "segmented" society and the United States as a "pluralistic" society.

priest of their own kind who could speak their language. In the end the Catholic church recognized, in the whole of North America, the right of each ethnic community to organize its own ethnic parish. This came late in the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

In conclusion, I believe that in the early days of contact the gap between the Old World and the New World was physically large but well bridged by rather small networks of people. These people, for a variety of reasons, travelled the Atlantic Ocean along familiar routes and tended to know each other or of each other, and this network very much included aboriginal peoples when Europeans were in the New World. Later, the larger the population of European origin in the New World became, the less likely people were to keep in constant touch with their community of origin. Newcomers, then, travelled routes that were less and less familiar to them and, once they arrived, found themselves in unfamiliar surroundings. In some areas, however, smaller ethnic networks did persist for much longer. Indeed, these networks grew with time. They made it possible for people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean to keep in touch, to hear news about family and friends, to send money home or to receive help from there, to visit and even to return home periodically or permanently. For people who participated in these smaller networks, the Atlantic Ocean never became too wide as it did for those who, for a variety of reasons, were left to their own individual resources and means.

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Originally published as "How Wide Is the Atlantic Ocean? Larger and Larger," *Acadiensis* 34, no. 2 (Spring/printemps 2005): 74-80. At the time, this chapter was meant to be complemented by John G. Reid, "How Wide is the Atlantic Ocean? Not Wide Enough!," *Acadiensis* 34, no. 2 (Spring/printemps 2005): 81-87.

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<sup>28</sup> See Joseph E. Ciesluk, *National Parishes in the United States* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1944); Matteo Sanfilippo, *L'affermazione del Cattolicesimo nel Nord America. Élite, emigranti e chiesa cattolica negli Stati Uniti e in Canada, 1750-1920* (Viterbo: Edizioni Sette Città, 2003), especially 51, 76, 158.

## 2. LES FEMMES AUTOCHTONES : VOILÀ LE VÉRITABLE POUVOIR TRADITIONALISTE ET CONSERVATEUR

La thèse de Carol Devens Green-Ramirez, historienne à la Central Michigan University, aux États-Unis, est claire<sup>1</sup>. Premièrement, les autochtones auraient réagi à la présence européenne sur leurs terres en s'adaptant aux nouvelles réalités. Ils auraient donc consciemment décidé que l'acceptation de certains comportements que les Européens leur imposaient (surtout en matière de religion et d'éducation) convenait à maintenir et même à élever leur rôle dans leur société et dans la nouvelle société bi-ethnique (62, 66, 112-113).

Le deuxième volet de la thèse de Devens est le plus original. L'historienne américaine affirme que, au sein des sociétés autochtones qui exerçaient le commerce des fourrures, hommes et femmes n'auraient pas réagi aux Européens de la même manière. Toujours selon elle, les femmes autochtones auraient joui, avant l'arrivée des Européens, d'un rôle qui, bien que différent, était complémentaire de celui des hommes (13-15, 24). Les nouvelles exigences de la traite avec les Européens auraient complètement marginalisé les femmes (17, 29). En comprenant que les nouvelles relations sociales et économiques de la société bi-ethnique diminuaient leur pouvoir, elles seraient alors devenues les vrais "conservators of traditional ways" (113,125), et donc les ennemies des missionnaires et des éducateurs d'origine européenne.

Devens construit son raisonnement sur une analyse en profondeur des relations entre autochtones (principalement Ojibwa, Cree, Montagnais et Naskapi) et Européens francophones et anglophones dans une région limitée bien qu'assez vaste, la région des Grands Lacs,

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<sup>1</sup> Carol Devens Green Ramirez, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford : University of California Press, 1992).

et sur une période très longue : des premiers contacts avec les missionnaires jésuites (première du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle) jusqu'aux tentatives des missionnaires protestants autour de la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

L'expérience jésuite est celle que Devens connaît le moins. Dans son premier chapitre, elle s'appuie presque uniquement sur les documents publiés par l'érudit américain Reuben G. Thwaites dans les *Jesuit Relations*<sup>2</sup>. Elle ignore ceux publiés par l'historien jésuite canadien Lucien Campeau dans les *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (qui ont commencé à paraître en 1967)<sup>3</sup> et elle ignore aussi tout ce qui est paru en langue française sur ce sujet, et aussi beaucoup d'ouvrages en anglais qui ont suivi les écrits de Sister Mary Aquinas Norton (1930), de Sister Mary Doris Mulvey (1936), de John H. Kennedy (1950), etc.<sup>4</sup> En outre, elle définit la Nouvelle-France comme une région limitée par le Saint-Laurent au sud et qui allait du Labrador à Winnipeg (129), en oubliant qu'une bonne partie des États-Unis actuels étaient formellement français, exception faite pour les provinces britanniques de la côte orientale et pour le Mexique.

Au contraire, Devens connaît assez bien les documents de certains missionnaires ou sociétés missionnaires protestantes, comme ceux de l'American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions et de la Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives (Harvard), les United Methodist Archives and History Center (Madison, NJ), et les papiers Boutwell, Ely et Sherman (St. Paul, Minn). Elle utilise ces documents principalement dans les chapitres 3 à 5.

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<sup>2</sup> *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 73 vol.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, SJ (Rome : Apud Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu, Montréal : Les Éditions Bellarmin, et Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-2003), 9 vol.

<sup>4</sup> Sr. Mary Aquinas Norton, *Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest, 1818-1864* (Washington DC: Catholic University, 1930); Mary Doris Mulvey, OP, "French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States, 1604-1791," *Catholic University of America Studies in Church History* 23 (1936): 41-54; John Hopkins Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1950).

Le livre de Devens paraît bien organisé, bien écrit et est, malgré les exceptions ci-dessus, le résultat d'un travail approfondi. Sa thèse principale est apparemment convaincante. Et pourtant, comment le manque de clarté et même les silences des nombreuses sources qu'elle cite peuvent-ils permettre de passer vraiment de simples suppositions à des certitudes ? En effet, dans son honnêteté professionnelle même l'auteure ne peut se passer d'utiliser d'une façon presque constante des mots tels que "perhaps", "sometimes", "probably", "apparently". Voyez l'exemple qui suit: "The historical record on windigos is vague at best, but it is noteworthy .... Perhaps as gender divergence over commitment to tradition escalated, women sometimes took action against men .... The windigo syndrome might, then, be seen as a metaphor for impending cultural crisis" (44, 62, 66, 97, 107, 121). Devant un débat historiographique (prenez Devens's critique des historiennes canadiennes Sylvia van Kirk et Jennifer S.H. Brown) (123, 162), si le lecteur est convaincu, c'est plus par sympathie pour l'historienne que par la force des sources elles-mêmes.

Ceci dit, le jugement sur le livre de Devens doit être très positif. Elle a su utiliser le peu de matériel à sa disposition non seulement avec originalité et finesse d'esprit, mais aussi avec honnêteté et courage.

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Publié pour la première fois dans *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer* 82, no. 304 (3<sup>e</sup> trimestre 1994): 383-384, comme compte-rendu de Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992).



### 3. THE EXTENDED NEWFOUNDLAND PLANTATION, OR, FISHING AND SETTLING FOR HARDSHIP AND LEISURE

Atlantic history in general and Newfoundland history in particular have been recently regaled with two major innovative, thought-provoking, and thoroughly-researched books. These are Jerry Bannister's *The Rule of the Admirals*, mainly devoted to the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century; and Peter E. Pope's *Fish into Wine*, which deals with the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> These two authors, one generation apart, seemingly had some contacts, but did not work together. Pope makes sparse reference to Bannister's articles, but not to his book. Bannister has read and appreciated Pope's manuscript prior to its publication, but makes little direct reference to it. They share, however, a major revision of traditional Newfoundland historiography, which they trace all the way down to John Reeves (c.1752-1829) and Daniel W. Prowse (1834-1914). They also acknowledge the historiographical turning point represented by Keith Matthews (1938-84).

A professor of archaeology and history at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Pope was for a long time involved with the Ferryland Colony of Avalon project, led since the early 1980s by Memorial University of Newfoundland archaeologist James A. Tuck. His previous book, *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot*,<sup>2</sup> was prompted by the Cabot Quincentennial. His doctoral thesis (1992), as well as most of the articles he published in the 1990s, were directly related to the topic of this new book. *Fish into Wine* deals with the English Shore from 1610 to 1696, that is, from the earliest settlement led by John

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<sup>1</sup> Jerry Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1689-1832* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2003); Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Pope, *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Guy (d.1629) to the French war raids that destroyed most of them. The English Shore was (and is) the portion of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula that goes from Salvage to Trepassey. (This circumscribed territory is more broadly referred to as the "Newfoundland plantation" in the title, "plantation" meaning both "colony" and "the waterfront premises from which the fishery was conducted [1].) The English Shore was home to a small population, which can be numbered at 200 in 1639 and 1,700 in 1681. During the summer, of course, the influx of seasonal workers multiplied the size of the overwintering population. However, far from being a local history of a relatively small community-on-the-move in a short segment of time, this book is one of the best examples I know which put into practice the relatively new gospel of Atlantic history advocated by all, done by very few. In fact, the Newfoundland fishery cannot be examined nor understood outside of its larger North Atlantic context. The fishery, the author maintains while carefully explaining all facets of its complex mechanism, "was a multilateral trade" in which Spain, Portugal, the Italian peninsula and the Atlantic islands imported Newfoundland cod and sent wine and fruit to English and Dutch ports. The latter, in turn, exported labour and supplies to Newfoundland. (France had its own "enormous" transatlantic fisheries and was not a major part of this multilateral trade.)

About half of Pope's book is devoted to the thorny issue of settlement. Is it true that there was no "real" permanent settlement in Newfoundland until late in the seventeenth century, as maintained by the traditional Newfoundland historiography? Is it true that this absence was due to the planters' opposition to settlement so that they could better control and exploit the fishermen? (The planters were "a certain class of settlers ... who owned boats and plantations ... and employed other men" [1].) Is it true that such a permanent class conflict between planters and fishermen existed? Pope proves that, on the contrary, "the premise of inevitable conflict between fishermen and planters" is unfounded both in reality and as an "organizing principle for early modern Newfoundland history" (133-134). He also shows that the English Shore was constantly inhabited since the early



1620s, summer and winter alike. In fact, far from representing a conflicting interest, settlement was indeed necessary to the fishery, economically and socially. Against the traditional image of early failures in settlement, wasted short- and long-term investments, and an overall "retarded" development (an image which the island shares with New France, one may add), the author shows that Newfoundland follows in the same pattern of development of several other North American colonies and North Atlantic locations – fishing areas such as Maine, the Lofoten Islands, southern Iceland, western Ireland, Britain's woodland settlements, and the Novgorod coast of Russia's White Sea; or regions such as Canada, Acadia, and the early Chesapeake. In sum, the author seems to support the school of thought that identifies New England as the real exception in the pattern of seventeenth-century colonial development, at least well into the 1660s. New England was indeed a special place, not only because of its religious origins, but also for the exceptional size of the early migratory waves that peopled it, and for "the quickly achieved stability of [its] inland ... populations" (233).

In the other half of the book, Pope paints a social and economic history of the people who lived in the English Shore, trying to separate "vernacular" (i.e., local) developments from features shared by the whole Atlantic world. There were major "commercial and demographic pressures" throughout the North Atlantic, Pope explains, but these were "mediated by the economic culture of the time and place in Newfoundland, most crucially, by the practice of service in the fishery" (160), so that "the familiar material culture of the seventeenth-century Anglo-American world functioned somewhat differently there" (305). Central to the author's depiction is the Ferryland settlement, which up to 1670 was more important than St. John's. What did an outpost look like? What did fisherfolk exchange for fish? How much money did they make? What did they do with their money? Finally, and most significantly, how was it that such a small society, which periodically exploded upon the arrival of thousands of migratory fishermen, "held together ... in the absence of formal political or religious institutions" (207)? It appears not only

that some investors such as George Calvert, Baron Baltimore, and David Kirke (c.1597-1654) did invest millions of dollars (in today's money) in their enterprises, but also that all who lived around the fishery (including those involved in the supporting activities such as "lumbering, boat-building or scavenging for French boats, agriculture, and ... the 'hospitality industry'" (337), were making more money than their counterparts elsewhere. Hence a propensity for spending, and the realization, on the part of the historian, that the supplies these people received from England (and the Netherlands), other than the implements directly linked to the action of fishing, mainly consisted of luxuries such as "wine, spirits, and tobacco" (360), not beer, and certainly nothing that showed any interest in decorating or renovating their living premises. Hence the "Fish into Wine" of the title.

Pope shows an exceptional mastery not only of the secondary literature, but also of all the pertinent primary sources, that he consulted at the Public Record Office at Kew, at Chancery Lane, and in Devon. Aside from his extensive footnoting, his thoroughness is well exemplified, for example, in his identifying a certain mistake in the original document (161 n1), as well as in his discussion of the captions of two well-known illustrations of early Newfoundland produced by Gerard Edema (1652-1700) (326) and Herman Moll (1654-1732) (325). Pope has also made good use of the resources available at Memorial University of Newfoundland and at the National Archives of Canada, where, for example, he has exploited the extensive Jan Kupp Papers, though devoting less than ten pages to Dutch trade. The author is particularly good at weaving archaeological findings into the smooth and rather pleasant narrative of the book. With its "more than a million artifacts" (9), the Ferryland project uncovered an archaeological treasure trove which has few comparisons in North America, but also one in which an archaeologist-made-historian would have found it rather easy to drown. Most appropriately, although some portions of the book are mostly based on archaeological evidence (319-336), this is sparsely referred to by Pope and does not intrude on the narrative. Not that these findings are not important. On the contrary, they provide

confirmation of the historical context and also glimpses over real-life experiences about which written documents are often silent. See for example the physical separation of men and women (218), Kirke's cufflinks used as evidence of his gentlemanlike behaviour (269), the hidden cross showing religious practice and controversy (296), and the inhabitants' preference for smoking and drinking over better housing (385).

As previously mentioned, Pope is well aware of his revisionist attitude towards the established historiography and minces no words in pointing his finger to a number of "[d]istinguished" and "accomplished" (66, 204) historians who have to this day contributed to the repetition of an unfounded tale. David Alexander, Gillian T. Cell, Glanville J. Davies, Kenneth G. Davies, Christopher English, Naomi E.S. Griffiths, Elizabeth Mancke, Patrick O'Flaherty and David J. Starkey are variously mentioned in this regard. On more theoretical grounds, such as "the rise of 'modern,' or 'true,' capitalism" (164), Pope takes exception with some maritime and economic historians closer to his specific field, such as Sean Cadigan, Marcus B. Rediker, and Gerald M. Sider, whom he sees as too keen on their theoretical models at the expense of real-life experience. For example, Pope writes: "The payment of wages sounds more modern; it is certainly more typical of industrial capitalism. But, practically speaking, how would this change in economic culture have affected merchants and crews?" (165). In a more general North Atlantic perspective, Pope, together with Bannister's *The Rule of the Admirals*, provides further ammunition to the idea that the absence of formal institutions did not prevent a society from existing and thriving. For example, the absence of a legally-constituted government or of an ecclesiastical hierarchy did not signify lawlessness or irreligion.

The book's complexity, however, let alone Pope's critical commentaries on his fellow researchers, would require a battery of specialists in several fields – economic, social, maritime, let alone North Atlantic history – to do them justice. It is because the issues at stake are so complex that I particularly appreciated the author's circumspection in identifying a clear-cut relationship between causes

and effects. Pope is rather keen in using qualifiers such as "may" and "perhaps." At least twice he points to chronological coincidences that surely must be more than just that, but that he does not feel safe to explain (18, 40). Furthermore, in spite of his thoroughness in describing the structures of economic exchanges linked to the fishery, Pope continually emphasizes the fact that there are elements at play that have nothing to do with economics and in fact have no explanation, except individual or communal ("vernacular") preference. See, for example, the West Country folks' reliance on dry cod, which was not caused by lack of salt but simply by their habits as consumers (15); the fishermen's preference for wages to shares, only due to the early modern workers' "aversion ... to wage labor" (166); the inexplicable shift in Ferryland's ties from south Devon to north Devon (148); anyone's rationale for investing in ship owning, itself not a profitable enterprise (118); the various "degree[s] of attachment to the place [Newfoundland]" (193); finally, the "many possible motives for migration" (55) and the several "seasonal tasks driven but not exclusively determined by the production of salt cod" (311). An interesting discussion of the shift in ships' names is another case in point (286-288). In fact, the author's avowed preference for quantifiable data over "impressionistic evaluation[s] of change over arbitrary... periods, determined simply by documentary happenstance" (226) seems somewhat misplaced, given the fact that, in this book, his own "impressionistic" evaluations are at least as valuable as his more factual data. To be sure, it is sometimes the case that a reader or a reviewer finds a book very good, until he or she gets to the parts that deal with his or her own field of specialization. Having contributed to the author's field in the specific terrain of Catholicism in Lord Baltimore's earliest colony, I can testify that there is nothing that I would add or modify in the author's treatment of it.

Finally, even such a good book leaves room for the reviewer to suggest some improvements. From a substantial point of view, two sentences are puzzling. One compares Portuguese and English expansionism, and attributes their relative strengths to the overextension of their expansionist imperial commitments, as if the

same people were involved in empire-building and as such they had to make a choice between the fishery and other ventures – Brazil and Newfoundland, for example (16). The other sentence explains the slowness of Newfoundland's growth in population by stating that the "inward flow of migrants ... must have been roughly equaled by the flow out" (237), a sentence which forgets natural growth as a factor in the demographic growth – a factor that Pope himself calls into play when he recognizes that by 1660 "the planter population had begun to reproduce itself" (412). From an editorial point of view, in an otherwise splendidly-produced book, it should be pointed out that there is no bibliography, for which the "Abbreviations & Short Titles" list is a poor substitute. (There is, instead, a most useful Glossary, without which no Newfoundland book seems to be complete.) Footnotes are extensive and thorough, yet the practice of consistently footnoting paragraphs, even when only one reference is required, instead of specific locations within the paragraphs, makes it difficult, at times, to locate the exact reference. In footnotes, is not the current practice to make archival references (PRO, CO 1, etc.) precede specific items (Calvert to Kirke, 6 Oct. 1630)? There is no good map of the fisherfolk's regions of provenance in England, as the map at p. 94 is not detailed enough. The sub-chapters dealing with the geography of the English Shore (311-336) should have been placed at beginning of book, as they are very useful as an overall introduction. Finally, typos are almost non-existent, but two perhaps expose the US publisher – "Fredricton" for "Fredericton" (363) and "Quebecois" for "Québécois" (434).

In conclusion, this is a major piece of historical scholarship that will remain, for a long time, a landmark in North Atlantic historiography from the methodological and the substantial point of view. Both the author and the publisher, together with the institutions that have variously assisted in the research, including the Colony of Avalon Foundation, must be heartily congratulated.

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#### 4. LATE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEWFOUNDLAND: WHY MODELS SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED TO REAL LIFE

Two recent books have challenged two of the most enduring commonplaces about the early modern history of Newfoundland and its role within the British Empire. (In the eighteenth century, "Newfoundland" mainly consisted of the English and partially Irish settlement from Bonavista Bay in the north to Placentia Bay in the south; its role as a migratory fishery was mainly regulated by London.)

One book is Peter E. Pope's magisterial *Fish into Wine*, which shows the complementarity between settlement and the fishery (and their relative success) and shatters the notion that settlement was discouraged and indeed prohibited on the island until late in the eighteenth century. The other is Jerry Bannister's *Rule of the Admirals*, published one year earlier than Pope's and mainly devoted to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Here the author challenges the still prevailing image of Newfoundland as a desolate outpost "suffering under rough fishing admirals and a backward legal system" (5), the showcase of a retarded institutional evolution caused by "callous neglect" on the part of the British crown, the primitiveness of local society, and the exploitation of the fisherfolk (17). According to this image, the fishing admirals were "the villains in the story of early Newfoundland" (27) and the Royal Navy's governors who replaced them ruled according to "quarter-deck despotism" (22). Luckily, this state of social and institutional anarchy (280) was overcome in the 1820s when, thanks to the efforts of local and metropolitan reformers, Newfoundland was officially recognized as a colony, the governorship was transformed into a civil appointment, and a modern legal system

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<sup>1</sup> Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Peter Gerald (Jerry) Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699-1832* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press for The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2003).

was created. In short, according to traditional historiography, it was only then that Newfoundland finally joined the enlightened legal framework provided by the British Empire to most of its colonies.

Bannister's *Rule of the Admirals* is a detailed study of "the basic frame of Newfoundland's early legal system" (xiii), something that had not been attempted so far largely on the assumption that there was little or no real legality on the island prior to the administration of naval governor George Brydges Rodney (1718-92) in 1749-50, or to the *Palliser's Act* of 1775, or even to the final repeal of the *King William's Act* (1699) in 1824. Through a thorough archival examination of the extant legal sources, mainly located at the Public Record Office in London and at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, Bannister is able to provide the reader with "a model of how the legal system operated in practice" (xiii), and with an explanation why "the island's naval government eventually collapsed" (xiv) after 130 years of largely unchallenged existence. If you, like this reviewer, have always been puzzled by the odd terminology of early Newfoundland history (servants and planters, let alone fishing admirals and surrogate judges and the likes), and always wondered how the system actually worked, here is an exhaustive description that is likely to satisfy both the Atlantic historian and the legal specialist. (One should note here that the book is published for The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History.)

On a more methodological ground, Bannister's findings seems to confirm what is most innovative and original in early modern and Atlantic historiography, that is, first, that historical development does not follow any teleological trail; and, secondly, that there was no single model of colonial development against which to measure one's uniformity – New England being the most perfect example, and Newfoundland the worst. In fact, Newfoundland's legal history did not follow a path from lawlessness to legitimacy, from local custom to written law, from inefficiency to effectiveness. Nor can its history be fully understood on the basis of statute law only, that being only one of the "means through which state power was organized in eighteenth-century Newfoundland" (59). The system, on the contrary, was an



"amalgam of four sources of law: common law, statute law, prerogative writ, and local custom" (22), in which the several forces at play, including London, continuously confronted themselves and pragmatically found whatever measure of compromise was necessary thanks to the "malleable nature of common law and local custom" (133). The real wonder, Bannister argues, is not that Newfoundland was unique – as all colonies were – but that it found a way to function, and for such a long time, "with such a limited range of formal institutions" (17).

The book is well written, splendidly produced, and almost devoid of typos (five detected, all insignificant). The Bibliography is unfortunately limited to primary sources, the secondary sources being scattered in the otherwise very thorough endnotes. In sum, *Rule of the Admirals* is a model of historical scholarship, whose significance goes well beyond the Eastern Shore of Newfoundland and shall be appreciated by all students of the early British Empire.

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## 5. OLD-FASHIONED IMPERIAL HISTORY OR TRENDY ATLANTIC HISTORY? THE IMPACT OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

*The English Atlantic* deals with the decade leading to the execution of King Charles I (1600-49) in 1649 and with the period usually referred to as the Interregnum (1649-60). This includes Oliver Cromwell's mandate as Lord Protector (1653-8) and the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II (1630-85) in 1660. In colonial terms, these two decades coincide with the wane of New England (in population terms) and the substantial European and African settlement in the West Indies and the middle continental colonies. According to Carla Gardina Pestana, a well-known US colonial historian who has so far mainly worked on the social and religious history of the northern and middle English continental colonies, it is "remarkable" that no book has so far explored the impact of the English Civil War on the English Atlantic, all the more so since the events of those years proved to be a turning point of such magnitude that they can only be compared to the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup> It was then that the New World settlements were "radically altered" (9), became "intimately involved ... in Old World battles" (1), and were made part of a system later known as the first British Empire. (Pestana shows that this historiographical removal began with the Restoration itself, when the crown *de facto* accepted all the changes brought about by the Interregnum, while denying their revolutionary origins.)

Ch.1 shows that when major troubles erupted, both the crown and its challengers hoped to win the alliance of the colonies, low as these were in their priority list and minimal their potential contribution to the cause. On their part, when first confronted by the Civil War most colonies attempted to avoid taking sides, but to no avail. Although prior to 1649 they had not experienced "internal rifts comparable to

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<sup>1</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2004),

those in England" (21), the colonies had indeed imported the same divisions and ideological fissures that were devastating English politics and aligned themselves in consequence.

Ch. 3 and 5 examine the immediate aftermath of the regicide (1649-52) and the Protectorate. In England the advent of the Commonwealth brought the open conflict to an end and saw the beginning of a more centralized and rationalized system of government. By 1650 the colonies too were required to submit to London's will in all matters. It was a general scheme that included the *Navigation Act* (1651) and the *Western Design* (1654), an "unprecedented attack on the Spanish West Indies" (177) which epitomized England's earliest imperial planning. In the colonies, however, the effect of regicide "was precisely reversed" (86), as conflict erupted instead of being quieted. Colonies that had managed to keep a low profile were then obliged to align themselves. In three years, the issue of allegiance was "decisively answered" (88) as all colonies were somewhat forced to be integrated into the new empire and to contribute to the new aggressive policy. This happened in spite of their appeal to their rights as "freeborn English men" (164) who insisted on being "equals of those at the imperial center" (158). In Ch. 6, Pestana shows how this appeal to individual liberty was in fact paralleled by the rise in coerced labour throughout the English Atlantic world, so that colonial society became increasingly based on the labour of unfree persons, be they indentured servants or African slaves.

Less chronological in approach, Ch. 2 and 4 are mostly devoted to the growing polarization of the North Atlantic religious environment. This was "relatively uncontentious" (42) prior to 1640, and at least until 1656 religious radicalism was limited. In England toleration was normally preached and implemented, at least Protestant nonconformists. In the colonies a similar trend was evident, one that seemed to lead towards an increase in diversity and the endorsement of liberty, although the undermining of the traditional political establishment, including the Church of England, were also at play. In this moderate trend New England proved to be the main exception – in

their promotion of godly reform the local divines would not tolerate "as wide a spectrum of beliefs as was tolerated in England" (69).

Religious history is Pestana's *forte*, as shown by her previous publications, and undoubtedly Ch. 2 and 4 represent the most significant and innovative part of the book. Ch.1, 3, and 5 are less original in terms of political and social history, as on ideology and labour Pestana often sums up well-known issues and facts – although she does it very well. Her prose shines in showing the continuous interplay between the two shores of the Atlantic – the tensions caused by contradictory decisions and actions (freedom and coercion, toleration and orthodoxy, autonomy and empire), the absence of "a unified purpose or a common nature" (14); and the colonies' departure from European practices and participation in English trends. Pestana is not timid in offering her view on historiographical issues of substance – the exceptionalism of the New England experience, the revolutionary nature of the Civil War years, the Englishness of the Atlantic basin, whether Ireland and Scotland were analogous to the crown's dominions overseas, or whether the 1660 Restoration should be regarded as a historical watershed. British historian Robert M. Bliss's *Revolution and Empire* is often cited as a book with which she has much to share,<sup>2</sup> whereas Pestana distinguishes herself from David Armitage, another British historian but now teaching in the United States, for her own interest in "the practical functioning of an imperial system rather than the theoretical underpinnings of empire" (280 n49).<sup>3</sup>

On the fashionable issue of the width of the Atlantic Ocean, Pestana emphasizes the "great distances" (30), the slowness and randomness in communication, and the limited access to information. This is somewhat questionable. In fact, the more historians study the Atlantic world, the more they become aware of the subjectivity of its width. A

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<sup>2</sup> Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> See David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

piece of news which reached England "less than two months later" seems to me a rather quick one (282 n78). In dealing with seventeenth-century Newfoundland, Canadian historian Peter E. Pope describes the North Atlantic as "a small place" where North Americans "were dispersed but not disconnected."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps historians should admit that no general argument can be based on distance between the two shores. Pope's book was published at the same time as *The English Atlantic* and neither author is aware of the other. Pestana should then revise all her statements about Newfoundland (which she mostly treats as an exception), though on the whole Pestana and Pope complement each other rather well.

As a final commentary on Pestana's relationship to current historiography, the absence of any international secondary literature is striking, the only exception being Claudia Schnurmann's *Atlantische Welten*, a book that is mentioned but never really used.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Pestana's initial *caveat* is that she limits herself to "that portion of the Atlantic claimed and controlled by England" (6) and that the few Scots and Irish who joined in did so under English control. However, she does not seem to be really familiar with a few seventeenth-century characters that she mentions somewhat at random in her book – the secular priest Antoine Biet (c.1620-post 1654), the Capuchin Pacifique de Provins (1588-1648), or the Ursuline nun, Marie de l'Incarnation (Marie Guyart-Martin), or with such Irish missionaries as John Grace, who were active in the West Indies in the 1660s. But on the whole Pestana cannot be blamed for an absence that reflects the fact that "the most avid students" of the Atlantic world are "scholars of British history" (5) and that there was hardly any Atlantic history outside of the English-speaking world when her book was written.

Pestana's sources are mainly located in England, Scotland, the West Indies (Barbados and Bermuda), and the United States. Aside from

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<sup>4</sup> Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 79. On this topic, see ch. 1 of Part III of this collection.

<sup>5</sup> Claudia Schnurmann, *Atlantische Welten. Engländer und Niederländer im amerikanisch-atlantischen Raum, 1648-1713* (Köln: Böhlau, 1998).

archival manuscript sources, mainly found in the Public Record Office at Kew, Pestana has made extensive use of rare printed pamphlets and tracts preserved in several research libraries in England (the Bodleian Library, for example), and the United States (the Huntington Library seems to have been particularly useful in this regard). Appendix 2 lists 125 works published between 1641 and 1649 that deal with religious life in New England. (This is her chief source for Ch. 2). Throughout the book, Pestana expends a commendable effort not only to inform the reader when sources are lacking, which is often the case with regard to the West Indies, but also to verify her sources first-hand. For example, Pestana downgrades population figures for the English colonies in 1640, given in 1985 by US historians John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard at c.70,000, to 50,850 (185, 229-234, 327 n4); she says that the authoritative *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (1999), by David Eltis et al., underestimates the Dutch involvement in the trade (316 n53); she attacks the reliability of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, the "standard source for early Americanists studying imperial history," and vehemently invites historians "to liberate" themselves from their traditional dependence on it (10, 248 n34); she challenges the accepted authorship of a 1649 pamphlet (254 n15); and even recognized historical monuments such as US historians Frederick J. Turner and Charles H. McIlwain (1871-1968) are quoted from their original editions. For all this thoroughness, one cannot but lament that the Acknowledgments and the Abbreviation list are rather poor substitutes for a traditional bibliography, whose absence is probably due to the publisher.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, a few quibbles regarding editorial matters. The book is well packaged and consistent in style. For example, the reader with a special interest in any specific region, continental or island, can easily

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<sup>6</sup> John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789: With Supplementary Bibliography* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 54; *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America & West Indies 1574-1660*, ed. Noël Sainsbury (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860).

follow the thread of its history from one chapter to the next. Personally, I would have liked dates to be given in full, as opposed to month and year only. (The *Navigation Act* for example is said to be dated Oct. 1651, without further explanation.) I also found it odd that the listing of colonies and islands (249 n1) is not employed in the same exact fashion when population figures are given (229), nor in the general (good) map accompanying the book. Although the book is free of significant typographical errors, very few anyway, it is rather strange, given Pestana's familiarity with them, that the Public Record Office and the Scottish Record Office are both written as "Records."

Pestana herself does not seem to be able to make up her mind whether what she has been doing over the years, and what she has done so well in her *The English Atlantic*, should be labelled as old-fashioned British imperial history or trendy Atlantic history. Not that this really matters, as Pestana proves to be at ease with both. Historiographical labels will change again, but *The English Atlantic* is a book that will remain for a long time on the historian's shelf by virtue of its own strength.

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## 6. L'HISTOIRE DES AVENTURIERS FLIBUSTIERS D'EXQUEMELIN EST-ELLE UNE SOURCE HISTORIQUE ?

*L'Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers* est sans doute le livre plus connu sur l'histoire et l'épopée de la flibuste<sup>1</sup>. Voici le nom sous lequel on regroupe toutes les opérations de "petite guerre" navale qui eurent lieu surtout dans la mer des Caraïbes entre 1655 et 1702, c'est-à-dire entre la prise de la Jamaïque par les Anglais et l'alliance franco-espagnole. Les grands flibustiers étaient des capitaines d'origine surtout française, anglaise et néerlandaise qui ciblaient les trésors transportés par les navires espagnols ou entreposés dans les ports de leurs colonies. Selon l'interprétation controversée de l'historien américain Marcus B. Rediker, les équipages des navires de la flibuste étaient composés d'hommes qui avaient en commun leur condition sociale de "prolétaires de la mer" plutôt que leur nationalité<sup>2</sup>.

Entre 1666 et 1670, Alexandre-Olivier Exquemelin dit Oexmelin, de nationalité française et "chirurgien" de profession, fit partie des activités de la flibuste, naviguant principalement avec le célèbre pirate gaulois, Henry Morgan (c.1635-88), le conquérant de Portobelo (1668) et de Panama (1671). Malheureusement, aucun document ne nous permet de connaître la vie d'Exquemelin avant 1666 et après 1678, l'année où l'éditeur Jan den Hoorn de Amsterdam publia son *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers*<sup>3</sup>.

Il s'agit de la première d'une série d'éditions de ce mémoire dont le but était, comme tout roman classique, de "[d]ivertir et instruire" (47),

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<sup>1</sup> Alexandre-Olivier Exquemelin, *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers*, ed. Réal Ouellet et Patrick-André Villiers (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Marcus B. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea : Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1987); Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra : Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston : Beacon Press, 2000) ; Rediker, *Villains of All Nations : Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (London : Verso, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Exquemelin, *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers* (Amsterdam : Jan den Hoorn, 1678).

tout en offrant au lecteur "une galerie de portraits d'aventuriers" (26) et de leurs exploits. Réal Ouellet, critique littéraire de l'Université Laval au Canada, et Patrick-André Villiers, historien maritime de l'Université du Littoral en France, tous deux spécialistes de renom, ont collaboré à cette réédition de *l'Histoire des aventuriers*. Si Ouellet s'est chargé d'établir le texte et de dresser le répertoire de mots hors d'usage aujourd'hui ou dont le sens a changé, les deux éditeurs signent ensemble l'introduction et les notes explicatives.

Arrêtons-nous d'abord sur la question de l'établissement du texte. Comme nous l'avons vu, la première édition, en langue néerlandaise, date de 1678, tandis que la première édition en français date de 1686. Entre 1678 et 1686, le livre fut publié en allemand (1679), espagnol (1681) et anglais (1684). Devant ces multiples éditions, il est à se demander quel texte choisir comme publication originale<sup>26</sup>. Et quel fut la contribution d'Exquemelin dans la production de ces textes ? D'ailleurs, dès le départ, Ouellet reconnaît qu'"en l'absence de manuscrits et de dossiers d'auteurs et d'éditeurs, toute interprétation définitive de ces textes demeure fort aléatoire" (37). Pour ce qui est de la question de la contribution de l'auteur, Ouellet signale que l'on peut

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<sup>26</sup> Exquemelin, *Histoire des Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, contenant ce qu'ils ont fait de plus remarquable depuis vingt années. Avec la vie, les mœurs, les coutumes des habitans de Saint Domingue, et de la Tortüe, et une description exacte de ces lieux ; où l'on voit l'Etablissement d'une Chambre des Comptes dans les Indes*, éd. Jean de Frontignières (Paris : Chez Jacques Le Febvre, 1686) ; Exquemelin, *Die Americanische See-Räuber, entdeckt, in gegenwärtiger Beschreibung der grässesten, durch die Französisch und Englische Meer-Beuter, wider die Spanier in America, verübten Rauberey und Grausamkeit ... Nebst einem kurzen Bericht, von der Cron Spanien Macht und Reichthum in America ... Aufgesetzt, durch A. O. [voire A.-O. Exquemelin] ... Mit ... Figuren, Charten, und ... Conterfeyten, ausgeziert* (Nürnberg : Verlegung Christoph Riegels, 1679) ; Exquemelin, *Piratas de la America, y Luz à la defensa de las costas de Indias Occidentales ... Traducido de la lengua Flamenca en Española, por el D<sup>o</sup>r de Bonne Maison* (Colonia Agrippina : L. Struickman, 1681) ; Exquemelin, *The History of the Bucaniers, being an Impartial Relation of all The Battels, Sieges, etc. Committed upon the Coasts of the West Indies, by the Pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga. more specially the Atchievements of Sir H. M.[voire Henry Morgan], Made English from the Dutch Copy, etc.* (London : T. Malthus, 1684).

"présumer que le matériau original, fourni vraisemblablement par Exquemelin, a servi de matière brute" (37) tant pour l'édition néerlandaise que pour la première édition française. Pourtant, aucun des deux textes "ne peut lui être attribué" (44), parce que l'éditeur néerlandais "ne s'est pas borné à traduire, à organiser et à orner" (21), et que l'éditeur français "a rallongé la sauce de son propre cru", avec, entre autres, des extraits que Ouellet a retracés dans les livres du jésuite José de Acosta (1540-1600) et du dominicain Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre (1610-87). En effet, c'est ce qui explique que les deux éditeurs préfèrent le mot *rédacteur* à celui d'*auteur* pour identifier celui qui aurait choisi le texte pour les deux éditions.

Pourtant, la contribution d'Exquemelin, bien que difficile à cerner, reste fondamentale dans la production de l'ouvrage, et l'on peut supposer, comme le fait Ouellet, que "sans son apport ... *l'Histoire des aventuriers*, n'aurait jamais vu le jour" (5). Toujours est-il que Ouellet considère que c'est l'édition française de 1686 qui s'éloigne le moins du "texte autorisé par l'auteur" (44), tout en reconnaissant que ce texte présente plusieurs ajouts qui "sont des microfiction" (29), "des invraisemblances importantes et des scènes ou personnages inventés" (40). Mise à part la décision de ne pas reproduire la deuxième partie du livre original, voire la section intitulée "Établissement d'une Chambre des Comptes dans les Indes", qui à son avis n'a pas "de rapport direct" (44) avec *l'Histoire des aventuriers*, et de moderniser l'orthographe, l'accentuation et la ponctuation, l'édition de 2005 reproduit bel et bien celle de 1686. La plupart des notes explicatives en bas de page sont consacrées à des questions d'ordre textuel ou à l'identification de lieux, de personnages ou de faits d'armes. Mais Ouellet fournit aussi de façon systématique la version néerlandaise de 1678 (en traduction française), lorsque celle-ci est différente de la version française de 1686, ainsi que ses commentaires. De même, les variantes de l'édition française de 1699 sont présentées dans un des six Appendices qui complètent l'ouvrage.

Si la renommée de *l'Histoire des aventuriers* confirme sa contribution incontournable au mythe de la flibuste, est-ce que les questions qui entourent l'origine et l'authenticité de ces diverses

éditions la disqualifient pour autant comme source historique ? C'est-à-dire, peut-on s'en servir pour documenter des faits, identifier des personnages historiques et encore des lieux ? La réponse (que nous devons probablement à Villiers) est oui. Il est reconnu que Exquemelin n'a pas pu participer à toutes les expéditions dont il fait part, de même qu'il est "difficile de discerner dans quelle mesure Exquemelin a été un témoin direct, a reçu des témoignages de vive voix ou a repris des anecdotes colportées dans le milieu flibustier" (41). Cependant, affirment Villiers et Ouellet, les historiens "qui ont dépouillé des archives montrent que de nombreux détails sont parfaitement authentiques" (40). En outre, *l'Histoire des aventuriers* constitue une source "irremplaçable" pour en apprendre davantage sur les détails de la vie quotidienne des flibustiers que le "nombre d'hommes tués et d'heures de combat" (42) de documents officiels ne nous permet pas de saisir.

La dernière partie de l'ouvrage de Ouellet et de Villiers constitue un Appendice contenant, entre autres, une sélection de sources primaires, y compris la relation de 1673 de Bertrand Ogeron (1613-76), un répertoire biographique des "principaux marins, corsaires et flibustiers" ainsi qu'un répertoire de la faune et de la flore des Caraïbes. Il contient aussi une bibliographie et un index. A ce sujet, les seuls véritables problèmes que nous avons remarqués ont trait à certaines références archivistiques et sont d'importance bien mineure. La référence au Gemeentearchief d'Amsterdam est insuffisante (529) et on peut trouver aussi deux références très vagues au Public Record Office de Kew (297, 461, 560). On note quatre références à des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, or seules deux apparaissent dans la bibliographie (54, 130, 139, 567). D'autre part, des références aux folios des trente-et-un documents tirés du Centre des archives d'Outre-Mer, à Aix-en-Provence (anciennement Archives nationales, Colonies), sont absentes. Il manque également l'année de publication originale des livres du Dominicain Raymond Breton (1606/9-79), de Theodor de Bry (1528-98) et du jésuite Adrien Le Breton (1672-1735). Et pour finir, dans l'index, on retrouve la seule

faute de frappe du livre, Cosimo "Brunelli" au lieu de "Brunetti" (1630-79).

Abstraction faite de ces coquilles, il s'agit d'une édition pour laquelle les auteurs doivent être félicités. Jusqu'au jour où quelqu'un retrouve de la nouvelle documentation sur son présumé auteur ou sur le manuscrit original, cette réédition peut, à juste titre, être considérée comme définitive.

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## 7. LE RÉGIME SEIGNEURIAL AU CANADA : DEVELOPPEMENT FRANÇAIS OU EXPRESSION D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ NEUVE ?

Vingt ans après sa soutenance, l'historien et canadieniste italien Matteo Sanfilippo a révisé sa thèse de doctorat (1989) pour en faire deux livres sur le système féodal implanté dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent<sup>1</sup>. Selon Sanfilippo, le choix de publier deux livres au lieu d'un seul est motivé par la nécessité de simplifier le sujet pour un public italien qui ne le connaît pas, tout en attirant l'attention des spécialistes italiens de la féodalité sur l'importance du cas canadien qui leur est inconnu, d'autant plus que même leurs voisins français le connaissent très mal (*DF* 13, 96). Les deux livres sont donc complémentaires. On ne saurait lire le premier qui aborde les faits, sans tenir compte du second consacré aux interprétations et aux débats historiographiques. Il faut aussi souligner, à la suite de l'auteur lui-même, que les deux ouvrages n'ont pas d'équivalent dans l'historiographie de langue française ou anglaise (*FV* 16-17). Il convient donc d'évaluer cette contribution nouvelle dans le cadre du débat scientifique international, au lieu d'en limiter la portée au seul public italien.

Le régime seigneurial fut introduit en Amérique du Nord par les premiers colonisateurs français qui ne pouvaient pas imaginer une autre façon de coloniser et d'aménager le territoire de la vallée du Saint-Laurent (*DF* 16). La répartition des terres en fiefs et la terminologie féodale qui l'accompagnait fut donc transposée dans un contexte colonial où ce système "n'avait aucun sens" (*DF* 16), d'autant moins que le seul élément qui comptait véritablement selon Sanfilippo

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<sup>1</sup> Matteo Sanfilippo, "Dalla Francia al Nuovo Mondo : il regime signorile nella valle del San Lorenzo (secoli XVI-XX)" (Thèse de doctorat, Università di Genova, 1989) ; Sanfilippo, *Dalla Francia al Nuovo Mondo : feudi e signorie nella valle del San Lorenzo* (Viterbo : Edizioni Sette Città, 2008), dorénavant *DF* ; Sanfilippo, *Il feudalesimo nella valle del San Lorenzo : un problema storiografico* (Viterbo : Edizioni Sette Città, 2008), dorénavant *FV*.

était le rapport avec les autochtones. La description de l'implantation et du développement du régime seigneurial en Nouvelle-France et dans le Bas-Canada par la suite, bien que très exhaustive et à la fine pointe des dernières contributions de l'historiographie internationale, n'ajoute pas aux connaissances des spécialistes. En effet, les deux livres ne s'appuient pas sur une nouvelle documentation archivistique (quelques documents, provenant des Archives nationales du Canada et des Archives de la Sacrée Congrégation "de Propaganda Fide" à Rome, sont pourtant utilisés pour le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) et se limitent à une analyse et à une synthèse de la production historiographique existante. La périodisation utilisée par Sanfilippo – qui consiste à considérer comme un tout le régime français et le régime anglais – n'est pourtant pas habituelle, surtout en ce qui concerne le régime seigneurial. Pourtant, selon Sanfilippo, ce nouveau découpage est essentiel parce qu'on ne comprend pas autrement le développement du cadre interprétatif du régime seigneurial après la Conquête (1760) et jusqu'à nos jours.

Selon Sanfilippo, ce débat historiographique trouverait ses origines dans "la discussion [très pratique] sur la sauvegarde ou l'abolition des fiefs" après la Conquête et serait directement lié au développement "du contexte politique et économique" (*FV* 17). Remonter aux origines de la période 1763-1854 serait la seule façon de montrer comment le débat historiographique autour du régime seigneurial ne fut pas le résultat d'une opposition entre deux langues et deux nations, mais plutôt d'un clivage entre historiens dont les choix personnels ont été influencés par le climat politique canadien de leur époque (*FV* 94). Ainsi, selon Sanfilippo, les années caractérisées par les succès des politiques fédéralistes du premier ministre Pierre Elliott Trudeau ont valorisé une approche "socio-économique" du régime seigneurial, jusque-là expliqué surtout en termes d'opposition entre les écoles francophone et anglophone. Puis, l'absence presque totale de débat théorique concernant la pertinence du phénomène féodal au cours de la période post-Trudeau pourrait s'expliquer par "la séparation rigide entre le Canada anglophone et le Canada francophone, ce dernier étant réduit au cadre québécois" (*FV* 95).



La fin du débat théorique sur le régime seigneurial permet donc à Sanfilippo de considérer ce même débat comme révolu ; ce qui permettrait d'en discerner plus facilement les éléments constitutifs aussi bien que les points de désaccord entre historiens. On pourrait résumer ainsi la question centrale de ce débat : le régime seigneurial se distinguait-il du système féodal français qui lui sert de modèle ? Cette question comporte un corollaire très important : les habitants canadiens étaient-ils exploités par leurs seigneurs dans la même mesure que les censitaires français l'étaient par leurs féodaux ? Une tradition historiographique qui remonte à François-Xavier Garneau – mais qui se poursuit avec les travaux de Guy Frégault et William J. Eccles – souligne la différence entre les deux systèmes : le cadre juridique était le même, mais une réalité socio-économique bien différente jouait en faveur des habitants. Colin M. Coates se situerait aussi dans le même courant, bien qu'il n'attribue pas au régime seigneurial la même importance que ses prédécesseurs. Tout à fait à l'opposé, on distingue une école de pensée qui compte parmi ses pionniers Louise Dechêne (1932-2000), Fernand Ouellet et Jean-Pierre Wallot (1935-2010) et qui se prolonge avec les travaux plus récents d'Alain Laberge.

Sanfilippo considère qu'il n'y aura jamais de réponse finale aux deux questions principales formulées précédemment, bien que le courant historiographique Garneau-Eccles continue de dominer sur le plan de la vulgarisation. De toute évidence, en ce début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette controverse acharnée sur la dualité *régime seigneurial canadien/système féodal français* a été tout simplement abandonnée et remplacée par deux autres écoles qui se posent de nouvelles questions. La première a développé une approche micro-régionaliste dans la grande collection "Les Régions du Québec", lancée en 1982 par le sociologue Fernand Harvey à l'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture et poursuivie par l'historien Normand Perron à partir de 1991 dans ce qui allait devenir le Centre urbanisation, culture et société de l'Institut national de la recherche scientifique. La seconde école a donné naissance à la collection "Atlas historique du Québec", lancée en 1995 par le géographe Serge Courville, lequel a assumé avec

Normand Séguin et Jean-Claude Robert la direction d'un important projet sur l'axe laurentien au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (FV 61). Ces deux courants de recherche mettent l'accent sur de plus longues périodes (avant et après 1760) et s'intéressent davantage aux stratifications sociales et au développement du monde agricole en général, dont le cadre seigneurial n'est qu'un élément parmi d'autres.

Dans le cadre plus limité du territoire seigneurial, Sanfilippo souligne l'intérêt et la nouveauté de l'apport d'un autre géographe, Louis-Édmond Hamelin, lequel suggère que la véritable différence entre France et vallée du Saint-Laurent tient au fait que, dans la colonie, le système féodal a été aménagé en fonction des "rangs", tandis que dans la métropole l'élément principal demeurait la présence de bourgs.

Par ailleurs, nous assistons depuis une couple de décennies à une tentative pour soustraire le Québec de sa relation avec la mère-patrie pour l'inscrire dans le cadre original des *sociétés neuves* et plus particulièrement de l'américanité. Sanfilippo considère l'historien américain Frederick J. Turner comme un précurseur de ce courant avec sa thèse suggestive de la *frontière*. Les historiens Gérard Bouchard et Yvan Lamonde ont, pour leur part, relancé la question de l'américanité des Québécois au cours des années 1990, suscitant ainsi de vifs débats.

L'analyse de l'historiographie canadienne et québécoise par Sanfilippo est à la fois fouillée et convaincante. Elle tient compte de la production scientifique plus récente et montre que l'auteur a suivi le débat sur la question seigneuriale/féodale de façon attentive au cours des deux décennies qui ont suivi sa soutenance de thèse. Il a, par ailleurs, poursuivi d'autres travaux majeurs concernant l'histoire des migrations et celle des rapports entre le Saint-Siège et l'Amérique du Nord. On peut néanmoins se demander quelle est l'opinion de l'auteur sur la nature du régime seigneurial ? Il faut admettre qu'il n'est pas facile de l'identifier de façon explicite dans ses ouvrages. Deux phrases paraissent pourtant trahir sa pensée malgré son intention de se dissimuler derrière les faits qu'il décrit de façon neutre ou derrière les historiens dont il explicite le propos. Dans le premier cas, il écrit que

"la situation coloniale [de 1775] ne paraît pas être différente de celle qui prévaut en France" sinon "par sa cristallisation [et] par l'absence de contrastes régionaux" (DF 25). Dans l'autre, il prend explicitement position pour l'école Dechêne-Ouellet et déclare qu'il faut "reconsidérer les colonies françaises de l'Amérique du Nord, tout en oubliant le parallèle avec les États-Unis et viser plutôt la continuité et la proximité avec l'histoire" de la France (DF 14).

Étant donné le niveau de sophistication de l'analyse de Sanfilippo, il serait réducteur d'attribuer son interprétation au simple fait qu'il a été l'élève de Ouellet au début des années 1980 et qu'il a par la suite eu l'occasion de collaborer à plusieurs occasions avec l'équipe de Courville. Il nous paraît plus utile de noter certaines variations terminologiques entre sa thèse soutenue en 1989 et ses deux livres publiés en 2008. Dans ces derniers, Sanfilippo utilise constamment (sauf DF 282, 285) les termes de *féodal*, *féodalisme*, *fief*, *foncier* et *système féodal*, alors que dans sa thèse il était plutôt question de *seigneurial*, *régime seigneurial* et *seigneurie*. Cette trajectoire intellectuelle apparemment très explicite est quelque peu compliquée par le fait que par trois fois il utilise dans ses livres le terme *fiefs et seigneuries* (DF 60, 225), dont une fois dans le sous-titre du second ouvrage. Dans sa thèse de doctorat il était question de *régime seigneurial*. Dans ses publications, ce terme n'est utilisé (entre guillemets) que pour la période qui suit la Conquête, une période pour laquelle l'auteur utilise aussi régulièrement le concept de *propriété foncière* (DF 242, 253, 255, 286, 288). Finalement, Sanfilippo décrit la France comme "prototype" du Canada à deux reprises dans ses livres (DF 282) et remplace ainsi le terme de "premier féodalisme" utilisé dans sa thèse.

À notre avis, l'ensemble de ces variations terminologiques tendent à démontrer que Sanfilippo a fait sienne l'approche de Ouellet qui souligne la ressemblance entre le régime seigneurial canadien et le système féodal français. Il a, par conséquent, eu recours à des termes en usage dans l'historiographie française, tout en mettant de côté ceux utilisés couramment par l'historiographie canadienne. Peut-être le *lealista* du livre (DF 201-203) qui remplace le *loyalist* de la thèse va-t-

il dans la même direction et nous fait voir une nouvelle orientation de l'auteur, plus près de l'approche européenne et, par conséquent, plus éloignée de l'historiographie canadienne.

Rappeler trois fautes dans les noms de la duchesse "d'Eguillon" (Marie-Madeleine Combalet, duchesse d'Aiguillon, 1604-75), de "Denis" Delâge et de "Alan" R. Greer (lire, Denys et Allan) ne sert qu'à souligner que les deux livres sont presque sans coquilles. Nous aurions, par ailleurs, préféré le terme d'*aristocratie locale*, telle qu'elle figurait dans la thèse, à celui de *family compact*, qui apparaît comme un anachronisme (*DF* 118). Finalement, si la richesse des notes infrapaginales est impressionnante, il aurait été souhaitable d'ajouter une bibliographie générale à la fin du livre consacré à l'historiographie, tout au moins pour la production qui se situe entre 1989 et 2008. En somme, voilà deux publications de calibre scientifique international. Une édition en français ou en anglais permettrait aux historiens non-italophones d'en profiter davantage.

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## 8. THE GREAT CHALLENGE: CAN MARCEL TRUDEL BE EXPANDED?

Éric Thierry, a French specialist in New France and the author of a much appreciated full-length biography of the French lawyer and author, Marc Lescarbot (c.1570-1642), took upon himself the daunting task of adding some forty years of new historiography to Canadian historian Marcel Trudel's two early volumes of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. In very traditional fashion, but in a lively style, he retells the history of the Europeans' early years in Acadia and Canada from 1598 to 1613, a period roughly corresponding to the rule of King of France Henri IV (1589-1610).<sup>1</sup>

He does so simply by adding to Trudel's familiar story whatever new documentary evidence was provided over the years by Trudel's contemporaries – Robert Le Blant (1898-1989), René Baudry, and Lucien Campeau – and by making extensive use of the pioneering work of Laurier G. Turgeon on the early North Atlantic fisheries, of Bernard Allaire on the fur trade, and of Denys Delâge and Bruce G. Trigger on the early relationship between Frenchmen and aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, Thierry has fully exploited the documents that in the past twenty-five years or so have been unearthed, mainly in the French departmental archives, by researchers working under the aegis of the Paris bureau of the National Archives of Canada under the direction of archivist and historian Raymonde Litalien. Finally, the author has successfully integrated into his narrative both the results of archaeological excavations performed over many years on the sites of the French early settlements, and the new appreciation of the deeply

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<sup>1</sup> Éric Thierry, *Marc Lescarbot, vers 1570-1641: un homme de plume au service de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: H. Champion, 2001); Thierry, *La France de Henri IV en Amérique du Nord. De la création de l'Acadie à la fondation de Québec* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2008). Voir Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, I: *Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603* (Montréal: Les Éditions Fides, 1963); Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, II: *Le comptoir 1604-1627* (Montréal: Les Éditions Fides, 1966).

religious sentiment that influenced the thoughts and actions of the French men and women who were involved with French early expansion. (French historian Denis Crouzet is explicitly mentioned in this regard).

Although Thierry knows more than Trudel, he has not strayed from his eminent predecessor's path. The overall framework is still that of France's "vain attempts" at colonization. The main cause of France's failure is attributed to Henri IV's lack of financial commitment and an initial enthusiasm that was soon dampened by international politics and other overseas priorities, such as Brazil and the East Indies (8, 41, 88, 106, 108, 215, 219, 256, 314, 397, 401, 460-461). The economic role of the Catholic church is emphasized although not as much as Canadian historian William J. Eccles did (272, 392, 406). The meagre results of France's early attempts are valued mainly as necessary steps towards further colonization – the progress in cartography, the physical acclimatization, and the grand alliance with the aboriginal nations (24, 329, 461-462). Thierry also shares Trudel's passion for the verification of any documentary evidence, no matter how small. In this perspective, Thierry can be challenged on some statements – very few, one should immediately add – in which the general implication espoused by the author is not firmly rooted in the original source. For example, Samuel de Champlain is said to have been "pleinement admis à participer à l'élaboration de la stratégie [amérindienne]," but the only source for this statement is Champlain himself (305). The same point can be made of the alleged fears of the Montagnais, who "craignent de perdre leur rang d'alliés privilégiés des Français" (329). If anything, Thierry's synthesis confirms in this reviewer the conviction that, no matter how significant the new evidence that came to light, it is rather astounding how much we still depend, for both our knowledge and interpretation, on the works of very few highly-placed participants such as Champlain, Lescarbot, or the Jesuit Pierre Biard.

The way Thierry writes his narrative in a cumulative fashion, one fact after another, may give the impression that there is little room for interpretation. However, this is not always so. Interpretive frameworks do creep in, though concealed (possibly even to the author himself) as

points of fact. For example, take the Brief Discours, the manuscript allegedly written by Champlain, on which Thierry makes no reference whatsoever to the controversy surrounding its attribution (90, 116, 335). Another, more important, case in point is whether firearms really changed the balance of power in early North America. Thierry's sentence is rather unclear as to whether this is a fact or simply a perception on the part of the Montagnais at a particular point in time (71). Another example is the explanation of aboriginal conversions to Christianity, entirely attributed to practical reasons (healing powers, seals of alliances, access to gifts, etc.), without any mention of possible spiritual, intimate motivations (384). A fourth example, by far the most significant, is the constant reiteration of the "middlemen theory," together with the repeated implication that aboriginal wars were caused by European participation in the fur trade (26-27, 70-71, 154, 290, 327, 452). Thierry's viewpoint is well in line with Trigger and the Delâge of *Le Pays renversé*<sup>2</sup>, two of his acknowledged sources of inspiration. Yet no mention is made of the fact that all the above issues (firearms, conversion, and fur trade wars) have been seriously challenged in the past twenty-five years or so. Lastly, in spite of his thoroughness, Thierry is strangely oblivious to the literature written in English, that does not appear either in the footnotes or in the bibliography, with very minor and quite dated exceptions. (José A. Brandão, John A. Dickinson, Peter E. Pope, John G. Reid and Karen O. Kupperman, to name but a few, are among the missing ones.)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Denys Delâge, *Le pays renversé: Amérindiens et Européens en Amérique du nord-est, 1600-1664* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> José A. Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Toward New France and Its Natives Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Richard Worth and Brandão, *New France 1534-1763: Featuring the Region that Now Includes All or Parts of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine, and Canada from Manitoba to Newfoundland* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2007); John A. Dickinson and Lucien-René Abenon, *Les Français en Amérique* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1993); Peter E. Pope, *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot* (Toronto: University of Toronto

A final commentary on editorial practices. The book is well written, well organized, and well produced. I have counted six typos, all of minimal significance (except for the name of the American historian, Samuel E. Morison (not "Morrison"). The practice of using footnotes directly linked to relating element in the text, instead of lumping everything in a footnote at the end of a paragraph, is to be commended. On the contrary, the old-fashioned use of *op. cit.* and *art. cit.* should be done away with. Quotations are a bit long, but do not really harm the flow of the text. In two instances, information about the location of a certain document is unnecessarily placed in the text (68, 264). "Pierre Dugua de Mons" (Pierre Du Gua de Monts, c.1568-1628) is not spelled according to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* standard (the latter, incidentally, is only used in its web version), and Jessé Fléché (c.1560-1645?), the priest, is always spelled "Jessé Fleuché," without any explanation, even though the author himself used the former version in his previous Lescarbot biography. The list of archival repositories and of consulted documents is, at times, inconsistent. A document from the Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime is in the footnotes, but not in the bibliography. The opposite is true of another one from the Archives nationales (Paris). References to documents in the Bibliothèque nationale de France are sometimes inconsistent, and at least seven items used in the footnotes are not listed in the Bibliography. Finally, documents in the British Library (also referred to by Thierry as "British Museum") were evidently not consulted first-hand. The index is thorough, but it might have been useful to add the names of the ships and to avoid general entries such as "Amérique" and "France." Also, some entries were evidently computer-generated: one finds the ship *Grâce de Dieu* under "Dieu," and Luc Sere, sieur de La Pasquerie (1565-1631) and

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Press, 1997); Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen O. Kupperman (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).



Timoléon d'Espinay, Sieur de Saint-Luc (1580-1644), under "Luc, évangéliste."

In conclusion, Thierry has written a very good book that makes readers feel that they know quite a lot about early New France but not everything. In forty years, another historian will be bold enough to revise and expand the Thierry synthesis. Interpretations, however, will still be lurking on the side, whether we want it or not.

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IV.

A POSTSCRIPT:  
CANADIAN, AMERICAN, AND OTHER USEFUL STUDIES



1. ON THE WITNESS STAND:  
A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY  
IN ITALY IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II DECADES, 1945-78

In his 1974 address to the founding conference of the Italian Association of American Studies, Italian historian Tiziano Bonazzi, then a young historian of 34, daringly stated his belief that the discipline of history was "boring, perhaps even dangerous ... a chimerical attempt to make the dead speak their mind ... a necromantic operation."<sup>1</sup> A quarter of a century later, a most respected member of the historical profession, Bonazzi showed that the many years of looking back into the past of mankind had hardly made him change his mind: "[H]istorical research does not find truths, but ... can only provide answers to the questions that our present allows and requires us to ask."<sup>2</sup> I have always wondered why Bonazzi hired me in 1975, as I hold a very different opinion of our common trade. In a rather old-fashioned way, I am a true believer in history. I embrace the view that, though historical truth may be unknowable, historians are there to further the knowledge of events that took place in the past to the best of their ability. Perhaps even more importantly, they are meant to show the range of options on which the decisions of people past were based.

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<sup>1</sup> Except for quotations, full references to authors and works are to be found in Appendix 1, which includes all authors mentioned in the text. Authors were not indexed unless they were discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Tiziano Bonazzi, "La situazione attuale degli studi di storia americana in Italia," Comitato di Coordinamento per gli Studi di Storia Americana, *Bollettino* 4 (gennaio 1975): 28 ("[N]oiosa, e forse anche dannosa ... una chimera questo voler far parlare i morti ... un'operazione da negromanti"); Bonazzi, "Gli studi di storia americana", in *Tradizione protestante e ricerca storica. L'impegno intellettuale di Giorgio Spini. Giornata di Studio. Torino 8 novembre 1996*, ed. Enzo A. Baldini and Massimo Firpo (Firenze: Olshki Editore, 1998), 87 ("[L]a ricerca storica non individua verità, ma fornisce solo risposte alle domande che il nostro presente ci costringe e ci consente di porre").

The time frame discussed here has been selected by using 1945, that is, the end of World War II, as its natural starting point, and 1978 as its closing date.<sup>3</sup> This second date requires further explanation. In fact, 1976, the year of the celebrations of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, would have been more appropriate, as that year two major collections of essays, the establishment of a professional organization, and the largest international American history conference to date signalled the zenith of the collective effort of Italian Americanist historians. However, since the proceedings of the Genoa 1976 conference were published in 1978, the latter was preferred.<sup>4</sup>

An examination of the literature in the field of American history in the years 1945-78 shows that immediately after World War II there were, broadly speaking, two major historiographical schools at play. (For the sake of clarity, I will describe as "schools" what were in fact

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<sup>3</sup> For historiographical essays and general assessments consulted for this chapter, see Anzilotti 1976; Bognetti 1976; Bonazzi "Ricerche," 1972, 1975, Bonazzi, "Trends," 1984; Bonazzi, "Constitutional," 1984, 1986, 1989, 1993, 1998; Codignola, "America nella *Rassegna*," 1976, "Contributi," 1978, "Studi," 1978; Codignola and Del Negro 1984; Fasce 1984, 1986; Fiorentino 1996; Franzina 1989; Mari 1984; Martellone 1984; Migone, "Studi," 1971; Ortoleva 1984; Sergio Romano 1993; Rosoli 1984; Russo 1976; Sanfilippo 1988-2000, 2002, 2003; Spini 1970; Testi 1984; Valtz Mannucci 1984; Vaudagna 1984; Vezzosi and Manetti, "Bibliography," 1984; Vezzosi and Manetti, "General," 1984.

<sup>4</sup> Publications dated 1979 were also systematically examined. American history being the object of this chapter, I have not tried to encompass the whole range of publications that fall into the broader field of American studies. I am well aware, however, of the continuing and notable Italian interest for the American social sciences (especially in the field of economics, sociology, political science and law), and of the major influence that the social sciences had on the development of American history in Italy. The extent of that influence, however, requires a separate study. Furthermore, although I would prefer to deal with the whole of North America rather than with the United States only, it is a fact that, at least until the late 1970s, Italian historians showed very little interest in the history of Canada. Hence, whenever possible, the preferred use of "American," instead of "North American," throughout this article. The proceedings of the Genoa 1976 conference appeared as *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Storia Americana (Genova, 26-29 maggio 1976). Italia e Stati Uniti dall'indipendenza americana ad oggi (1776-1976)*, ed. Raimondo Luraghi (Genova: Tilgher, 1978)

loose communities sharing general principles and attitudes, as I will later make clear – except perhaps for the Liberal School.) The first was the Contribution School, a rather mixed bag of amateur and professional historians and literary critics whose members did not openly proclaim allegiance to any political project or ideal. This school had its roots well before World War II and members on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. By and large, its aim was to prove the extent of the Italian contribution to the history of the United States and vice versa. This contribution was invariably seen as much larger than previously thought. Many also avowed that it always leant on the side of progress and reciprocal betterment. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Contribution School focused on the history of Italian immigration to the United States, emphasizing successful assimilation, and produced innumerable articles on reciprocal images and influences. For the example, the influence of the Tuscan entrepreneur, Filippo Mazzei, on President Thomas Jefferson (Marraro 1935 1942 1943 1944-5); America as portrayed in *Civiltà Cattolica* (Gennaro Lerda 1976); Piedmontese author Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803) and the American Revolution (Bairati 1976), and so on. The name of the American cultural historian, Howard R. Marraro (1897-1972), and of the American amateur historian Giovanni E. Schiavo (1898-1982), immediately come to mind as the most prominent members of the Contribution School. Many followed in their footsteps, most often in the Risorgimento tradition. The quality and interest of the writings of the members of this school varies enormously, ranging from the antiquarian approach of a two-page documentary note on the Genoese politician, Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72) (Carmignani 1956), to Italian economic historian Vincenzo Giura's sound examination of Neapolitan commerce with the United States in the nineteenth century (Giura 1967). Some findings of the Contribution School were indeed significant and became common currency among historians at large. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s most professional historians sneered at this school's old-fashioned approach to the historical science and considered non-existent, let alone obsolete, its theoretical premises.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For publications of the members of the Contribution School, see Anzilotti 1969;

The second school was the more tightly-connected Liberal School, mainly active in the 1950s and the early 1960s. Most of its members had been prominent opponents of the Italian Fascist regime led by Benito Mussolini before and during World War II. Some of them, now in their 30s or 40s, were close to the European Federalist Movement. They were mostly jurists and political scientists. They firmly believed that American institutions provided the model of a new order for the Western world and for Italy in particular, and the only viable alternative to the threat of Communism. Hence their special interest in constitutional matters and their belief that American texts should be provided in translation to an Italian audience which, in their view, had been exposed for too long to virulent anti-American propaganda. The most visible legacy of the Liberal School was the 17-volume series of American history books published by Società Editrice Il Mulino between 1960 and 1967. The series was signed by Vittorio de Caprariis (1924-64), Rosario Romeo (1924-87), Mauro Calamandrei (b.1925) and Nicola Matteucci.<sup>6</sup> This series was very much in line

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Arfè, 1961-2, 1969; Azzi Visentini 1976; Bairati, 1976; Balletta 1972; Barbieri 1972; Bertelli 1972; Bruers 1951; Bulferetti 1958, 1966; Canavero 1976; Candido 1978; Carmignani 1956; Castellano 1956; Celesti 1966; Ciavarella 1976; Codignola, "America nei documenti" 1976, "Miracolosa" 1978; Comitato Romano 1954; Coniglio 1957; Cortese 1971; De Incontrera 1960; Donati, "Regolamenti Stati" 1976, "Regolamenti Canada" 1976; Donno, "Cultura" 1978; Francovich 1954; Garro Raiteri 1978; Gennaro Lerda 1969; Ghisalberti 1951, 1953, 1954, 1962; Ginzburg Migliorino 1976, "Comunità" 1978, "Immigrati" 1978; Giorgi 1976; Giura 1967; Gorlier 1969; Guelfi Camajani 1976; Liburdi 1954; Lodolini 1956, 1969, "Volontaires" 1976; Hardy 1976; Lombardo 1969; Loverci 1974, 1976, 1977, 1979; Maestro 1974; Augusto Mancini 1954; Mangio 1976; Mann Borgese 1961; Marchisio 1958; Margiocco 1976; Martinola 1966; Mastellone 1969; Monaco 1953; Montini 1954; Morelli 1977; Neri 1979; Olivieri 1976; Pagano 1954; Perosa 1969; Petrocchi 1947; Prezzolini, *Come*, 1971; Prezzolini, "Proposito," 1971; Principe 1979; Procacci 1954; Rizzo 1976; Sagrestani 1976; Santini 1954, 1955; Stefanon, "Figure," 1976, "Uomini," 1976; Tagliarini 1976; Tomasi 1972; Torsiello 1976; Tosi 1972; Venturi 1969-90, 1973; Zolla 1969.

<sup>6</sup> Other prominent members of this group included Aldo Garosci, Enzo Tagliacozzo (b.1909), Vittorio Gabrieli (b.1917), Luciano Bolis (1918-93), Cipriana Scelba (b.1921), Mario D'Addio (b.1923), Guglielmo Negri (1926-2000) and Alberto Aquarone (1930-85). A good number of them were based in Rome. Romeo was the



with the so-called Consensus History school. It espoused the view that Europe and the United States were "one civilization" and that "American history [was] an integral part of our [Italy's] civilization."<sup>7</sup> The long introductions that often preceded the American classics in translation are worth noting. Matteucci's introduction to Charles H. McIlwain (Matteucci 1965) was described by Malcolm Sylvers, an American Marxist historian active in Italy, as "a real political and cultural manifesto of the Italian liberal and non-Catholic right".<sup>8</sup> The Harvard Committee on American Civilization, chaired by the prominent historian Louis Hartz (1919-86), assisted in the selection of the books. The United States Information Service (USIS), duly thanked, was behind the series, as it was behind so many translations of American books printed in those years. It certainly provided financial assistance to such publishing houses as Comunità, Il Mulino, and Nistri-Lischi, or magazines such as *Tempo Presente*, edited by

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only one in the group who never wrote on the history of the British colonies or of the United States. On Aquarone, see Testi 1985; Romeo 1985. On Vittorio de Caprariis, see Romeo 1964. De Caprariis also edited a 20-volume series titled "Classici della democrazia moderna," published by Società Editrice Il Mulino of Bologna. The series mostly included Anglo-American authors, besides Carlo Cattaneo (1801-69), Alexis-Charles-Henri-Maurice Clérel de Tocqueville (1805-59), Henri-Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Giuseppe Mazzini, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1769-1859).

<sup>7</sup> See the unsigned preface to the series, "Collezione di Storia Americana" (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1960-7), 17 vols., 3-4 ("Una civiltà unitaria;" "la storia americana è parte integrante della nostra stessa civiltà"). The collection included "classic" books by authors whose years of birth ranged from as early as 1823 and not later than 1917: Francis Parkman, Henry B. Adams (1838-1918), John F. Jameson (1859-1937), Frederick J. Turner, Charles H. McIlwain, Samuel E. Morison, Walter P. Webb (1888-1963), Dexter Perkins (1889-1984), Bernard DeVoto (1897-1955), Paul H. Buck (1899-1978), Perry Miller (1905-63), Comer Vann Woodward (1908-99), Richard Hofstadter, Walt W. Rostow (1916-2003) and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (1917-2007).

<sup>8</sup> See Malcolm Sylvers, "Studi italiani di storia americana: dalla ricerca del 'modello' a quella dei 'caratteri originali'", *Italia contemporanea* 133, no. 4 (ottobre-dicembre 1978): 76 n4 ("un vero manifesto politico e culturale della destra liberale e laica italiana").

Ignazio Silone (*vere* Secondo Tranquilli, 1900-78) and Nicola Chiaromonte (1905-72) (Donno "Cultura" 1978; Donno *Cultura* 1978).<sup>9</sup>

For a while, the Liberal School carved a small role for itself in a polarized world in which pro-American and pro-Communist standpoints were mutually exclusive. In the late 1960s, however, this group ceased to exist. Some of its members had died. More significantly, the Liberal School had been crushed by the stifling world of post-World War II Italy, in which scholars willingly belonged to, or were invariably lumped in with, one or the other side of the political spectrum. During the Cold War in Italy, as in most Southern European countries, scholars (*intellettuali*) were expected to speak out and to take sides. Any scholarly exchange or dialogue with the opposite side was altogether impossible. Irrespective of the fact that only a limited number openly described themselves as such, scholars were either "Catholic" (i.e., right-wing), or "Communist" (i.e., leftist). Indeed, in 1978, the last year examined in this article, the Soviet Union remained a mighty power and Communism was still a possible utopia. Only two years before, the Italian Communist Party got closer than ever to winning a majority at the national elections. Members of the Liberal School were neither Catholic nor Communist, and their country had shown little or no interest in their idea of

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<sup>9</sup> The story of the American influence on Italian cultural and university life has yet to be written. For the early post-World War II years, see Bruti Liberati 2004; for a detailed list of Fulbright Commission alumni, showing their significance for the Italian intellectual circles, see Bonazzi 1993: 153. During the years 1945-78, Scelba was the Executive Director of the Italian Fulbright Commission ("Commissione per gli Scambi Culturali tra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti"). The Commission was responsible for US professors in Italian universities and Italian scholars visiting the United States. Roberto Bolzoni was the USIS university liaison and American Studies Specialist at USIS from 1976 to 1989, the only person at USIS to hold such an office in Italy. Grants to the Italian Association of North American Studies and the Italian Committee for North American History went through his desk. Furthermore, the Centro Italiano di Studi Americani in Rome was the main hub of Italian Americanists for seminars, conferences, and meetings. Elena Potsios was its Executive Director (1961-97), and Alessandra Pinto Surdi (d. 2012) its Chief Librarian (1968-98).

applying American institutional remedies to old Italian political diseases.<sup>10</sup>

Outside of the Contribution and the Liberal School, between 1945 and 1970 American history in Italy was mainly represented by a small number of free agents who came from very different backgrounds and, via their own personal agendas, came to include the history of the United States among their scholarly interests. Each of them would require an historiographical essay of his or her own. Let me just try to establish some possible connections among such disparate and differing personalities, using a rough chronological approach. Even their ages vary somewhat, as 16 years divide the oldest from the youngest member of the group. In fact, what do historians such as Antonello Gerbi (1904-76), Giorgio Spini, Ferdinando Vegas (1916-84), Raimondo Luraghi (b.1921), Ottavio Barié (b.1923), Anna Maria Martellone (b.1929), or Ennio Di Nolfo (b.1930) have in common, except their interest in matters American?<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For publications of the members of the Liberal School, see Gaspare Ambrosini 1955, 1957, 1961; Aquarone 1959, "Introduzione," 1961; Binkley 1961, 1969, "Dalla," 1970, Mazzei 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1977; Aquarone, Guglielmo Negri, and Scelba, 1961; Bolis 1957; Calamandrei 1957, 1958, "Miller" 1962, "Perry" 1962, "Turner" 1967, "Pensiero" 1967, 1971, 1976; D'Addio, 1955; de Caprariis, 1958, 1960, *Antologia* 1961, *Età* 1961, "Introduzione" 1963, "Storiografia" 1963, "Tendenze" 1963, "Beard" 1963, "Hofstadter" 1967, "Età" 1967; De Cesare and Guglielmo Negri 1958; Einaudi 1959; Gabrieli 1955, 1958, 1964, 1966, 1973; Galimberti 1957; Garosci 1954, 1957; Giordano 1957, 1959; Lucatello 1957; Manferdini 1960; Matteucci 1965, 1968, "Origini" 1976, "Costituzionalismo" 1976; Nati 1957; Guglielmo Negri 1955, "Introduzione" 1961, "Introduzione alla" 1961, 1964, 1969, 1976; Rebuzzini 1957; Romeo 1954, 1964, 1975, 1976, 1985; Ronchey 1957; Scelba 1962; Spinelli 1957; Tagliacozzo 1957, "Saggi" 1959, "Mayflower" 1959, *Pagine* 1959, 1963, 1967, "Lincoln" 1969, Salvemini, 1969, 1974, 1979; Tedeschini Lalli Bosco 1966, 1969, 1976.

<sup>11</sup> On Antonello Gerbi, see Sandro Gerbi 1983, 2002; Pertici, 2000: 265-285; Treves, 1983. On Giorgio Spini, besides Anna Maria Martellone, "Italian Historians and the History of the United States: A Difficult Journey," 2006: 38-51, see Martellone "Tribute," 1986, "Bibliography," 1986; Valtz Mannucci, 1992; Baldini and Firpo, 1998; Bonazzi, 1998. On Ferdinando Vegas, see Spini, 1984. On Luraghi, see Maccarini, 1998; Codignola, 1998. For an opinion of some of Di Nolfo's writings, see Vigezzi "Politica," 1985: 149-151. On Martellone, see her

Gerbi was an expatriate author who is best known for *The Dispute of the New World*, the magisterial book on reciprocal images, widely read to this day all over the world (Antonello Gerbi 1955). His legacy was mainly picked up by Latin Americanist historians, not by North Americanists. In fact, only two Italian intellectual historians, Piero Del Negro (b.1941) and Federica Ambrosini (b.1949), showed some interest in similar issues, both with regard to America's role in early modern Venetian thought and politics, especially in the early days of their careers.<sup>12</sup> For their part, the Americanist focus of Barié, Vegas, and Di Nolfo was mainly in what Italians refer to as "international relations," a field of enquiry that English-speaking historians often include in international history and even in political science. The importance of the United States in the contemporary world meant that they devoted several publications to American history, but none of them would describe himself as an Americanist. Other international relations scholars followed in the same path.<sup>13</sup> Spini was a libertarian at heart who did not allow his fascination for the American New Left

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autobiographical reflections in "Italian Historians and the History of the United States," in *Ambassadors: American Studies in a Changing World. Proceedings of the XVII International AISNA Conference (Roma, Centro Studi Americani, 6-8 November 2003)* ed. Massimo Bacigalupo and Gregory Dowling (Rapallo: Azienda Grafica Busco Edizioni, 2006), 38-51.

<sup>12</sup> For writings in colonial history, see Federica Ambrosini 1973, 1975; Balbo Fabre, 1974; Codignola *Parkman* 1976, 1977, "Contributi," 1978, "America," 1979, "Amérique," 1979; Del Negro, 1975, "Saggio," 1976, "Eruditi" 1976, 1978, 1979; Farina 1971; Firpo 1965; Antonello Gerbi 1955, 1975; Marengo 1966; Pazzini 1970; Rotta 1976; Ulvioni 1972; Vivan 1972.

<sup>13</sup> For writings in the field of international relations, see Aga-Rossi 1972, 1973, "Politica" 1976, "Recenti" 1976, 1977; Ardia *Partito* 1976, "Partito" 1976; Barié 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964, "Wilson" 1978, *Stati da colonia* 1978, *Stati nel secolo* 1978; Catalano 1972, 1976; Celozzi Baldelli 1969-70, 1970, "Problemi" gennaio 1971, "Problemi" luglio 1971, 1972, 1976; Di Nolfo 1971, 1972, "Problemi" 1975, "Operazione" 1975, 1976, 1977, "Montini" 1978, "Stati" 1978, "United" 1978, *Vaticano* 1978, 1979; Galante 1973, 1976; Marini 1976; Mercuri 1975; Roverato 1976; Santoro 1978; Tommasi 1976; Vegas 1953, 1961, 1968, "Franklin" 1975, "Isolamento" 1975, 1976, 1979; Vegas, Ricciu, and Giglio 1971. Antonio Donno's post-1978 writings can also be labelled as "international history" or "international relations."

to interfere with his immense early modern scholarship. During World War II, which he fought with the British Army, he developed a deep sympathy for British and American ideals (Spini 2002). He shared these with the Liberal School, but what made them incompatible was the latter's conservatism and his own socialist and Protestant libertarian feelings.<sup>14</sup> Luraghi, himself an active member of the Italian Resistance during World War II (Luraghi 2005), spent his formative years in the Marxist school of history – although he prefers to call himself a "Gramscian," from Italian philosopher and political activist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937).<sup>15</sup> He specialized first in economic and later in military history. A professor of American history at Università di Genova since 1965, Luraghi always showed a profound sympathy for the non-mainstream communities in American history – the French, the South, the blacks, the aboriginal peoples – long before the New Left even began to think about them.<sup>16</sup> Martellone developed a composite and complex historical personality, in that her ever-lasting interest was – and is – in early modern European intellectual history and political ideology. However, she went to the United States to study Boston's Little Italy, lived and taught there for several years, returned to Florence where she taught American history, and became the Italian authority on migration history.

In spite of Spini, Luraghi, and Martellone's often undivided interest in the history of the United States, none of them immediately created any recognizable school of thought, in the same way that the Liberal School had established itself. The truth is that in the 1960s and early 1970s the number of professional Italian historians interested in American history was so small that there was not enough room to allow the creation of proper "schools" among Italian Americanists. Furthermore, the sharing of some areas of interest between younger scholars and their mentors was not coupled by the use of similar

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<sup>14</sup> Massimo Rubboli's post-1978 writings can also be partially ascribed to Protestant libertarian feelings. For a non-scholarly recent example of this influence, see Scroppo 2004. On Spini, see also ch. 9 of Part I of this collection.

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication to the author (1997).

<sup>16</sup> On Luraghi, see ch. 6 of Part I of this collection.

methodologies. Although Florence and Genoa soon became showcases respectively for migration studies and intellectual history on the one side, and Civil War, military, and Canadian studies on the other,<sup>17</sup> the official publications of the professional organization of Italian historians of North America (on which more later) do not show evidence of much historiographical debate or methodological differentiation.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the rise to the forefront of another four prominent players in the field of American history – Massimo Teodori (b.1938), Bonazzi (b.1940), Gian Giacomo Migone (b.1940), and, somewhat later, Piero Bairati. At first glance, one would be tempted immediately to link them to previous Americanist traditions. For example, Teodori's past and present libertarianism and interest in the "other America" could be traced all the way to Spini. But then Teodori has hardly ventured into the years before World War II, whereas Spini's *America 1962* is an exceptional inroad into current matters (Spini 1962; also Spini Brown 1964, "Giovane" 1967, "Rivolta" 1967). Bonazzi's interest in the ideological and juridical origins of present-day United States may be attributed to his familiarity with the Liberal School and with Matteucci in particular. Yet Bonazzi's constant search for and examination of past and current models, together with his frequent co-operation with non-historian colleagues, made him more of a social scientist than probably anybody else in the field of American history in Italy.<sup>18</sup> Migone is apparently more difficult to pin down to a single origin. His publications show a mixture of the traditional international relations

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<sup>17</sup> For writings which can roughly be attributed to the field of Civil War, military, Canadian, migration and intellectual history, see Ciacci 1972; Codignola 1977, *Canadiana* 1978, "Montcalm" 1978, "Studi" 1978, *Canadiana* 1979; Del Vecchio 1972; Garro Raiteri 1976; Gennaro Lerda 1974, "Schiavitù" 1976, "Tariffe" 1976, "Battaglia" 1978, "Populismo" 1978, "Radicalismo" 1978; Nazzaro 1972; Rubboli 1978; Russo 1976; Sereni 1972.

<sup>18</sup> See for example the following articles elicited and published in Bonazzi's edited collections: Dallerba 1978; Doglio 1978; Pasquinelli 1976; Pasquino 1976; Petrolini 1978; Santucci 1976. On Bonazzi, see Bonazzi 1993, an almost autobiographical article.

school, but also a militant commitment to the Marxist approach to history that is usually foreign to internationalists. Even more difficult to describe is a slightly younger historian, Bairati, a prolific author who in his all too short life moved from US philosophy and intellectual history to Italian business history. Originally a rather conservative thinker himself, somewhat attached to what was left of the European Federalist Movement, his voluminous 1978 synthesis of American history is conversely overly influenced by New Left vogues.<sup>19</sup>

At the core of the matter is the fact that Teodori, Bonazzi, Migone, and Bairati, just like Spini, Luraghi, and Martellone before them, were free agents who were not streamed into American history by any pre-existing Italian school, nor were they directly linked to any historical methodology developed in the United States.<sup>20</sup> In Italy, these historians single-handedly invented a discipline that was not there when they started off. (Spini accepted a chair in early modern history at the Università di Firenze, and only later began to teach American history on the side.) In the early 1970s, in spite of their different backgrounds, by joining forces in a professional organization, they believed they could achieve three main objectives, which can be summed up as follows: [i] To carve for themselves and their students a niche in the official world of the academe, so that their intellectual mission would not end with them; [ii] To be officially recognized as scholars of a worthy topic by university colleagues who still considered America an unimportant appendage of Europe; [iii] To provide scholarly guidance to Italian society in all matters American, at a time when Italian readers were deluged by a plethora of books and articles authored, selected, and translated by non-professional Americanists, mainly journalists.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> On Bairati, see Vaudagna 1997.

<sup>20</sup> Bonazzi identifies a slightly different chronology among Italian Americanist historians. He sees Aquarone, Garosci, Matteucci and Spini as the pioneers, immediately followed by a new wave consisting of Bonazzi himself, Luraghi, Martellone, Migone and Teodori (Bonazzi 1993: 156-157).

<sup>21</sup> The time frame selected for this article does not permit to assess whether the third objective of the Committee was met. Matteo Sanfilippo, "American History in Italy

The Co-ordinating Committee for Studies in American History ("Comitato di Coordinamento per gli Studi di Storia Americana") was conceived in 1970 and officially established in 1976.<sup>22</sup> Undoubtedly, this pioneer group of Americanist historians took advantage of a new enthusiasm towards American studies in general. The Italian Association of American Studies ("Associazione Italiana di Studi Americani") was founded roughly in the same period.<sup>23</sup> Ironically, this

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after the Bicentennial Celebrations 1978-1992: A Discipline in Search of an Identity," in *Ambassadors*, ed. Bacigalupo and Dowling, 160-171, dealing with the subsequent time frame, maintains that not only it was not met, but the situation got much worse. See also Sanfilippo 1988-2000.

<sup>22</sup> The decision to establish a co-ordinating committee ("Comitato di Coordinamento per gli Studi di Storia Americana") was made in Rome in November 1970 at a meeting officially convened in Rome by Franco Valsecchi, an Italianist historian who was then President of the Centro Italiano di Studi Americani (Bonazzi 1998: 84). The decision to create a more structured Italian Committee for American History ("Comitato Italiano per la Storia Americana") was made in Florence on 4 July 1975. Its official establishment took place in Florence one year later (10-11 April 1976). Twenty-four members were present, another eight voted by proxy (Spini 1972; Russo 1976). The Committee later changed its name into Italian Committee for North American History ("Comitato Italiano per la Storia Nordamericana"). The Committee held its last general business meeting in Rome on 9 March 1991 and was never reconvened since. Its last official act was the letter of resignation signed by Codignola, its last secretary general, dated 16 January 1992. From 1978 to 1991 several attempts were made to merge with Latin Americanist historians to form the Italian Society for the History of the Americas ("Società Italiana di Storia delle Americhe"), but the latter never became a reality. See Associazione Italiana di Studi Nord-Americani, *Newsletter*, 8 (giugno 1978): 10; Comitato Italiano per la Storia Nordamericana, Proceedings of the General Business Meeting (7 December 1988): 3; Founding Act of the Società Italiana di Storia delle Americhe, signed by Francesca Cantù and Codignola, 23 November 1991, unpublished.

<sup>23</sup> The Executive Council of the Italian Association of American Studies met for the first time in Florence on 21 June 1973 and held its first conference in Pisa and Montecatini Terme (25-27 May 1974) on "La situazione degli studi americani in Italia. Metodi e prospettive." On 1 June 1975, the association was renamed Italian Association of North American Studies ("Associazione Italiana di Studi Nord-Americani"). See Associazione Italiana di Studi Nord-Americani, *Newsletter*, 1 (December 1973): 2; 5 (febbraio 1976): 8; Anzilotti 1976. Literary critics Rolando Anzilotti (1919-82) and Agostino Lombardo (1927-2005) were presidents of the



new enthusiasm mostly derived from an overall anti-American sentiment which in the late 1960s and early 1970s was prominent among students and young academics. These included sociologists, politicians, literary critics, trade unionists, journalists, philosophers, ethnologists, economists, political scientists, as well as a comparatively small number of historians. Most of the latter ended up in the newly-founded Committee. This anti-American sentiment was so strong, that the editor of the *Bollettino*, the Committee's official periodical publication, migration historian Pietro Russo (b.1930), felt it necessary to apologize for the fact that "so much attention [was] devoted to radical and socialist trends in American society, as shown by the many publications of Italian authors ... [and] ... the many translations of American books published [in Italy] after 1965." According to Russo, "older faculty members [too] ha[d] long been greatly interested in the 'other America.'"<sup>24</sup> The fact was that, outside of the Founding Fathers of the Committee (Martellone was the only "mother"), practically all its affiliated members belonged to a new historical school, whose common feature was its view of mainstream America as a negative model. Most often its members shared an overall allegiance to Marxism.<sup>25</sup> However, as some of them openly

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Italian Association of North American Studies respectively in 1973-7 and 1977-9. Luraghi and Bruno Cartosio represented historians in the Executive Council in 1973-5 (the former also as Vice-President) and 1975-9 respectively. Note that in 1975 Cartosio, the unofficial candidate of the Leftist School and a literary critic by training, won his seat in the Executive Council by running against none other than Bonazzi and Luraghi, the latter perceived to be a right-wing candidate. The historians' presence in the Italian Association of North American Studies was not always an easy one (Associazione Italiana di Studi Nord-Americani, *Newsletter*, 5 (febbraio 1976): 8; 7 (maggio 1977): 4-12; 8 (giugno 1978): 4. The Association's *Newsletter*, of which eight issues were published between 1973 and 1979, and that so far continues to be published, also included information on historians.

<sup>24</sup> Russo (1976), 15 ("Non sorprenderà ... se tanta attenzione è rivolta verso le correnti radicali e socialiste della società americana, come del resto testimoniano numerose pubblicazioni di autori italiani ... e inoltre confermano molte tradizioni di opere americane uscite dopo il 1965. Va notato che anche docenti meno giovani si sono occupati da tempo e con vivo interesse dell'"altra America").

<sup>25</sup> This point is also emphasized in Bonazzi 1993: 159.

refused Marxism as a political doctrine and regarded themselves as libertarians or radicals, I have chosen more broadly to refer to this third school as the Leftist School.

The Leftist School placed itself on the side of the Contribution School, whose members were continuing to produce a trickle of publications of uneven value which were despised by the Leftists. It also replaced the Liberal School, which had long ceased to exist as a significant group. In spite of their generational gap, the Leftist and the Liberal schools shared a deep faith in the mission they had set to accomplish, namely, to change the world, starting with their own country, through the dissemination of the ideas and the examples that the United States provided throughout their history. The ideas and the examples they chose, however, set them at the opposite end of the political spectrum. Whereas the Liberals looked at mainstream America, Leftists were enticed by the so-called "other America." They were fascinated by the blacks, the aboriginal peoples, the trade unions, the working class, the Communist party, the anarchists, the immigrants (provided they had failed or refused assimilation), the student movement, even the French of the colonial days. Together with their colleagues in American literature, in the second half of the 1970s historians of the Leftist School were instrumental in organizing conferences that invariably dealt with radical issues.<sup>26</sup> Their faith in

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<sup>26</sup> As early as 1973, papers presented at the Perugia seminar (see below) were almost invariably devoted to socialist issues. After the 1978 Genoa conference, a second international conference sponsored by the Italian Committee for North American History was co-ordinated by Loretta Valtz Mannucci on "Radicalism in United States History" (Milan, 14-17 June 1979). No official proceedings were ever published. Meanwhile, the Italian Association of North American Studies had organized conferences on "La società americana di fronte alla crisi di fine secolo" (Perugia, 31 May-2 June 1975); "Walt Whitman e il suo tempo" (Cagliari, 1-4 October 1976); "Storia e cultura dei neri degli Stati Uniti" (Urbino, 27-30 May 1977); and "Società e pratiche linguistiche dell'avanguardia americana del primo 900 (1900-1930)" (Venice, 1-3 October 1979). Cartosio and Vaudagna were the historians' co-ordinators respectively in 1977 and 1978. Vaudagna was responsible for the conference historical sub-theme, "Aggregazione sociale e protesta negli USA." Incidentally, "USA" – as opposed to "Stati Uniti" – was a favoured styleme of the Italian Left, and so remains to this date.

the existence of an "other America" undoubtedly destined some day to join the progressive world – whenever and whatever that was – led to manifest contradictory attitudes. As early as 1960, for example, Leftists had hailed President John F. Kennedy as a breath of fresh air, and then had marched against him at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.<sup>27</sup>

The Leftist School mostly produced hagiographical recollections of labour stalwarts and victims of past repressions, such as the anarchists and their dreams, the workers and their strikes, women and their double exploitations (as class and gender) – although the latter came somewhat later – let alone encores of its favourite rigmarole, to wit, why there was no socialism in the United States. Whoever lived through the late 1960s and the 1970s recalls the dozens, if not hundreds, of hasty translations of American books and booklets printed by well-established publishers, such as Feltrinelli Editore and Einaudi, and by their smaller wannabe competitors, such as De Donato, Dedalo, Guaraldi and Samonà e Savelli. Anything went, from the detailed chronicle of the Berkeley *sit-ins* to the proceedings of the committees on the racial and political riots in Oakland and Chicago (Giammanco 1966, *Black* 1967, X 1967, Knight 1968, Carmichael 1968; Segre 1969; Cavalli 1969). As far as one can tell, this trend started in the early 1960s and went on to include serious intellectuals such as Bruno Maffi (1909-2003), Fernanda Pivano (1917-2009), Claudio Gorlier (b.1926), Gianfranco Corsini (1921-2010), Laura Balbo (b.1933) and Roberto Giammanco (b.1926), as well as a number of young historians, some of whom later became professors of American history in Italian universities. Given the propensity for infighting among idealists of the Left, I imagine that few historians I have placed in this third school of thought will admit to having had

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<sup>27</sup> And so did I. I well recall marching against US imperialism in Genoa in 1962, and lining up at the American Embassy in Rome to sign in my condolences for President Kennedy one year later.

anything to do with it, let alone with Marxism. Many indeed later altered their enthusiasm for the cause.<sup>28</sup>

The Committee provided the professional background for the activities of Americanist historians throughout the 1970s and was particularly influential between 1975 and 1978. Were I to look at the late 1970s with the eyes of people past, those years looked like a most felicitous moment for American historiography in Italy. First, following an earlier state-of-the-art seminar, which took place in Perugia in 1973,<sup>29</sup> a major international conference took place in

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<sup>28</sup> For publications of the members of the Leftist School, see Balbo 1967, 1973; Balbo and Chiaretti 1973; Benzoni 1966; Bo 1976; Bologna 1972, Bonacchi 1974; Calderazzi 1968; Calvi 1979; Camporesi 1973, 1974; Carpignano 1976; Cartosio James 1973, Rawick 1973, 1976, "Movimento" 1978, "Radicalismo" 1978; Cavalli 1969; Clerici 1974, 1976, 1978; Codignola 1973, 1973-4, 1975, Parkman 1976, "Riel" 1976; Corsini 1951, 1960, 1965, 1966, 1971, 1973, *Storia* 1974, *Grande* 1974; Dadà 1979; Dal Co 1973, 1975; Damiani 1976; Danieli 1975; Ellwood 1977; Faenza 1976; Fano 1973, 1979; Fasce 1974, "Immigrazione" 1976, "Industrial" 1976, 1978; Ferrari Bravo 1972; Forni 1971; Forni, Cole, and Hale 1968; Frezza Biccocchi 1970, 1971; Gallo "Bibliografia" 1975, "Storia" 1975; Gallotta 1974; Giacomini 1978; Giammanco 1965, 1966, *Black* 1967, X 1967, Knight 1968, Carmichael 1968, "Neri" 1978, "Ricostruzione" 1978; Ginzburg Migliorino 1976, "Comunità" 1978, "Immigrati" 1978; Ginzburg Migliorino and Campanaro 1979; Goffredo 1978; Gorlier *Pensiero* 1962, *Universo* 1962, "Retorica" 1963, *Storia* 1963, 1969, "Spirito" 1971, "Mito" 1971, 1978; Illuminati 1970; Krippendorf 1976, 1978; Lanza 1978; Maffi Douglass 1962, Brown 1962, Harrington 1963, "Nota" 1963; Maitan 1976; Augusta Molinari 1974, 1976; Massimo Molinari 1976; Monteleone 1976; Musto 1975; Antonio Negri 1972; Ortoleva 1974, De Leon 1977, "De Leon" 1977, 1978; Pardi Corbella 1972; Pastore 1978; Pellegrini *Informazione* 1969, Forman 1969; Pivano 1971; Rinaldi 1973; Saffiro 1968; Schenone 1978; Segre 1969; Settembrini 1969; Sylvers 1972, 1977, "Studio" 1978, "Studi" 1978; Tait 1973; Testi 1971-2, 1974, 1976, "Progressive" 1978, Weinstein 1978, 1979; Tirabassi 1976; Tronti 1977; Valtz Mannucci 1968, Moore 1974, *Negri* 1974, 1976, "Schiavitù" 1978, "Radicalismo" 1978, "Premessa" 1978, 1979; Vaudagna 1975, 1976, "Liberalismo" 1978, "New Deal" 1978; Villari 1977. I, for one, place my own publications in this list until 1975, but not later.

<sup>29</sup> The Perugia seminar, "Bilancio e prospettive degli studi di storia americana in Italia" (6-7 October 1973), was chaired by Sergio Bertelli and co-chaired by Massimo Teodori, the former an early modern Italian historian who was to become secretary of the Committee in the early 1980s. Its proceedings were not published, but abstracts are available in *Bollettino* 3 (gennaio 1974): 28-34 (Teodori's name is

Genoa in 1976, a first of its kind. Co-ordinated by Luraghi, this gathering examined two hundred years of American history (1776-1976) from the Italian perspective – although Italian-American relations were by no means its only focus. Its full proceedings were published two years later (Luraghi *Atti* 1978). Secondly, the Committee was also able to produce two thick volumes at the conference itself, soon to be known as *Italia e America* for the common portions of their titles, which had taken over two years of sound co-ordinating efforts to produce. They included articles authored by Committee members and by other invited historians (Spini, *Italia dal Settecento* 1976; Spini, *Italia dalla Grande Guerra* 1976).<sup>30</sup> There was a notable difference between the Genoa conference and the *Italia e America* books. The proceedings of the Genoa conference were very much the showcase of the Genoa school. All of Luraghi's students participated or were officially listed in the acknowledgments.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the contents of the book showed

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not extant). All speakers were "young disciples" ("giovani allievi") (ibid.: 7) of well-established Americanists: Aquarone (Arnaldo Testi), Bonazzi (Ombretta Selva), Luraghi (Ferdinando Fasce, Mario Margiocco, Marco Matteini, Augusta Molinari, Giovanni Pastore), Martellone (Carlo Calossi, Adriana Dadà, Elena Fantacci, Sergio Giuliattini), and Migone (Bairati, Lucia Bertello, Ellen Ginzburg Migliorino, Maurizio Vaudagna). Most of them had moved directly into American history through the influence of their mentors. In the 1960s, three multidisciplinary conferences had been held in Florence under the aegis of the Istituto di Studi Americani, an independent body financially assisted by USIS. Their proceedings were published in *Simbolismo* 1965, *Italia* 1969, Pagnini 1972. On the early days of American history in Florence, see Martellone "Italian Historians."

<sup>30</sup> Martellone, Luraghi, and Bonazzi, the latter with the assistance of political scientist Roberto Ruffilli (1937-88), sub-edited the first volume. (Ruffilli was slain by Italian Red Brigade terrorists a decade later, on 16 April 1988.) Migone and Teodori sub-edited the second volume. (Migone and Teodori went on to become prominent members of the Italian Parliament as representatives of the Left, although in two different parties.)

<sup>31</sup> The Organizing Committee included Luraghi (chair), Daria Balbo Fabre, Codignola, Valeria Gennaro Lerda, Margiocco, Augusta Molinari (members), and Susanna Delfino (secretary general). Naila Clerici, Codignola, Fasce, Gennaro Lerda, Brunella Garro Raiteri, Pastore and Giulio Schenone contributed papers to the proceedings.

their mentor's own interest in Civil War, military, and Canadian history. Conversely, articles included in *Italia e America* were more representative of the membership of the Committee at large. They also showed its sub-editors' efforts to reach out in new directions and to draw new blood towards the growing field of American history.

Not all that glittered was gold, however. In those years, the historian's privilege allows us to detect more chiaroscuro scenarios. First, the mortality rate within the little world of Italian Americanists was extremely high. One has only to peruse the works in progress, as noted by the Committee's *Bollettino* and the *Newsletter* of the Italian Association of North American Studies, to see how much of it was never delivered. Furthermore, a glance at the names of members of the same Committee, at the list of the participants at the Genoa 1976 conference, and at the contributors of the 1976 *Italia e America* volumes, shows that many of them dropped out of sight soon thereafter. Some moved or returned to other, more academically-established disciplines. Some chose non-academic professions altogether.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the long lists of American history *laurea* dissertations defended in the years 1961-74 shows that only a handful of authors went on to publish anything in American history,<sup>33</sup> and that

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<sup>32</sup> Only a limited number of those who contributed to the two *Italia e America* volumes, outside of the several editors, continued to be active in the field of American history after 1976. These were Elena Aga-Rossi, Bairati, Pia Grazia Celozzi Baldelli, Codignola, Gennaro Lerda, Testi, Maddalena Tirabassi, Valtz Mannucci, Vaudagna and Vegas. Most did not. The latter included Valerio Agostinone, Alfredo Canavero, Piera Ciavirella, Del Negro, Franco Ferrarotti, Lorenza Giorgi, Carlo Mangio (d.2008), Augusta Molinari, Margiocco, Angelo Olivieri, Stefano Rizzo, Salvatore Rotta and Marco Sagrestani.

<sup>33</sup> One-hundred and fifty-six *laurea* theses (the rough equivalent of an American Master of Arts) were listed in *Bollettino* 1 (1972): 15-18; 2 (1972): 13-19; 3 (1974): 13-16; 4 (1975): 36-39; 5 (1976): 45-48. Of these, only 20 were later published, often in the form of articles. (No doctoral programme was available in the Italian university system at the time.) Those who published were Danilo Ardia (Padova), Bertello (Torino), Daniele Bo (Genova), Vincenzo Braschi (Genova), Luisa Cetti (Milan, Istituto Universitario di Lingue Moderne), Dadà (Firenze), Delfino (Genova), Giampaolo Gallo (Perugia), Garro Raiteri (Genova), Ginzburg Migliorino (Torino), Francesca Loverci (Roma), Margiocco (Genova), Augusta Molinari

an even smaller number was able to embark on a university career in American history.<sup>34</sup> This drop-out rate means that the first of the three Committee objectives, namely, securing a younger and larger generation of Americanist historians, was not met, or not as fully as it was hoped. Secondly, except for the articles of Ferdinando Fasce on the Industrial Workers of the World, Arnaldo Testi on the Progressive Era, and Maurizio Vaudagna on the New Deal, the Leftist School left as its own legacy a wasteland of mostly pointless writings. These hardly added anything to historical truth, let alone human knowledge, and were discarded as quickly as they had been published. What might have resulted, had the Leftists' wasted endeavours been better used for more down-to-earth and less conceited scholarship, of course we cannot tell. (Matteo Sanfilippo is of the opinion that some of these endeavours provided the necessary groundwork for some interesting developments in the 1978-92 period [Sanfilippo 2006]). Ironically, writings belonging to the Leftist School which are still consulted one generation later are those that, for their originality, have been *de facto* recycled as if they were products of the ever-lasting, albeit by them so often despised, Contribution School.

Still, other developments were more promising. In the mid-1970s or so a selected number of younger scholars joined the ranks of their mentors in the academic fore. (These historians belong in the same generation, though there is a 20-year gap between its oldest and youngest member.) They were Loretta Valtz Mannucci (b.1931), Valeria Gennaro Lerda (b.1935), Sylvers (b.1941), Bruno Cartosio (b.1943), Vaudagna (b.1945), Testi (b.1947), Luca Codignola (b.1947) and Fasce (b.1951). Most of them belonged to the Leftist

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(Genova), Massimo Molinari (Genova), Pastore (Genova), Gianfausto Rosoli (Milan, Università Cattolica), Giorgio Roverato (Padova), Schenone (Genova), Testi (Pisa) and Vaudagna (Torino). Some historians or social scientists were mentioned in the *Newsletter* of the Italian Association of North American Studies, but never in the Committee's *Bulletin*. These were cultural historian Bruno Armellin, sociologist Carla Bianco, historian Giulia Calvi, Donno, sociologist Ferruccio Gambino, jurists Francesco Puccio, Giorgio Recchia, and Sara Volterra.

<sup>34</sup> Those who continued as Americanist historians were Delfino, Ginzburg Migliorino, Testi and Vaudagna.

School, and all had started their career in American history. Of these two qualifications, the second one represented the real novelty.<sup>35</sup> On the whole, this development meant that the second objective of the Italian Committee for American History, namely, that American history be recognized as an academically worthy topic, had indeed been met. Moreover, this development came with an added bonus, as some of the historians who were part of this last wave were particularly keen in promoting the internationalization of Italian Americanist historiography.<sup>36</sup> This had not been an explicit priority among early Italian Americanist historians. Until 1970 very few, if any, of the books and articles authored by Italians in the field of American history had been written or translated in a language other than Italian and were known outside of Italy – Luraghi's Civil War studies, and Teodori's New Left documentary collection being the notable exceptions.<sup>37</sup> (Needless to say, the militant outlook of the Liberal and Leftist schools made both of them inherently inward-looking and scarcely interested in the international scholarly community.) Although this trend became more apparent during the following two decades,<sup>38</sup> it seemed increasingly evident that Italian Americanists

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<sup>35</sup> For publications authored by these historians, see above. For writings in the field of American history not discussed in this article, see Baconcini 1960; Candeloro 1953; Carile 1965; Cerase 1977; Ciucci 1973; Curcio 1952, 1958; Curi 1978; Dal Co 1973, 1975; Del Vecchio 1974; De Maddalena 1953; Donati "Regolamenti Stati" 1976, "Regolamenti Canada" 1976; Dore 1964; Dupré Theseider 1952; Fanfani 1946; Gennaro Lerda 1975; Grispo 1966; Levi 1965; Livi Bacci 1961; Federico Mancini 1953, 1962; Manieri-Elia 1973; Mauro 1945; Michieli 1962; Parlato 1976; Pasqualotto 1979; Pellizzi 1946; Platone 1949; Rizzatti 1971; Rodolico 1945; Rossi-Landi 1958; Salvadori 1956, 1964; Sella 1957; Stefanon "Figure" 1976, "Uomini" 1976; Tafuri 1973; Vianello 1956.

<sup>36</sup> This point is also made in Martellone, "Italian Historians."

<sup>37</sup> Antonello Gerbi's book was translated into Spanish in 1960 and into English in 1973 (Antonello Gerbi 1955). Between 1967 and 1971 Luraghi regularly reviewed Civil War books in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

<sup>38</sup> For example, in spite of its misleading title, *Storia nordamericana*, the Committee's scholarly journal, was only written in English. On the rationale behind the establishment of the journal and its later difficulties, see Martellone, "Italian Historians."



wanted to be judged and appraised by the international community of peers on the soundness of their scholarship – not simply praised for their efforts at mastering a foreign language and literature, at promoting American knowledge within their country, or at studying their ethnic community in North America.

The dawning of the internationalization of Italian Americanist historiography signalled the end of a closed, little world, in which the spreading of knowledge was considered by some more important than scholarship. Sylvers's 1978 assessments of Spini's and Aquarone's main Americanist books, respectively described as "very useful for a topic so little known in Italy" and "most praiseworthy for informing the Italian readers of the results of the US revisionist school," were then probably meant to be highly positive. Only a few years later, these commentaries would have been regarded as disparaging or, at most, utterly condescending.<sup>39</sup> In the end, the willingness of younger professional Americanist historians to atone for their Italian nationality and to be reborn as international scholars, together with the failure in securing a much larger cohort of younger historians, caused the implosion of the Italian Committee for American History. This survived for another decade or so, but by the end of the 1970s it seemed to have lost most of its initial usefulness.

As I reviewed and assessed "the early years" of American history in Italy, it occurred to me that Bonazzi and I could both be right. Some Italian historians did indeed contribute to the furthering of human

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<sup>39</sup> Sylvers "Studi" 1978: 77 ("molto utile per un argomento così poco noto in Italia;" "il grosso pregio di far conoscere ai lettori italiani i risultati degli studi della scuola revisionistica statunitense"). More than a quarter of a century later, this "good for an Italian" tune is still sung by many American historians. As "US history has almost no presence in Italian universities," an American historian wrote as recently as December 2004, some topics contained in the book under his review may "perhaps seem all too familiar to an American scholarly audience, but for [the] Italian readers such theoretical concepts are bound to be relatively novel" (Karl Appuh's review of Sioli 2003, in *The Journal of American History* 91, 3 [December 2004]: 986-987). Although the reviewer may or may not be right in this particular instance, so much for the trumped-up international programme of the Organization of American Historians.

knowledge in the field of American history, and some did not. All, however, tried to provide answers to questions that were deeply linked to their presents. In fact, the fortunes of the Liberal and Leftist schools were much more linked to the politics of their members than to their scholarship. To be sure, scholarship was not their foremost objective – although some of them indeed were good scholars. Rather, they mostly wanted to disseminate the knowledge of the history of America for purposes that related to the betterment of their own country.<sup>40</sup> Whether in the end the two schools made any difference in the politics of their country is another matter altogether. Did the Liberal School succeed in making Italian society aware of the usefulness of US political and institutional instruments? Did the Leftist School have any influence in showing that the "good America" was the "other America"? These questions, pertinent as they are, are fodder for the political scientist or the intellectual historian of post-World War II Italy – neither of which am I. From the perspective of this article, I do not venture beyond registering two undisputable facts. The first is that both schools were explicitly "political." The second fact is that the Liberal School, most active in the 1950s and early 1960s, was replaced by the Leftist School by the early 1970s; and that in the late 1970s the latter appeared to be at the height of its influence.

If, however, we take the view that history can also be used to further the knowledge of past people or events, and that scholarship is, by definition, an international category, how are we to assess thirty-five years or so of American historiography in Italy? It is my view that there is little ground for rejoicing. By 1978, the forefathers of American history in Italy (especially Spini, Luraghi, and Martellone) and their immediate successors (especially Bonazzi) in their own different yet always original fashions had indeed created and made possible the development of this new discipline in their country. However, little if anything of what they had written and published in Italy was known internationally. Italian historiography had hardly

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<sup>40</sup> The significance of Italian internal politics in the shaping of Americanist historiography in Italy is most evident in one of Bonazzi's most perceptive state-of-the-art articles (Bonazzi 1993).

made any dent in the American historical debate. Of course, one could take the moderating view that this absence of Italian historiography from the American one was due to the latter's own lack of language skills and scant interest in foreign scholarship, except when this originated in the Contribution School and was instrumental in bringing to light unknown facets of migration or ethnic history. (Neither qualifier was in use as such at the time.) There is certainly some truth in this, although one can rejoin that good scholarship of any sort always, albeit slowly, found its way into the US borders both before and after 1978. Still, on account of their political activism and their focus on changing Italian society, neither the Liberal nor the Leftist schools, in their own different time frames, did much to modify this situation – nor for that matter did they seem to care. Luckily, the world did not stop in 1978 (as this chapter does), and a good number of the Italian Americanist historians active in the 1960s and 1970s continued to write. To be sure, the perspective strictly "from the eyes of peoples past" which I have employed for this assessment of the early years does not allow me to use post-1978 Americanist historiography to enlighten pre-1979 individual contributions and overall trends. Only what happened later will indeed tell whether the fruitful efforts of the Italian Americanist pioneer historians of the pre-1979 era, together with the wasted endeavours of a good number of their successors, had not been entirely wasted to future scholarship, after all.

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## 2. CANADIAN STUDIES IN EUROPE: AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT, 1955-90

This chapter must start with a prolonged caveat.<sup>1</sup> This is not a survey of recent publications on Canada, nor is it a review essay or an updated bibliography – seasoned by this writer's own personal comments. As an historian of early North America, I would not and should not presume to give my opinion on the state of research on Canada in such diverse disciplines as literature, linguistics, ethnology, sociology, political science, international relations, law, geography, etc. Furthermore, while I am somewhat informed on events in my own country (Italy) and in my own discipline (history), I could not possibly have first, and even second-hand knowledge, of all that is published in the eleven languages of the fifteen countries considered in this chapter (Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Israel and Italy). Once again, I cannot list authors or titles in fields whose sophisticated methodologies I am trained to differentiate. Yet, the sheer number of publications written by Europeans on Canada in the past twenty years came as a surprise, and with it the certainty that this chapter will undoubtedly overlook important publications and innovative authors, among them colleagues and friends.

This chapter is, therefore, a commentary on trends in Canadian studies in the period from 1955 to 1990. It is neither organized by discipline nor by country. Instead, it focuses on some distinctive issues found in the European literature on Canada which was examined. One of these issues is regionalism, a very common theme

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<sup>1</sup> Given their number, only selected publications could be mentioned. Where an author had published extensively in the area of Canadian studies, I retained only one or two publications. For more complete coverage, the reader is invited to make good use of Appendix 2. Except for quotations, full references to authors and works are to be found in Appendix 2, which includes all authors mentioned in the text. Authors were not indexed unless they were discussed.

in European scholarship on Canada. A poll conducted in December 1989 showed that a sizeable number of Canadians felt more loyalty to their province than to Canada.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, many publications by Europeans reflect a piecemeal Canada. Other themes examined here are the balance between the humanities and the social sciences, the visible trend toward comparative studies in countries that joined the international community of Canadianists in the 1980s, and the notion that Canadian studies have become a full-fledged "discipline" with its own methodology and new writing practice. Still, the more significant, overall theme – Europe's original contribution to the study of Canada – will not be ignored. Canadianists are all too aware that the concept and practice of Canadian studies has met with criticism from within Canada (Bercuson et al. 1984, Granatstein and McCalla 1984). (The title of Part IV of this anthology, as one may have guessed, makes reference to "Canadian and Other Useless Studies, a chapter in *The Great Brain Robbery*, a controversial yet most stimulating essay.)<sup>3</sup> For some time, they could only answer such criticism by listing ongoing projects, foreseeable developments, consciousness-raising programs and work in progress. That time is now past. Most European associations (in the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the German-speaking countries) have ten or more years of activity behind them. Younger associations, too, have had time to show where they are

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<sup>2</sup> The *Maclean's*/Decima poll (conducted 1 to 9 November 1989) asked Canadians: "Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first or as a citizen of your province?" The overall result, 73 to 26 per cent in favour of Canada, shows that not only Quebecers are in favour of their province (55 vs. 44 per cent), but also Newfoundlanders (53 vs. 47 per cent). Results for the other provinces are as follows: Prince Edward Island (43 vs. 57 per cent), Nova Scotia (37 vs. 63 per cent), Alberta (24 vs. 74 per cent) and New Brunswick (25 vs. 75 per cent). Ontario is at the bottom of the list (9 vs. 90 per cent), but Ontarians traditionally believe that their province *is* Canada (*Maclean's*, 1 [1 January 1990], 12-13). The so-called Meech Lake crisis reached its climax when this chapter was being written and it made my point dramatically apparent.

<sup>3</sup> "Canadian and Other Useless Studies," ch. 7 of David J. Bercuson, Robert Bothwell, and Jack L. Granatstein, *The Great Brain Robbery: Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1984), 130-146.

heading. Some hard facts are already available and can be discussed and assessed.<sup>4</sup>

### *Regionalism, a Notable Canadianist Attitude*

Canada is and has always been a country based on regional differences, and the subdivision of the Canadian territory into the Atlantic provinces, Québec, Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia and the North is common. Yet, Canada is not exceptional in this respect. Most countries in the western world are regionally-oriented. What is notable, however, is that the regions of Canada are often perceived from outside the country as individual and distinct entities. In fact, a number of European Canadianists essentially deal with a specific region, and few move beyond this regional perspective to treat Canada as a whole. French and English-Canada are by no means "regions," unless considered strictly in linguistic terms. Yet, in the early days of Canadian studies, they were often perceived in Europe as uniform portions of larger frameworks. Many placed English-Canada within the old British Empire/Commonwealth framework, and considered it a successful partner within a larger community including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. Others viewed Canada within the North American continent, as an alternative to the United States, an offspring of Europe, that developed in the same spatial and historical surroundings, but produced different results. Still, others focused on French-speaking Canada, mainly Québec, but discovered Québec via France and the larger framework of *la francophonie*, a concept that had stimulated intellectual

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<sup>4</sup> British Association for Canadian Studies (established 1975), French Association for Canadian Studies (1976), Italian Association for Canadian Studies (1979), Association for Canadian Studies in German-Speaking Countries (1980), Association for Canadian Studies in Ireland (1982), Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (1984), Association for Canadian Studies in The Netherlands (1985), Israel Association for Canadian Studies (1985). The Centre d'études canadiennes of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, the only Belgian organization represented in the International Council (by 1990), was founded in 1982.

investigation long before its recent political use. In fact, in the writings of a good number of European Canadianists, one is likely to find publications on France, Great Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Maghreb and the West Indies/Antilles. Only in the 1970s, with the growing importance of Canada on the international political scene and the development of Canadian studies in Europe, did a younger generation approach Canada for its own sake.

### *British Empire/Commonwealth Framework*

As one may expect, the British have used the Empire/Commonwealth framework. The name of historian Philip G.E. Wigley and of international relations specialist Peter H. Lyon (the editor of *The Round Table*, the authoritative Commonwealth affairs journal) are the first to come to mind when dealing with the history of imperial relations between the wars and with Canada's role in the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community after World War II. Italian historian Fabrizio Ghilardi proves, however, that their perspective is not solely a British one. Ghilardi's investigation proceeded from nineteenth-century British and European diplomatic history, through the Commonwealth, and to Canada's international role after World War II. Nor is the Empire/Commonwealth approach a prerogative of historians and specialists in international relations (Ghilardi 1987, Lyon 1976 1984, Wigley 1977, Wigley and Hillmer 1979). The inclusion of English-Canadian language literature within the larger context of other English-language literatures is current practice among literary critics in almost every country of Europe.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In Great Britain Nicholson-Easingwood 1985, Coral A. Howells 1987. In Belgium and France Maes-Jelinek 1975, Vauthier 1987, Pons and Rocard 1985, Bardolph 1989. In the Federal Republic of Germany Schäfer 1981, Nischik 1981 1984, Gross and Klooss 1981 1983, Götsch 1984, Stummer 1986, Glaap 1987, Riemenschneider 1989. In Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands Carlsen (see below), Rutheford 1971, Rutheford and Hannah 1971, Olinder 1984, D'haen and Fry 1986, Forceville et al. 1988, In Spain and Italy MacDermott 1985, Gorlier 1985, Capone 1978 1985.



French cultural historian Jean-Michel Lacroix studied eighteenth-century British journalism before broadening his range of interests and publications in such diverse fields of enquiry as Canadian literature (in both languages), ethnicity, multiculturalism and electoral behaviour (Lacroix 1974 1980 1982 1983).

### *North American Context*

The North American context is used less frequently by the British than by other Europeans, although Wigley's studies of Canadian-American relations, still viewed in his familiar Commonwealth framework, must be noted. French literary critic Régis Durand used the North American context, as did a number of his colleagues in German-speaking Europe. Dieter Meindl compared the Canadian and American experiences as viewed through their literatures and the winning of the West, and Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Horst Immel placed writers from both countries within the larger context. Other Europeans who approach Canadian studies from a North American angle include Norwegian Per Seyersted (1921-2005) and Italian Alfredo Rizzardi (1927-2004) (Durand 1976, Meindl 1987, Immel 1987, Stanzel and Zacharasiewicz 1986, Zacharasiewicz 1989, Seyersted 1982, Rizzardi *Identità* 1981). The North American context seems to have special appeal to French historian Claude Fohlen and Italian colleagues Raimondo Luraghi (a comparative analysis of the seigneurial regime) and Luca Codignola. The latter was led by the study of Francis Parkman to investigate the events so forcefully narrated by the American historian and to employ the same continental framework for his more recent publications on North American Catholicism. The intellectual history of the Italian image of North America (Canada and the British colonies to the end of the eighteenth century) is the subject of historian Piero Del Negro's investigation, a model of scholarship rarely encountered (Fohlen 1985; Luraghi 1974 1978; Codignola

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Anna Rutheford and Luigi Sampietro are the editors of the literary journals *Kunapipi* and *Caribana* respectively.

1976, *Guerra* 1988, *Conflict* 1988; Del Negro 1985 1986). On a later period, of special mention because of their originality and the novelty of the North American framework are French historian François Weil's study of Franco-Americans since the mid-nineteenth century, and Italian historian Massimo Rubboli's work on the Canadian West, a region selected because most of the religious denominations in which this historian is interested lived there (Weil 1989, Rubboli 1990; also Holzach 1980, Brednich 1981, Gennaro Lerda 1988, Treu 1989, Sanfilippo 1990).

Very few social scientists have studied Canada within the North American framework. From the recent (1987-8) political debate over free trade, in which the opening of the Canada-United States border seems to have been predominantly opposed by pro-Canadian-identity humanists, one would have expected otherwise. But, then, the debate was viewed in Europe with more emotional detachment. Or, more simply, the data available on publications are too sparse and irregular to be fully trusted as representative samples. French businessman and author Jean Vinant seems to be the one conspicuous exception (Vinant 1988). There is, however, an original and stimulating research project dealing with Israel and Canada as two uneasy political allies of the United States, conducted by a team led by Gabriel Shefer (Jerusalem) and Don Munton (Toronto). There is also, in Italy, a selected group of jurists (especially Sara Volterra and Fabio Ziccardi) who became interested in Canada via the United States (and more generally the English-speaking world), mainly after the constitutional debate of 1980-2 (Volterra 1983 1990; Ziccardi "Condizione" 1990, *Costituzione* 1990).

### *Atlantic Canada and Other Regions*

Neither the Empire/Commonwealth approach nor the North American perspective, however, explain the disproportionate publications on two regions of Canada – the English-speaking Atlantic provinces and the North. These regions have attracted the interest of European

scholars without necessarily leading them towards the larger Canadian context. Ireland and the United Kingdom show a special interest in the Atlantic region. In Ireland, this trend is undoubtedly linked to the great Irish migrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, studied both from the departure and the arrival points. In this field, the work of Irish human geographer William J. (Seamus) Smyth is exemplary. In scientific partnership with Canadian Cecil J. Houston, they published, in Ireland and in Canada, a number of high-quality studies on the legacy of Orangism in Canada. These studies include the recent synthesis of Irish emigration to Canada in the nineteenth century – a rare example of successful cross-cultural fertilization from which the scholarly communities of the two countries profit in equal measure (Smyth and Houston 1990). In a similar vein, Irish literary critic Pádraig Ó Gormáile examined the Irish within the Francophone community of Québec, and Codignola the ethnic conflicts between the Irish and their French-speaking co-religionists in Atlantic Canada and the United States (Ó Gormáile 1985, Codignola 1989). Similarly, Scottish emigration to Canada and the permanence of a Scottish tradition have been studied by a group of scholars, mainly historians, many of whom are associated with the Centre of Canadian Studies at the University of Edinburgh (Adams 1976, Mackay 1982, Farnocchia Petri 1985, Murison 1987, Meek 1988, Harper 1988, Bennett 1989).

However, this interest in Canada's Atlantic provinces extends beyond migration studies or cultural transfers – areas appropriate enough given the sheer volume of immigration to Canada from Ireland and Scotland. Indeed, most of the studies mentioned above are part of a major debate over the Irish and Scottish communities on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, of which W. Gordon Handcock's *So longe as there comes noe women* is the latest product (Handcock 1989). This debate involves several prominent members of the Canadian and American scholarly communities. Several other fields have also interested Europeans studying Atlantic Canada, albeit less consistently. There is, for example, the concept of the North Atlantic area, including both shores, as a centre of activities (the fishery, the navy) or of contact (among Europeans and between Europeans and

aboriginal peoples). The best research results on the early North American fishery were achieved by French historian Jean-François Brière, who now teaches at SUNY Albany. In the same field, the work of Canadian historian Laurier G. Turgeon should be mentioned because he did most of his primary research in France and his partnership with French historians continues (Brière 1986, Turgeon 1986 1987, Sinclair 1987). Interest in the early North Atlantic area also induced Codignola to work on the Avalon colony in Newfoundland promoted by George Calvert, Baron Baltimore (Codignola *Coldest* 1988). And Norwegian historian Helge W. Nordvik, alone and in partnership with Canadian historian Lewis R. Fischer, published a number of studies on the social economy of the Canadian and Norwegian navy, among the most advanced results of European scholarship (Fischer and Nordvik 1988 1990). (Fischer and Nordvik, together with Canadian historian Valerie C. Burton, are the editors of the *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1989). In England, Frederick Jones is very much a "regional" historian in that he very consistently worked on religion in Newfoundland, producing a full-length biography of Church of England Bishop Edward Feild (1801-76), but never, to my knowledge, did he venture into a broader Canadian context (Jones 1976 1983). In closing this review of European research on the English-speaking Atlantic provinces, one is obliged to mention the Norwegian traveller, lawyer, and scholar, Helge Ingstad (1899-2001), and his wife, archaeologist Anne Stine Ingstad (1918-97), though their work is so special, it defies classification. Their discovery of the L'Anse-aux-Meadows Norse site in 1960 was such a turning point in our knowledge of Canada's history that it cannot be neatly labelled "northern studies," "contact," or even "Atlantic studies." They were the first to find evidence of Norse landings in North America, a matter of much previous speculation, and their contribution to research on Canada is immense (Stine Ingstad and Ingstad 1985, Ingstad 1988, Seyersted 1986, Quinn 1988).

While Atlantic Canada has attracted more attention than any other region within the English-speaking framework, the central importance of Toronto and Ontario in today's Canada has not escaped Europeans,

although in most cases they have not limited their interest to this province. Two geographers, Canadian-born Alfred Hecht (who works in the Federal Republic of Germany) and Smyth (the latter again in co-operation with Houston), have produced the best in-depth analysis to date. Hecht has mainly studied the issue of the spatial society of Ontario ethnic groups (Francophones, Anglophones, aboriginal peoples), whereas Smyth has broadened his initial enquiry on the Ulster legacy to the development of Orangism in Ontario and in Canada, and, in fact, he did so prior to his later interest in the Atlantic region discussed above (Hecht and Lander 1980, Hecht et al. 1983, Smyth and Houston 1980, O'Flynn 1984). There are fewer publications on the Prairies and British Columbia. Once more, the authors seem not to focus their attention on these regions alone. For example, German literary critic Wolfgang Klooss, within the general framework of historical and documentary fiction, shows a special interest in the Prairies and the myth of the West because of his fascination with Louis Riel (1844-85) and the Métis rebellions of the 1870s and the 1880s. In fact, Klooss's publications are well placed in the context of a special German-speaking interest in the historical forms of Canadian writing (Gross 1982, Lutz 1985, Zacharasiewicz 1985, Gross and Pache 1987, Isernhagen 1987, Klooss 1989). Danish literary critic Jørn Carlsen also writes on western literature within a more general, Commonwealth framework, while his Italian colleague, Andrea Mariani, works on British Columbia because of his general interest in the relationship between the visual arts (Emily Carr, 1871-1945) and literary expression (Carlsen 1984, 1988 Canada; Carlsen and Streijffert 1989; Mariani 1988). In general, English-speaking Canadianists of Europe frequently turn their attention to the Atlantic provinces, with little or no interest in Canada as a whole. The contrary is true for the other regions, with the exception of the North and Québec.

*The North*

The North is another region that has attracted the attention of a great number of European scholars and, once more, the link with Canada as a whole is not always evident. As one may guess, the social sciences (anthropology and geography in particular) are far better represented than the humanities. Although they can by no means be lumped under a single heading, the German-speaking geographers have brought the traditional excellence of the German school to the study of Canada. Contrary to other European experiences, their studies of the North seem the result of a number of concerted efforts rather than of individual curiosities. In the field of physical geography, the names of Lorenz King and Dietrich Barsch come to mind (King 1983, Barsch and King 1981, Barsch 1983), and in the field of social geography and the relationship between space and human presence, one should at least mention Eckhart Ehlers, Erhard Treude, Ludger Müller-Wille, Alfred Pletsch and Hecht (Ehlers 1974, Treude 1974, Müller-Wille 1983, Hecht and Pletsch 1989). In Italy, apart from some good research notes derived from a 1972 expedition to Baffin Island led by geographer Bruno Barabino, and some short, occasional publications, the most stimulating work comes from the poet, explorer, and geographer Silvio Zavatti (1917-85). Between 1958 and 1969, Zavatti organized several field expeditions to Antarctica, Lapland, and Greenland, and to Rankin Inlet and Repulse Bay in the Canadian North. He was an outspoken critic of both Ottawa's policies towards the Inuit and the Italian geographical establishment, writing perhaps too much and almost exclusively in Italian. (Zavatti's list of publications, updated to September 1975, included 1,578 items.) His first-hand experience of Inuit life is, however, a treasure (Zavatti 1982, Surdich 1983 1986). Also to be noted is geographer Simonetta Ballo Alagna's work on Oblate missionary Émile Petitot (1838-1916), who travelled extensively in the Arctic between 1862 and 1883 (Ballo Alagna 1983). Like Zavatti, Cornelius H.W. Remie, from the Netherlands, is exceptional. His fieldwork in Rankin Inlet, Hall Beach, and Pelly Bay (1972-6), and his archival research in

Copenhagen and Ottawa produced an impressive list of high-quality publications (Remie 1981, 1982, Struggle 1989). The Nordic countries, as one may expect, were interested in the Arctic zone well before the inception of Canadian studies. Northern geography, mining, and forestry are important fields of research among Scandinavian scholars – although much research, especially in the sciences, is conducted outside the circle of Scandinavian Canadianists. A recent (1985) comparative book on forestry in Québec and Finland, with contributions by Québec scholars and members of the University of Helsinki and the Tapio Forest Board, is a good case in point. The work of social anthropologist Tom G. Svensson is also of special relevance (Désy 1985, Svensson 1988; also Atkinson and MacDonald 1987, Regan 1980).

### *Québec and French Canada*

The case of Québec is the most obvious example of a regional approach on the part of European scholars, particularly literary critics and linguists, whose earlier training in French literature and language and their curiosity for the larger Francophone world prompted their interest in the North American communities. The books of Frenchman Auguste Viatte and Italian Franca Marcato Falzoni (1943-95), with their focus on the Francophone world, are good examples of this interest (Viatte 1980, Marcato Falzoni 1987). Together with the Italian journal *Francofonia*, edited by Liano Petroni (1921-2006), they represent a common European trend. Distinctiveness of language is, of course, at the core of the matter, yet, to approach the *francophonie* of the Québec case only from the language perspective would be misleading. It would imply, first, an interest stemming only from literary motivations and, secondly, a leadership of France that the Hexagone does not provide. As for literature, Europeans, like their Québec and Canada counterparts, have in the post-Quiet Revolution era replaced the concept of French-Canadian literature with that of Québec literature. The only variable is the interest for the literature of

New France and pre-Conquest Canada. To date, this interest has produced an array of short articles, mainly by historians, of local and antiquarian interest only, and a very limited number of works of value, namely Michel Bideaux's edition of the *Relations* of Jacques Cartier, a monument to scholarship that far superseded any previous work by Canadians or Europeans alike; British historical geographer Alan F. Williams's documentary history of the campaigns of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville (1661-1706) in Acadia and Newfoundland, based upon the journals of the Sulpician Jean Baudoin (c.1662-98); the chapters on Marc Lescarbot in Italian literary critic Paolo Carile's *Lo sguardo impedito*; and the Italian-French collection of articles on seventeenth-century New France, *Scritti sulla Nuova Francia*, with its special interest in textual analysis and narratology (Cartier 1986, Williams 1987, Carile 1987, Carile et al. 1984).

Québec literature is an important field of enquiry in most countries, except (with some notable exceptions) Scandinavia and Finland, the Netherlands, and France.<sup>6</sup> Québec has also been studied from the unique viewpoint of the spatial placement of its national language (Zanetto 1989, Vollmer 1987, Wolf 1987). Rather than a region of Canada, Europeans often consider Québec a full, national entity, and have little interest in placing it in a broader Canadian framework. By and large, the "English factor" in the *francophonie* approach is regarded as a foreign element, though inevitable in the North American context. (One should add that, conversely, for both the Empire/Commonwealth and the North American approaches discussed above, the "French factor" is often regarded as a nuisance or, at best, as a variable providing local colour).

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<sup>6</sup> See Pdraig Ó Gormaille and David Parris in Ireland; Leif Tufte in Norway; Jacques Caron (a native Quebecer) and Knud Larsen in Denmark; Pasquale A. Jannini and Sergio Zoppi (on Gaston Miron [1928-96]), Franca Marcato Falzoni (on Réjean Ducharme), Anna Paola Mossetto (on Paul-Marie Lapointe), Liana Nissim (on Gilles Hénault [1920-96], Novella Novelli (on Roland Giguère [1929-2003]) and Liano Petroni in Italy; Cedric R.P. May in England; Uta Chaudhury, Jörg-Peter Schleser, Hanspeter Plocher (on Michel Tremblay) and Janet-Elaine Rogers-Bischof in the Federal Republic of Germany; Gilles Dorion and Marcel Voisin in Belgium.



As in English-speaking North America, regional variations also exist within the smaller French-speaking world. In both literature and linguistics, enquiry has extended to other French-speaking communities of Canada. Acadia has certainly profited from the limelight, thanks to writer Antonine Maillet and her 1979 Prix Goncourt fame (the first time the prize has been awarded to an author not of French origin) (Zoppi 1985, Petroni and Maillet 1982, Mane 1982, Robin Howells 1987, Mingelgrün 1987, Dinwoddie 1988, Frédéric 1989, Voisin 1989). Among the literary critics and socio-linguists, Acadia has been examined by Jean-Claude Vernex (who studied in France and now teaches in Switzerland), Belgian Marcel Voisin, and Paule-Marie Penigault-Duhet of France (Vernex 1978 1979, Voisin 1987, Penigault-Duhet 1982). There is little else in terms of substantive and consistent scholarship.<sup>7</sup> As for the other Francophone communities, while there is very little on Newfoundland and Manitoba, Ontario fares better, especially thanks to the solid work of historians Sylvie Guillaume and Pierre Guillaume. Québec's Estrie/Eastern Townships region is regarded as an ethnic microcosm and is the subject of excellent studies by German geographers, such as Pletsch and Martin Schulte (Guillaume and Guillaume 1981, Guillaume and Lacroix 1985, Guillaume 1988, Pletsch French 1985, Schulte 1988).

Regionalism, then, is a very important factor in the European approach to Canada, and many Europeans discover Canada through an interest in a specific region. This geographically-limited interest, while not always extending to the larger Canadian framework, does not negatively affect the quality of scholarship. In fact, some of the best work produced in Europe on Canada is regional in scope.

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<sup>7</sup> For example, the French journal *Études canadiennes* published several articles on various facets of Acadian history, literature, and political science that seem more the result of occasional curiosity rather than a major interest in a specific region.

*Is There Anything Wrong with the Comparative Approach?*

Another notable feature of the research undertaken by some Europeans is their comparative approach to matters Canadian. That is, topics are studied and their development traced in different environments, one of which is Canada. Whether comparative studies are a good thing for Canadian studies is a matter of debate among international Canadianists. The argument against comparative studies is that the overall results of such enterprises improve our knowledge of Canada only partially, and Canada must outgrow its inferiority complex and prove that it is a worthy topic by its own right. In 1988, Australian political scientist Brian Galligan and Israeli geographer Arie Shachar (1935-2006), both proponents of the comparative method, approached the issue from two different angles. Galligan stated quite bluntly that comparative studies were a necessity in his country because most Australians were "neither motivated nor equipped to concentrate their research and teaching on Canada" (Galligan 1988). Shachar's opinion was more nuanced. He maintained that the choice of a comparative method is a conscious improvement in that "the study of Canadian topics by foreign scholars can be enriched and deepened, with Canadian studies becoming a major international field of cultural and social research (Shachar and Galligan 1988). From the perspective of this chapter, the point is not whether the comparative method is good in itself, but whether research on Canada has been or would be improved by the use of a comparative method.

Among the countries reviewed in this chapter, Israel is the one in which the comparative method has been exploited to the fullest extent within a general framework that might be generally defined as that of the social sciences. Teams of Israeli researchers systematically joined forces with teams of Canadian colleagues. Their efforts improved, both in Canada and in Israel, knowledge of such topics as the electoral and judicial systems, the relationship between politics and personalities, health and social security systems (with special regard for the elderly), the role of women in academe and in the sciences,

terrorism, communication and national integration (Doron 1987, Shachar 1988, Wyant 1989).

Since 1985, there have been a number of other team projects sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in co-operation with the Program of Canadian Studies, ranging from mass transit systems to lentil farming, from medical insurance policy to entrepreneurship among ethnic groups in metropolitan areas, from the influence of inflation on the capital market to bilingualism and language consciousness, the results of which are not yet available in print. These projects are certainly unique in the panorama of Canadian studies in Europe. A pattern similar to that of Israel exists in Sweden, a country whose climate and proximity to the North makes it a natural target of comparative studies. Yet, whereas in Israel comparative analyses of Israeli and Canadian topics seem to have been fostered by the concept and the leadership of Canadian studies in Sweden these comparisons predate the inception of Canadian studies. Swedish researchers do not necessarily regard themselves as Canadianists. As Swedish intellectual historian Sverker Sörlin well shows, Sweden and Canada are reputed to be very similar and to have "carried the image of future countries, both internally and to the world" (Sörlin, *Nordic* 1988). Comparative research is under way in the areas of economic development, the social system, welfare, migration and the North.

To date, however, Canadian publications on Sweden surpass Swedish publications on Canada (Sörlin *Framtidslandet* 1988, *Nordic* 1988: 340). If such diverse countries as Sweden and Israel have found many common features to which fruitful or promising comparisons can be applied, the binational and bilingual status of Belgium makes it an obvious target of comparative studies. While the relationship between language, literature, and institutions has been studied, other opportunities for comparison are more numerous than one would expect, and many were seized by the school of the Université Libre de Bruxelles. Economic historian Ginette Kurgan-van Hentenryk edited a book on the experiences of Canada and Belgium in living too close to France and the United States, another on social issues in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that proves the importance of the

Belgian model for Québec Catholicism, and (with Manitoba historian Julie Laureyssens) a monograph on Belgian investments in Canada in the twentieth century. Yet, another example of partnership between a Canadian and a European scholar is that of Belgian social historian Éliane Gubin and Québec intellectual historian Yvan Lamonde, who wrote on the influence of social essayist and activist Louis-Antoine Dessaulles (1818-85) (Kurgan-van Hentenryk 1984 1988, Kurgan-van Hentenryk and Laureyssens 1986, Gubin 1986, Gubin and Lamonde 1990, Gauvin and Klinkenberg 1985). Historian Serge Jaumain and literary critic Madeleine Frédéric provide the most innovative example of the fruitfulness of the comparative method applied to Belgium. In 1983, in Brussels, and in 1985, in Ottawa, Jaumain wrote two pioneering dissertations on nineteenth-century peddlers in Francophone Belgium and in Québec, studied other aspects of the cultural relationship between the two nations and, with Italian historian Matteo Sanfilippo, created an interesting example of European cross-national co-operation in which Canada is the common target, and historiography and the seigneurial regime the two common fields of enquiry. Frédéric works both in the field of comparative literature (Gabrielle Roy [1909-83] and Keetje de Neel Doff) and on the novel in Québec and Canada (Jaumain 1985 1987, Jaumain and Sanfilippo 1987; Frédéric and Allard 1987; Frédéric *Comparaison* 1989, Belle 1989, Romanzo 1989). In the case of both Jaumain and Frédéric, it should be pointed out that their work is very much linked to the development and growth of Canadian studies in Europe and to their frequent and stimulating exposure to the international scholarly debate both in Europe and in Canada.

The fact that Great Britain, France, Ireland and the German-speaking countries do not over-emphasize a comparative approach to the study of Canada does not mean that they have little to offer in this field. For example, the innovative articles published by educationist Margaret Bird, health sociologist Erio Ziglio, and business specialist Alan Hankinson (although the latter is somewhat limited in scope) are the result of joint and comparative ventures in the social sciences (Bird 1986, Ziglio 1986, Ghillingham et al. 1987). In France, the

country's traditional emphasis on thematic and interdisciplinary studies is reflected within the Canadianist community. For example, conferences on public law (1978), state and minorities (1986), forest resources (1986) or water (1988), whose proceedings were later edited for *Études canadiennes*, certainly provided opportunities for comparisons, although there were not as many individual comparative studies as one would have expected.<sup>8</sup> France's direct and traditional links with Québec, links between individual researchers, and the transatlantic flow and transfer of methodologies have, however, produced a number of comparative studies involving co-operation between Canadianists and non-Canadianists. In the field of social and economic history, for example, the partnership between French and Canadian rural historians Joseph Goy, Jean-Pierre Wallot, François Lebrun and Normand Séguin must be noted. In the field of social and religious history, a discussion on the comparative method must include the publication of the correspondence (1887-99) of two parish priests, one in France and the other in Normandy, published by Nadine-Josette Chaline, René Hardy, and Jean Roy, as well as the bibliographical collection on popular piety edited by Bernard Plongeron and Paule Lerou (Goy and Wallot 1986, Lebrun and Séguin 1987, Chaline et al. 1987, Lacroix and Grammond 1989). In the case of the German-speaking world, in 1983 Ehlers clearly pointed out the opportunities that a comparative approach offers to Canadianist geographers. In Ehlers's area, comparative studies are numerous, but a glimpse at other areas of research reveals such diverse contribution as Swiss historian Urs Bitterli's on early cultural encounters between Europeans and aboriginal cultures, German socio-linguist Peter H. Nelde's on plurilingualism in Europe and in Canada, or Pletsch's on ethnicity (Ehlers 1983, Bitterli 1986, Nelde 1981, Gendron and Nelde 1986, Pletsch Ethnicity 1985).

Comparative research has two advantages. From the point of view of the research undertaken, it shows how much a certain Canadian element is unique or, conversely, similar to other experiences. From

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<sup>8</sup> *Études Canadiennes* 6 (1979); 21, no. 1 (1986); 21, no. 2 (1986); 23 (1987), 26 (1989).

the point of view of the participants, it allows Canadianists to profit from the input of other scholars who are not and never will become specialists of Canada. By contributing to a better understanding of both countries involved, the comparative approach in no way belittles the Canadian experience and should be encouraged.

*Multidisciplinarity and the Social Sciences: Are They Really a Goal?*

Whereas the European community of Canadianists has long debated the feasibility of a comparative approach to Canadian studies, there seems to have been a long-standing consensus that a multidisciplinary approach (to any topic) is always preferable. The implicit corollary to this statement, often whispered though never proclaimed, is that the social sciences are more useful in understanding Canada than the humanities. The questions are, has the disciplinary approach been too narrow to encompass the whole potentiality of the Canadian experience, past and present? Conversely, has the multidisciplinary approach prevented in-depth research in any field?

Israel and Italy do represent extreme examples in this regard. The *Directory of Canadianists*, published in 1988 by the International Council for Canadian Studies, lists only two Israeli representatives in the humanities (in the general literature and philosophy/religious studies categories). Conversely, Italy has only one representative in the business, trade and commerce category, two in ethnic studies, three in law and five in geography, compared to 137 in the combined language, linguistics, and literature categories (Vallières and Jones 1989). Yet a new trend is readily apparent. Whereas the twelve volumes (to 1988) containing the proceedings of the Italian official conferences and the Italian *Rivista di studi canadesi* could boast, as a whole, only geographer Luigi Pedreschi's short survey of the state of his discipline, the three volumes of the proceedings of the 1988 conference (published in 1990) contain two Italian contributions in international relations, two in law, and four in geography (Codignola *Canadiana* 1978, 1979, 1983; Codignola and Luraghi 1986; Rizzardi

Canada 1981, 1983, 1985; Petroni 1982; Petroni et al. 1985; Gennaro Lerda 1984; Bonanno 1986 1990; Dotoli and Zoppi 1986 1990; Rubboli and Farnocchia Petri 1986; *Rivista di studi canadesi* 1 [1988], 2 [1989]). There is no doubt, however, that in the case of Italy, the absence of economists, political scientists, and sociologists has prevented a fuller knowledge of the current trends, problems, and options of Canadian society to date. In the case of Israel, it is a matter of common sense to say that societies present a rather truncated image of themselves when their histories, their literatures, and their creative imaginations are not part of the picture.

In Belgium and Ireland, humanities prevail over the social sciences. Literature in both languages, social and economic history, and human geography are far ahead of any other field of enquiry (Voisin 1985, Parris 1988, Delbaere-Garant 1989, O'Dwyer 1985). In the Nordic countries and in the Netherlands, the general picture is more varied, but the history of literature, geography and northern studies, cultural history, political science, anthropology, and, once again, literature in English are all represented (Overland 1989, Hoetjes 1982, Racine and Söderström 1990). It is, however, my general impression that the future plans of associations in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands point to an emphasis on the social sciences and a departure from a more traditional outlook.<sup>9</sup>

In France and in the United Kingdom, the itinerary of Canadian studies can be followed closely through their periodical publications, *Études canadiennes* (27 issues since 1975) and the *British Journal of Canadian Studies* (two issues a year since 1986), an outgrowth of the former *Bulletin of Canadian Studies* (17 issues, 1977-85). Both are now well-established scholarly journals that publish articles by Canadianists of all nationalities, with an emphasis on local production. (Since 1984, the United Kingdom also has the *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, a sound yearly publication, edited by human

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<sup>9</sup> Both the 1987 (Lund) and the 1990 (Oslo) conferences were centred upon a multidisciplinary approach to northern studies, whereas the European conference on "Canada on the Threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" (The Hague, 1990) almost excluded whatever was not social sciences.

geographer Margaret Storrie, that stresses the social sciences and seems to publish more articles by Canadians than the *British Journal of Canadian Studies*). As for quality, the improvements of the *British Journal of Canadian Studies* over the *Bulletin of Canadian Studies* represent a model for any scholarly publication: long articles, properly footnoted, fully refereed, followed by a massive book review section edited by Geoffrey Mercer (somewhat confusing in its appearance, but certainly full of substance). Both the humanities and the social sciences are well represented. Among the best articles published lately are three pieces that combine the high quality of disciplinary specialization with the broadness of their interpretive framework, namely, Edward M. Spiers on Canada current defence policy, Keith Chapman on the petrochemical industry, and Richard Collins on broadcasting and its effects on the Canadian cultural identity. The special issue dedicated to literary critic Cedric R.P. May (1988) carried six good articles on Québec literature, all by scholars active in British universities (Joanne Collie, Catriona Dinwiddie, Veronica Lee, Colin Nicholson, Christopher Rolfe and Mike Winterburn) – the best evidence of growth in a very "traditional" field of enquiry, although no special methodological trend is immediately recognizable (Spiers 1988, Chapman 1989, Collins 1989). The praise of the *British Journal of Canadian Studies* should not sound as an overall critique of its predecessor. There are weak pieces in the *British Journal of Canadian Studies* as there were good pieces in the *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*. Yet, the traditional apparatus proper to a scholarly publication was sometimes lacking. Similarly, in its early days, *Études canadiennes* paid a high toll to multidisciplinary and the drive to recruit new blood. Quality and French participation, however, did improve notably. The 1989 issue, publishing nine articles from the proceedings of the 1988 conference "L'homme et l'eau," contains seven articles written by French scholars (Dominique Chambaron, Armande de Raulin, F.-G. Gay, Michel Goy, Pierre Guillaume, André-Louis Sanguin and Chantal Sayaret) and is the best thematic issue to date.



The Association for Canadian Studies in the German-Speaking Countries clearly shows the many facets of the multidisciplinary conundrum. In fact, the German-speaking association is the most multidisciplinary of the European associations today, as shown by its formal sections (literatures, history, political science, geography, economics and women's studies), by the variety of disciplines represented by individual members (ranging from biology to psychology, from sociology to folklore), by its journal *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien*, and by the high quality of its members' publications in most of the above-mentioned fields. And yet the impressive growth in membership over the past ten years has had almost no effect on disciplinary percentages (Lenz 1989, Lacroix Répertoire 1988).<sup>10</sup> If one lesson can be learned from the experience of the German-speaking association, is that in Europe a better knowledge of Canada still passes via a constituency of Canadianists largely comprised of humanists.

The explanation for the disciplinary trends recognizable in each European association, with their emphasis on or oversight of the social sciences, probably lies with the founding fathers of Canadian studies in each of the associations. They represented a range of disciplinary options that provided, and in most cases still provide, the "moral" leadership and the foundation on which Canadian studies were built. In some cases, humanists were convinced that multidisciplinary was a necessity, and tried to act as catalyst for the social sciences. (To

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<sup>10</sup> Membership grew from 68 in 1980 to 452 in 1989, but literature in English went from 31.7 to 31.3 per cent, literature in French from 9.9 to 10.0 per cent (meaning that literature still represents 41.3 per cent of the whole membership), geography from 16.8 to 16.4 per cent, history from 10.9 to 7.5 per cent, political science from 12.9 to 11.1 per cent. The only discipline showing real progress is economics (from 1.0 to 4.2 per cent), but in real numbers members grew from 1 (1980) to 19 out of a total of 452 (1989). As an example, the German association (in 1989) can be compared with the French association (in 1988), counting 113 individual members from France in 1988, of whom 47.8 per cent in literature, 16.0 per cent in history and archives, 12.4 per cent in geography, 5.3 per cent in economics, 3.5 per cent in political science – although data are not very precise because members were allowed to indicate more than one category.

date, the trend from the social sciences to the humanities is extant only in Israel.) In general, however, the younger the association, the more visible the dangers of an approach that favours "promotion" over "research," and allows the token social scientist to smuggle in general remarks meant for ill-informed audiences that should not find their way into the publications of any association. Yet, one is left to wonder whether, had the specialists kept to their narrow disciplinary enquiries, a community of Canadianists would eventually have been created in which scholarly cross-fertilization is possible.

### *Does Canada Need European Canadianists?*

Studying a country where one lives or works presents some practical advantages, such as the possibility of keeping up to date with current issues and of being part of the process itself. Yet, to study a country from abroad in an age of relatively easy communication helps selectiveness and allows larger perspectives. Nowadays, it is possible to choose most Canadian topics at random in any discipline and work on them while physically residing outside Canada.<sup>11</sup> A good number of individual studies conducted in Europe before the concept of Canadian studies existed were produced in a vacuum, motivated only by the researcher's intellectual curiosity. To name but a few, historians Fohlen and Luraghi; geographers Fritz Bartz, Pierre George (1909-2006), Helmut Hottenroth, Karl Lenz, Carl Schott, with Ehlers, Treude, J. Wreford Watson (1915-90) and Zavatti; historical linguists Hans-Christoph Wolfhart and Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow and anthropologist Remie; archaeologists Ingstad and Stine Ingstad; political scientists Henry S. (Harry) Ferns, Pierre Guillaume, and Rainer-Olaf Schultze;

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<sup>11</sup> Proximity to sources is often advantageous, but limited access to Canadian sources in Canada on the part of Europeans must not be construed as an excuse for poor publications. While students are certainly at a disadvantage for lack of appropriate research fundings, a professor of early Canadian history at the University of British Columbia is certainly no closer to the Séminaire de Québec than his or her colleague at the Université Libre de Bruxelles or at the Università di Milano.

literary critics Bideaux, Carlsen, Durand, Paul Götsch and Pierre Spriet; and language studies specialist Hans-Josef Niederehe are among this number. Undoubtedly, individual scholars such as the above did not and do not need the structured framework of Canadian studies to give their unique and original contribution to knowledge. The more general question is how and how much has European research on Canada contributed to the knowledge of Canada itself? Or, more simply put, what do European Canadianists offer to Canadians that is not already available in the country itself?

In history and human geography, a restrictive interpretation of the concept of original contribution, in the literal sense of what Canadians have more difficulty doing alone, would reduce the possible areas of enquiry and research to three: [i] the so-called "patriation" of Canadian sources; [ii] relations between Canada and another country; [iii] the origins of immigration, the transfer of cultures to Canadian soil, multiculturalism and ethnicity.

Europeans are well aware of the unique program (started in 1873) of the National Archives of Canada to "patriate" documents that belong to the history of Canada but are preserved abroad on account of historical vicissitudes. Researchers and office facilities are maintained in Paris and in London, solely for the purpose of finding, calendaring, and copying documents of interest to Canadian history and preserved in the local archives. In recent years, this meritorious enterprise was extended to the Vatican and to Spain, where research projects are sponsored on a regular basis, often in co-operation with the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Copies of the documents thus made available by the National Archives of Canada are then routinely used by researchers (Chamberland 1990).<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly, documents found under the

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<sup>12</sup> Statistics in this paragraph come from the recent (1989-90) survey sponsored by the International Council for Canadian Studies and the National Archives of Canada. The survey was prepared by a committee chaired by Luca Codignola, co-ordinated by Nicole Chamberland, and consisting of Gabrielle Blais, Merle Fabian, Roberto Perin, Christian Pouyez and Robert Schwartzwald. Incidentally, 90 per cent of surveyed Canadianists work on the period after 1950. Of all researchers, 32 per cent

patriation program added much to the documentary evidence on which all serious research on Canada is based. The patriation program, however, was not devised for Canadianists abroad, but for any scholar whose interest is Canada. The questions are, did it also provoke a special interest among European scholars in France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Spain? Did it stimulate new publications on Canada? The answer is a negative one, with one important exception – Rome and the Vatican. In France, the United Kingdom, and Spain, except for the work of Turgeon on the sixteenth-century fishery, the patriation program seems to have had no effect among Canadianists. In Italy, things went differently, possibly because for a long time Rome was Canada's "third capital" abroad, ranking only behind Paris and London. Since 1975, a number of Italian and Canadian researchers have used Vatican documentation to study Canadian history (Chabot 1977 1978 1985, Codignola 1983 1987, Benoit and Scardellato 1984, Benoit 1986, Serio and Bruti Liberati 1987, Hurtubise 1985, Perin 1990, Pizzorusso 1986 1989, Sanfilippo 1987). Their Rome perspective had previously been used only in a very narrow, ecclesiastical, and hagiographical fashion – with recent few and notable exceptions (Cyril J. Byrne, Raymond J. Lahey, Terrence M. Murphy, Hans-Josef Rollmann, Lucien Campeau and Nive Voisine). There is no reason why this should not happen elsewhere. It is true that assistance to local researchers is not part of the main mandate of the Paris and London offices of the National Archives of Canada. Still, the fact that only 5 per cent of a sample of approximately 1,000 Canadianists (polled in 1989 by the International Council for Canadian Studies) employ their facilities, as opposed to 95 per cent using the main office in Ottawa, is certainly striking. Following Rome's experience, it is most likely that were their services better known and their offices better staffed, the Paris and London offices of the National Archives of Canada could also stimulate new research opportunities for European Canadianists.

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are historians, 26 per cent literary critics, 20 per cent specialists in "other humanities," and 13 per cent belong in other fields.

As for relations between Canada and other countries, France and the United Kingdom are special cases because of their intimate historical links with Canada. Until very recently, the international history of Canada (and of Québec) simply could not be written without constant reference to the transatlantic connection with the two former "mother countries." This probably accounts for the paucity of special studies on bilateral relations with France and the United Kingdom done by French and British scholars (Vinant, Jacques Portes, Bernard Penisson and Tim J.T. Rooth are exceptions). German geographers Dietrich Soyez and Hartmut Volkmann have placed the relations between the Nordic countries and Canada in a bilateral perspective, and Kurgan-van Hentenryk, with Laureyssens has produced the already-mentioned full-size monograph on Belgian investments in Canada in the twentieth century (Vinant 1985, Portes 1977, Penisson 1989, Soyez 1988, Volkmann 1988, Kurgan-van Hentenryk and Laureyssens 1986). In Italy, Luigi Bruti Liberati and Ghilardi have extensively studied the relations between Italy and Canada, the former with regard to Fascist Italy, and the latter to the period after World War II (Bruti Liberati 1984, Canada 1989; Ghilardi 1990; Serio 1989). By using new sources and a perspective from their own country, all the above-mentioned authors enriched the debate on Canadian history and culture with valuable and original contributions.

In most instances, bilateral relations cannot be studied without considering the role of the Canadian community of European origin. This framework leads naturally to studies of cultural transfers, ethnicity, and immigration in the political context of multiculturalism. On these topics, however, not much of a general nature has been written by Europeans, except for an interesting collective work edited in the Netherlands by August J. Fry and Charles Forceville, and a number of essays written in France, most notably under Lacroix's guide to the ethnic press in Canada. In the German-speaking world and in France, literary critics have also shown a special interest in minorities and ethnicity in Canadian writing and in the impact of multiculturalism on literature (Fry and Forceville 1988, Lacroix *Anatomie* 1988, Ducrocq-Poirier 1978, Atherton and Leclaire 1988,

Peyer 1982, Vauthier 1987, Tournon 1988). Studies on specific ethnic communities abound (although quality varies), and there again, Italy and the Italian-Canadian community seem to have been studied more than any other to date, and not only by Italians (Baldi 1988, Bianco 1980, Bonanno 1985, Briozzo 1986, Bruti Liberati Internamento 1989, Di Comite and Orasi 1988, Farnocchia Petri 1981, Gianna 1989, Lacroix 1988, Sanfilippo 1989, Serio 1989, Walter 1986). Others have dealt with the Scandinavians, the Welsh, the Germans, the Slovaks, the Czechs and the Dutch (Ljungmark 1988, Chamberlain 1986, Fröschle 1981, Lacroix and Kirschbaum 1986, Nelde 1981, Riedel 1984, Wijdeven 1983). We thus have a plethora of generally shorter studies on traditional themes as "Canada viewed by [add country]" or "[add country] viewed by Canada," with its innumerable variables ("Canada in the [add newspaper]," "the image of Canada in [add traveller or writer]," "the image of [add country] in [add Canadian traveller or writer]").

Although most of these are scholastic exercises that are usually by-products to larger enquiries or first steps in an academic career, they sometimes add new perspectives to the never-ending debate on the Canadian identity.<sup>13</sup> European contributions in the very broad field of immigration, ethnicity, and multiculturalism must not be regarded as limited to the opportunities provided by a better language expertise and an extended availability of sources. (The notion that only blacks, women, and aboriginal people can do respectively black studies, women's studies, and aboriginal studies has long been surpassed – why should it be applied to ethnic communities?) Cross-fertilization between European Canadianists and Canadians can be very fruitful for both parties. In fact, no matter what Canadians and Quebecers think of it, the sum of the various and often conflicting federal and provincial

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<sup>13</sup> Some of these are of special value, such as Eldridge on the British Colonial Office in the mid-nineteenth century, Orm Overland on Johan Schroeder's travels in Canada, Sanfilippo and Novelli (Napoléon Bourassa [1827-1916]) on Canadian travellers in Italy, Algerina Neri on British travellers to Canada (Anna B. Jameson), Bruti Liberati on Canada and Italian Fascism, Ó Gormaille on Ireland and the "imaginaire québécois," or James L. Sturgis on the British press of the 1960s and 1970s.

approaches to ethnicity and internal diversity is viewed as the model for their future by most Europeans, who have yet to find their solutions to major ethnic tensions. The fury over the language of commercial *affichage* in Québec, blacks' protests against police brutality in Toronto, Anglophone revenge in Sault Ste. Marie, Newfoundlanders' superiority complex towards CFAs ("Come-From-Aways") pale by comparison to the outburst of racial tensions in most European countries.<sup>14</sup>

Europeans, however, did not confine themselves to a restrictive interpretation of original contributions to the knowledge of Canada – and rightly so. Language expertise, the availability of special sources and bilateral or multilateral perspectives should broaden the scope of research, not limit it. We, lastly, enter the realm of original contributions unrelated to the geographical location of the contributor, and that any "disciplinary" survey would probably place at its beginning. They are the products of intellectual curiosity, motivated only by the authors' own history and personal experience. As Canadian medievalists need not to prove their Florentine ancestry to study Florence in the Middle Ages, so Swiss literary critics need not be related to painter Peter Rindisbacher (1806-34) to read and comment on Rudy Wiebe's novels. In opening the door to original European contributions, one is flooded by their sheer number, especially in literature, history, and geography. Only examples can be given, with a call for more specialized, state-of-the-art methodological essays.

The case of British historians is somewhat exemplary. The political history of the path to Confederation, today a seemingly secondary topic among Canadian historians,<sup>15</sup> has been re-examined by Ged

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<sup>14</sup> For one, Yasser Arafat (1929-2004), then Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, in 1987 declared that his own model for Palestinian and Israeli co-existence was the Canadian model. Arafat's remark was made at the Palestinian National Council meeting in Algiers on 25 April 1987, and is reported in Ambrosino 1989.

<sup>15</sup> Of 2,171 MA or doctoral dissertations listed by the Canadian Historical Association as completed, abandoned or in progress in the 1980 issue of its *Register of Post-Graduate Dissertations in Progress in History and Related Subjects*

Martin and by other British and Scottish colleagues using new sources, a new perspective, and the active participation of a number of Canadian historians. Thanks to Martin, Canadian-born James L. Sturgis, John B. Ingham, Judy Collingwood, Michael Burgess and Muriel E. Chamberlain, the political history of nineteenth-century Canada has a lot to show for its present and future, even in the more general context of what is being done in Canada itself. Martin's anthology, *The Causes of Confederation*, is a good case in point (Martin 1990, Sturgis 1990, Ingham 1984, Collingwood 1984, Burgess 1985, also Pighetti 1984). Still in history, one must recall Fohlen, Sanfilippo, and Stewart G. Gill and their interest in historiography, and Philippe Jacquin (1942-2002)'s scholarly endeavours in ethnohistory and all that is "exotic" in the history of Canada (Sanfilippo 1986; Gill 1985; Jacquin 1987). The Federal Republic of Germany has the only consistent European group of political scientists and historians whose main interest is Canadian politics and Canadian foreign policy (Becker and Schultze 1989, Schiller 1989, Schmitt 1988 1989, Lehmkuhl 1989, Wurzler 1989, Nassmacher and Uppendahl 1989). Jean-Claude Lasserre's publications on the St. Lawrence River have not been mentioned yet, although they provide a good example of the long tradition of French interest in the geography of Canada, recently stimulated by projects of vast proportions such as the St. Lawrence Seaway and James Bay (Lasserre 1980 1987, Hamley 1987).

The field of literature, both in English and in French, is one where the European contribution to the study of Canada would require an effort of synthesis beyond this writer's possibilities. The fact that I dealt with Canadian literature in French within the context of regionalism, but did not give the same treatment to Canadian literature in English should not be construed as a judgment on the "local" or "universal" value of either. In fact, European Anglophone Canadianists are as much "regional" or "universal" in their approach as their

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(Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), only two (by P.G. Brass and John B. Ingham) vaguely touch upon general political topics and both were assigned in Britain.



Francophone colleagues. However, I noted a certain unity in the European approach to Québec literature in French (of which Acadian literature is viewed as an interesting but limited appendage), whereas I found it difficult to find the same unity among Anglophone Canadianists, except for the language they use. While this undoubtedly relates to the various methodologies employed (which is also true of the Francophones), it also concerns the number of Anglophone Canadianists and the variety of Canadian regions with which they deal. Although I can only refer the reader to the many review essays and bibliographies listed in Appendix 2, I wish to acknowledge some contributions that are of special significance for their consistent and innovative approach, namely Jan Ulrich Dyrkjoeb's and Agostino Lombardo's on Northrop Frye (1912-91), Rizzardi's and Caterina Ricciardi's on Canadian poetry, Reingard M. Nischik's and Helmut Bonheim's on the Canadian short story, Michel Fabre's on Margaret Laurence (1926-87) and Walter Pache's critical introduction to Canadian literature

### *Conclusion*

Europeans have contributed extensively to the knowledge of Canada and a good number of their publications are of considerable scholarly value. In several disciplines, Europeans are full participants in the scholarly debate that is taking place internationally and within Canada itself. For most of them, to live "elsewhere" is a fact (a handicap or an advantage) that has not substantially altered the level of their publications.

The danger inherent in Canadian studies (one shared with all area studies, from black studies to aboriginal studies, from American studies to women's studies) is to emphasize enthusiasm and "promotion" over long-established and well-proven disciplinary methods. Undeniably, some early (and a few recent) publications were devised as promotional vehicles rather than works of scholarship. The international community has profited little from articles and books

published not because they were good, but because they dealt with Canada. In some instances, the author's physical distance from Canada was construed as an excuse for poor quality. (These shortcomings, however, are by no means limited to the study of Canada.)

There is no universal recipe for quality. The only way to ensure the recognition of good scholarship is to submit all publications to the judgment of the international scholarly community. Canadianists, like all scholars, should avoid hiding their work by using little-known, non-refereed periodicals, unknown publishing houses that cater only to a local audience of commandeered students, and languages that are not used internationally. Still, there should be exceptions to the above rules. For example, not publishing in one's language usually impedes stimulating connections with non-Canadianist scholars of the same language. Students would likely be cut off by the unavailability of pertinent literature appropriate to their level of education.

There is no reason to believe that to study Canada within a North American framework, or as part of the Commonwealth or of *francophonie*, or in a comparative fashion, depletes resources that could be used more productively otherwise. On the contrary, these approaches have produced important scholarly achievements unavailable from within Canada. Furthermore, the urge for more investigations within the social sciences rather than the humanities is partly due to the preponderance of the latter and the necessity to broaden the scope of a multidisciplinary approach to Canadian studies. Where the social sciences dominate, the opposite is true. Although the full participation of all disciplines to the community of Canadian studies would be welcome, there is not and must not be any scholarly reason for fostering the social sciences over the humanities or vice versa. Those who entertain the notion that the more "practical" the approach, the more useful the research, fail to distinguish between scholarship and politics. To date, the best results have been achieved by publications that were strictly disciplinary in method and scope. Although it has often been suggested that Canadian studies is a discipline in itself, available publications provide no evidence of a new methodology or a new writing practice derived from Canadian

studies. Yet its environment did provide an opportunity for multidisciplinary exchange among specialists in different fields.

The existence of a community of scholars under the banner of Canadian studies certainly improved knowledge of Canada among Europeans, and has helped Canadians understand their country somewhat better. This does not preclude, however, the importance of publications produced before the inception of Canadian studies, or simply that publications were not produced outside the community or would not have been written anyway. Yet only a selected group of European scholars were interested in Canada before the 1970s. They pursued their research individually, and the diffusion of their achievements and influence was very limited. The institutionalization of Canadian studies provided a frame of reference for many of them and made sharing easier. The number of scholars interested in Canada grew considerably, and their common endeavours made Canada better known to Canadians and to the world.

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### 3. THE SHAPING OF A CANADIANIST IDENTITY: THE EARLY YEARS, 1981-91

In the past year or so, I have been asked several times to write articles or to present papers at conferences in my capacity as an old-timer. Frankly, I do not know whether I should interpret this new trend on the part of my fellow academics as recognition of mature wisdom and a newly-gained cumulative learning. Unfortunately, I believe that to be called upon on such occasions simply means that, as the years go by, one gets older. Old age, however, does not necessarily bring wisdom.

Had I been wiser, I would have refused, for example, to write that long review of European research in the field of Canadian studies that appeared in the inaugural issue of the *International Journal for Canadian Studies*.<sup>1</sup> It meant a lot of research and reading, excruciating decisions as to whom to omit and what to criticize or praise, many preliminary drafts, never-ending sessions with the editors but almost no reaction on the part of any of the hundreds of fellow Canadianists mentioned. In fact, the only written response I received was from an irate Italian colleague, who complained that I had misjudged not only her book, but also her married identity.<sup>2</sup> If I were wiser, I would also have declined to write this presentation, meant, as International Council for Canadian Studies President Jean-Michel Lacroix explained to me, "to sum up the activities and development of ICCS," and, possibly, "to distinguish different phases or generations corresponding to the extension of the Council."<sup>3</sup> Off the record,

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<sup>1</sup> Luca Codignola, "The View from the Other Side of the Atlantic," *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, 1-2 (Spring-Fall/printemps-automne 1990): 217-258 (see ch. 2 of Part IV of this collection).

<sup>2</sup> For the record, this was Professor Clelia Pighetti (personal communication to the author).

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Michel Lacroix to Codignola, Talence, 1 February 1991. All original correspondence quoted in this chapter is in the author's private possession.

friends suggested that I was eminently qualified to perform this task, mainly because I keep my appointment books, I file my mail, I collect conference memorabilia, and I take photographs at meetings. There was another reason why, these self-interested colleagues maintained, I should accept Lacroix's offer. This was because I had been part of an original group of some twenty people who were present "at the beginning." According to my own notes I had, in fact, attended all ICCS conferences and business meetings from the "beginning," until I stepped down from office in Québec in 1989. But what was the "beginning", and the beginning of what?

As far as Canadian studies are concerned, the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada) clearly believes that it all began with the so-called *Symons Report*. As we all know, in September 1972 work began for the Association of the Universities and Colleges of Canada Commission headed by Trent University President Thomas H.B. Symons. Its task was to make recommendations "on the state of teaching and research in various fields of study relating to Canada." Three years later, in March 1975, the first two volumes of the report were published under the title *To Know Ourselves/Se connaître*.<sup>4</sup> Americans, however, would hardly consider this a beginning since five years previously, in 1970, the Arlie House conference had already recommended the formation of an American association, which was duly established in 1971.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, even before the release of the *Symons Report*, the ground had been prepared for the establishment of Canadianist associations in Canada (1973), in Great Britain (1975), and in France (1976).

I was not present at any of the above-mentioned events, nor I believe should we deal here with how and when academics in Canada and around the world began to show a new interest in matters

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<sup>4</sup> *The Symons Report: An Abridged Version of Volumes 1 and 2 of To Know Ourselves, the Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies* (Ottawa: Book and Periodical Development Council and McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> Richard A. Preston, *The Squat Pyramid: Canadian Studies in the United States. Problems and Prospects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Center for International Studies, 1980), 13-14.

Canadian. Rather, our interest should lie with the formal establishment of an international organization called the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS), which, at first, was meant "to promote Canadian studies internationally and to act as a vehicle for the sharing of information."<sup>6</sup> It all began in Washington, DC, between 28 and 30 September 1979, when Richard G. Seaborn, then Acting Director, Academic Relations Division, Department of External Affairs, convinced the President of the Association of Canadian Studies in the United States, Gerard F. Rutan, and its Vice-President, Ronald D. Tallman, to open their Fifth Biennial Conference ("Perspectives on Canada") with a session of remarks by the so-called international delegates. Before the closing of the conference, the idea of an international organization of Canadianists has been noted. Some of the participants in that discussion later disappeared from the international scene. Others became familiar names and faces: Pierre Savard and James E. Page from Canada; Richard Beach, Charles F. (Chuck) Doran, Jeanne Kissner (d.1999), Victor Konrad, Peter Karl Kresl, Norman London, and William (Bill) Metcalfe from the United States; Michael Hellyer, Peter H. Lyon, and Cedric R.P. May from Great Britain; Alfredo Rizzardi from Italy; Keichi Hirano and Yutaka Takenaka from Japan; Per Seyersted from Norway; J.-G. Donnard and Pierre Spriet from France; Lothar Wolf from Germany; Helen Groh, Josef Jurcovič, and Brian Long from the Government of Canada; Marc T. Boucher from the government of the Province of Québec.

Formally, however, the ICCS was founded in Halifax on 1 June 1981, when delegates from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, the German-speaking countries, Australia and New Zealand, and Ireland agreed to eight "Provisional Rules of Procedure" drafted by Page, then President of the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada). Page, who with Rutan had masterminded and convened the meeting with the financial assistance of the Canadian Department of External Affairs, was elected President of the

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<sup>6</sup> International Council for Canadian Studies, "Provisional Rules of Procedure," undated memo attached to James E. Page to ICCS members, [Toronto], 7 October 1981.

newly-founded ICCS, which, in practice, was an Executive Council consisting of one delegate per each national or multi-national association.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, the legal history of the ICCS is somewhat slow. The English version of the constitution was approved four years later, on 7 June 1985, and officially declared on 6 May 1986. The French version appeared a year later on 3 June 1987. On that same date constitutional amendments were approved whereby a four-member Executive Committee was created. Less cumbersome was the expansion of the ICCS, from the original "Group of Nine," as it was nicknamed in Halifax in 1981, to a much larger body. In rapid succession the Nordic Countries (1984), the Netherlands (1985), China (1985), Israel (1986), India (1987), Spain (1990), and the Soviet Union (1990) joined. The Centre d'études canadiennes of the Université Libre de Bruxelles (1988), the American Council for Québec Studies (1989), and Yonsei University in Korea (1989) were admitted as associate members.<sup>8</sup> The 1979 Washington meeting can thus be considered the beginning of international Canadian studies – a beginning which I had the privilege to witness.

What really convinced me to accept Lacroix's offer proposal not the fact of being a living witness, but rather the challenge that this task presented to my professional capacity as an *ancien régime* historian. Accustomed to write of faceless long-dead people, silent minds that

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<sup>7</sup> ICCS, "Provisional Rules of Procedure," [7 October 1981]. The official proposal to establish the International Council on [*sic*] Canadian Studies was moved by Page and seconded by Gerard F. Rutan at the Halifax meeting (1 June 1981). The Halifax business meeting followed a conference, organized by the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada) on "Ways of Seeing: An International Workshop on Canadian Studies" (29-30 May 1981), at which Sidney F. Wise presented a survey on "Canadian Studies Abroad." International Canadianists included Peter Crabb and Joe Schultz from Australia, Jørn Carlsen from Denmark, Kurt Jürgensen and Rainer-Olaf Schultze from the Federal Republic of Germany, Luigi Bruti Liberati, Codignola and Francesco Giacobelli from Italy, Pierre George and Pierre Guillaume from France, Hellyer, Frederick Jones, Lyon, Ged Martin and James L. Sturgis from Great Britain, Nobuya Bamba and Kazuo Kimura from Japan, Rutan and Tallman from the United States.

<sup>8</sup> At the Montebello, Qué., meeting (28 May-4 June 1991), the Centre de recherche sur la francophonie (Korea) applied, and was admitted as an associate member.



cannot contradict my own depictions of their lives and times, would I be able to deal with living persons, active minds, trusting friends hoping that their contribution be recognized, unsympathetic colleagues ready to challenge my memory of my interpretation? Once my decision was made, I then set about treating the history of the ICCS as I would have treated any other topic. As step number one I selected a working title. "The Shaping of a Canadianist Identity: The Early Years, 1981-1991" sounded good enough, in that it contained the required ten-year time span, the pomposity a future historian would have awarded such a distinguished topic, and the glittering hope that the best was yet to come.<sup>9</sup>

Step number two was to identify the available sources traditionally subdivided into printed, manuscript, and otherwise, and to critically assess their relative reliability. As for printed sources, from the start the ICCS had produced a semi-annual *Newsletter* (later renamed *ICCS Contact*) and since 1987 a brief and irregular *Update* (renamed in 1988 *Letter from the President*).<sup>10</sup> From their beginnings – a very rudimentary one-person productions, these publications became, in time, major vehicles for spreading practical information on the activities of the various national associations and the Ottawa central office. Care must be applied in using its publications as sources for the history of the ICCS. First of all, the information given, especially when originating from members' reports, sometimes reflects wishful

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<sup>9</sup> In their official history, *The Association for Canadian Studies: A Brief History 1973-1988* (Montréal: ACS, [1988]), the Canadianists of Canada had adopted the same terminology in the subdivision of the chapters: "1973-1978: The Early Years;" "1978-1982: Expansion;" "1982-1988: Consolidation;" and "1986-1988: Recent Years."

<sup>10</sup> The first newsletter was issued in January 1982 as *International Canadian Studies News*. It was renamed *ICCS Newsletter* with vol. 3, no. 1 (April 1984). The newsletter was transformed into a larger, glossier magazine format and renamed *ICCS Contact* with vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1988). It circulated to all members of ICCS associations. *ICCS Update* no. 1 was issued on 17 July 1987 by Peter Karl Kresl and the series ran until 22 June 1988 when *ICCS Update* no. 6 appeared. Thereafter it was renamed *President's Letter* (18 November 1988) and *Letter from the President* (20 April 1989), circulating approximately every two months to the association presidents, the Executive Council, and Executive Committee.

thinking rather than hard facts. And secondly, it is of the utmost importance to know whether articles were commissioned by the Ottawa secretariat or autonomously sent in from elsewhere. In fact, the expression of dissenting voices is seldom encouraged.

The usefulness of these publications is primarily in the wealth of raw data they provide, because, were the historian to believe that the operations of the ICCS were as portrayed in its publications, he or she would recreate a world of wonders where Canadianists are all of one mind, conferences always a raving success, venues enchanting, the food homemade, drinks plentiful, and money is not a problem. The Canadian association, for example, based its fifteenth-anniversary *Brief History* almost entirely on its *ACS Newsletter*. The result was an eminently celebratory, albeit useful, portrayal of its history and existence.<sup>11</sup> ICCS periodical publications, however, must not be scorned as historical sources, but recognized for what they are – the organization's "official voice". Since they are meant to avoid any challenge or offence to the national associations, they well represent not the future, and not even the present of the ICCS, but, rather, the optimal level of consensus among ICCS members.

I then turned to another indispensable source, the collection of the minutes, which only exist in manuscript form, of the various business meetings held by the Executive Council at large, the Executive Committee, and the various *ad hoc* committees. (As we know, these minutes are verified and officially approved at the meeting immediately subsequent to the one they record.) Minutes clearly show when motions were passed and decisions made, their exact wording, the names of the voting delegates, the number of votes cast, and the like. Are minutes to be trusted as historical sources? In the stricter sense, they certainly are because they contain no false statements. And yet, once again, they must be treated with care, and, whenever possible, collated with other documents originating from the meeting the original agenda, the attached documents, personal notes and comments prepared or jotted down by individual participants before, during, and after the meeting itself. As in the ICCS official

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<sup>11</sup> ACS, *Brief History*.

publications, dissent is seldom voiced, and only hints of major disagreements exist. More likely, traditional formulas such as "after a long discussion" and the like are used.

Here is a telling example. A document dated 16 April 1987 titled "The Origins of the New Secretariat of ICCS" was signed by me, as President of the ICCS, and presented to the Executive Council at the Hamilton, Ont., meeting (31 May-2 June 1987). (The document is now part of the ICCS minutes.) It explained the reasons why the partnership between the ICCS and the ACS had been dissolved; why President-Elect Alan F.J. Artibise and I had accepted the principle of administering major programmes for External Affairs; why Kresl had been hired as Executive Director (this contract was in fact dated 12 March 1987) and Gaëtan Vallières, Executive Director from 1983 until that time, appointed Administrative Director. On 3 June 1987 the Hamilton delegates approved the new set-up of the secretariat, although the accrued voting behaviour, calculated over several motions, of 59 ayes, 18 nays, and 13 abstentions, well shows the difference in opinion. However, less than one year later, in Acireale, Italy (18-22 May 1988), the delegates were informed that Kresl had announced his resignation on 9 April 1988 and was returning to Bucknell University. As we all know, Christian Pouyez began to work for the ICCS in August 1988. This is the official version as told by the minutes. What the minutes do not convey to the historian is the intensity of that year and a half, and the fear, often expressed in private, of a major bureaucratization of the ICCS. Israeli delegate Daniel Ben-Natan, for one, wrote to Artibise on 18 March 1987 that he was "a bit worried about what seems to [him] to be a major jump in the administrative set-up of the ICCS" and that, "without convincing arguments to support the necessity of what appears to me a top-heavy set-up", he would have voted against the Executive Committee's recommendations. Six months after Hamilton, French President Claude Fohlen orally expressed to me "the lingering preoccupation among our members of a bureaucratization of ICCS", "that too much power was attached to Peter Kresl, should he be renewed in his position, and too little on the [national] Presidents, who should in fact

be the people in charge". (The quotation is from my own letter to Artibise of 19 December 1987, not from any of Fohlen's written words.) While I am not at liberty to delve further into sensitive private correspondence, let me assure you that the abstract and somewhat deceiving formulas of the ICCS minutes would tell the historian very little of that debate. This, however, applies to all minutes of all democratic organizations. They are not intended to cover up dissent, but, rather, to show the optimal level of consensus reached within the community.

While I was looking for more details of ICCS history in my own private correspondence files, it occurred to me that another major story for the future historian of the ICCS would be the Northern Telecom award saga. Here one would be confronted by at least four different archival series: [i] Northern Telecom's own files relating to the corporate decision to fund the awards, with the successive personal input of Walter F. Light (1923-96), Roy T. Cottier, and John Strimas; [ii] the proceedings of the various juries which have selected the winning candidates – and I can assure you from my own past experience that these were in sealed boxes with absolutely no leaks; [iii] the administrative correspondence between Northern Telecom and the ICCS representatives; [iv] the acceptance speeches of the awardees. Of these, only the last category is fully available. This is why the history of the Northern Telecom awards is always painted as a success story that began in 1982 as a fireside chat between Page and Cottier, and soon developed into the ICCS showcase. Yet the availability of the other three categories would certainly show why Northern Telecom funded the prize in the first place, why the company experienced some internal debate over its role in the matter (was its "international" image somewhat belittled by its original Canadian identity?), and how ICCS officials tried to convince Northern Telecom to continue its support. Although these are still confidential matters, the intensity of the debate within the ICCS might be exemplified by quoting a negative comment on my own presidency in connection with this issue. Kresl, indeed a top participant, described

it, in writing, as "unconscious [*sic*] and disorganized". I, of course, responded, again in writing.<sup>12</sup>

Contemporary historians rely less on private mail than historians of the pre-mass media revolution. They rightly maintain that whenever hot subjects are dealt with, eye-to-eye meetings, telephone conversations, and *bitnet* messages are considered safer and faster than a posted letter. Participants' written recollections, journals, and memoirs should also be used – but their availability strictly depends on their writers' willingness to make them known. Furthermore, other less traditional sources can be exploited, such as oral history (interviews), iconography (according to our photographic history, Canadianists seem to do little else but sit through meetings or hold glasses at cocktail parties), and even material culture (is there any hidden meaning in the symbolism of the imperial ICCS pin produced by Charles Fidler & Son Ltd. of Selkirk, Manitoba, or in the ecological Northern Telecom medals sculpted by famed Canadian artist Dora De Pederey-Hunt [1913-2008]?). For the time being, traditional letters remain the most useful sources, although these must be used with care, as no breach of confidence or confidentiality should be allowed.

My third step as the ICCS first official historian was to select the focus of my presentation. Many options were before me. There was once a traditional view according to which the history of a country was narrated as if it were the history of the way its leaders – kings, queens, presidents or generals – implemented their vision of their country and their people. Applied to our case, this would be as if the history of the ICCS were written from the point of view of its presidents. Chapters would revolve around Page's challenge to the world (1981-3), consolidation and expansion under Savard (1983-5), Codignola's modernization and creation of the bureaucratic state (1985-7), Artibise's imperial presidency (1987-9), and Lacroix's years of *grandeur* (1989-91). This *histoire-bataille* vision of the development of the ICCS would of necessity have its focal points in the meetings and conferences of Halifax (1981), Vancouver (1983),

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<sup>12</sup> Kresl to Codignola, 9 April 1988; Codignola to Kresl, 27 April 1988.

Grainau, Federal Republic of Germany (1984), Montréal (1985), Bordeaux, France (1986), Hamilton (1987), Acireale, Italy (1988), Montréal-Québec (1989), Beijing, China (1990), and Montebello-Kingston (1991). This was a perspective I could not accept, as my own formative years, in the 1960s and 1970s, had taught me that history must be written "from the bottom up," and historians must devote their attention to the masses, the common people, and the underprivileged. Would this definition apply to the 4,000 or so official Canadianists listed in the *Directory* compiled by Vallières and Linda M. Jones?<sup>13</sup> If I were to embrace this point of view, then the main question would have been, how have their personal lives and careers been affected by the internationalization of Canadian Studies?

In the 1980s, however, two other diverging tendencies had manifested themselves in the world of historiography. Conservatives tended to favour the government machine, the so-called bureaucracy, whereas self-labelled progressive historians seemed more attracted to minorities and gender. Would there be any lesson to be learned with regard to the ICCS, I asked myself? According to the conservative school, neither the leaders, nor the people at large effectively shoulder the main responsibilities for one given country's choices. These lie with the somewhat obscure, and yet extremely powerful civil servants who advise the elected representatives, prepare memos, draft policy papers, tell their bosses how much cash they are left with, and, by and large, uphold tradition and continuity, and shun innovation and breakaway solutions. If this were to be my case, then I would have had to look more closely at the role played by Vallières, an historian by trade, who was the ICCS Executive Director (1983-7) and Administrative Director (from 1987), and who was also, for a long time (1983-6), Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada). More than anyone else, Vallières represented continuity within the ICCS. Or to American economist Kresl's short stint as Executive Director (1987-8). His appointment was an important departure from tradition, because it was in fact the only

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<sup>13</sup> Gaëtan Vallières and Linda M. Jones, *Directory of Canadianists 1988/89* (Ottawa: International Council for Canadian Studies, 1989).

instance in which that role was fulfilled by a full-time academic and by a non-Canadian. Or, finally, to Pouyez, another Canadian and historian by trade, whose mandate (from 1988) coincided with the period of greater international expansion of the ICCS and with the undertaking of larger administrative responsibilities on behalf of the Canadian government. My question would have been, were Vallières, Kresl, and Pouyez able to filter political leadership emanating from the President, the Executive Committee, and the Executive Council down to the larger community of Canadianists? And, conversely, did they manage to convey to the elected political leaders a sense of the community's needs and expectations? Finally, Béatrice Kowaliczko was assistant to Vallières in the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada) from 1983 to 1986, before becoming Executive Director of the same association. What role did she play in trying to forge a more perfect union between the ICCS and the Canadian association?

On the other hand, if I were to share the concerns of the progressive school, all this would have amounted to in-house handshaking and cosmetic cover-up, the truth of the matter being as crystal-clear as the following facts – no minorities, visible or invisible, were ever represented in the ICCS, and in the ten years only three women – Irish and Chinese literary critics Riana O'Dwyer and Wang Tai-lai, and Scottish geographer Margaret Storrie – sat with full voting powers in its Executive Council. (Ginette Kurgan-van Hentenryk, representing the Université Libre de Bruxelles, had only enjoyed an associate member role.) The fact that the state of the ICCS elective bodies well mirrored national situations where, to say the least, minorities and women were underrepresented, would only have made matters worse. In fact, the upholders of this view would not be concerned with the traditional question-and-answer approach to historical truth, because they believe that historical truth cannot be attained until full political representation is gained by all components of society.

But what about another perspective of increasing importance, the somewhat strained relationship between centre and periphery – Canada's major problem of the 1990s and certainly a constant feature of the short history of the ICCS? Canada, for example, is at the centre

of all our concerns, yet the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada) lost international power and status in direct proportion to the dramatic success and expansion of the ICCS. The ICCS was the creation of the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada), Page and Artibise were presidents of both organizations, and Vallières and Kowaliczko were crucial for the well-being of both the ICCS and the Association for Canadian Studies (Canada). Then, on 21 February 1987, the two bodies separated for good. Furthermore, programmes such as the Third-party Conference-Speaker Travel Assistance programme and prizes such as the Five Continents Award initially excluded Canada. Whereas three of the four early ICCS presidents (Page, Savard, Codignola, Artibise) were Canadian, there was only one Canadian among the subsequent four (Codignola, Artibise, Lacroix, Hans-Josef Niederehe). Furthermore, the concept of a constant Canadian presence in the Executive Committee, let alone of an alternate Canadian president, does not fare well with a number of national associations.

Canada is not the only country that expresses some form of grievances. The United States is not only the first in time, but also the largest national association and yet it shares with Great Britain, the earliest association outside North America, the unlikely distinction of never having put forward a president to the ICCS. The 1990 All-European Canadian Studies Conference in The Hague, for its very success, is regarded by some as the first step in the resurgence of the old plan to establish a European council – an idea which the French suggested as early as the mid-1970s, long before the birth of the ICCS, when they selected Luxembourg as the location of a major pan-European conference. Although such a plan was apparently shelved long ago, there is no doubt that not Canada, but continental Europe is now the political centre of the Council. This consideration is further substantiated by the fact that three of the four last ICCS presidents (Codignola, Lacroix, Niederehe) are Europeans, and is not contradicted by the China and Israel venues of the 1990 and 1992 ICCS meetings – evidence, on the contrary, of the attempt of peripheral associations to carve a larger role for themselves in the overall map of Canadian studies.



Title, sources, and focus are, however, not enough, because, as any thesis director would tell his or her students, any material should be selected and assembled according to the historian's general interpretive framework. In the course of research, a preconceived general design may be contradicted, but its initial presence cannot be avoided. How does this apply to our case? As we are celebrating the ten years of the official existence of the ICCS, it would be all the more natural to be led by a celebratory mood. We should show how, from a little office at Seneca College at 1750 Finch Avenue East in Willowdale, Ont. (managed by Page and his secretary, Elizabeth [Betty] Ward, from 1978), the concept of the ICCS expanded into historic premises located at 2 Daly Avenue, in Ottawa. We would point out how co-operation with External Affairs, through mutual understanding and common interest with friendly, efficient, and intelligent officials such as John W. Graham, Seaborn, René de Chantal (1923-98), Janet Bax, and Long, developed into a well-oiled routine that did not hamper, but did in fact elicit a creative response from the academic world. We would trace the history of the expansion of the initial "Group of Nine," as founding member associations referred to themselves in 1981, into a major federation of Canadianists comprising sixteen associations and covering twenty-five countries, spread across five continents. We would also refer to the first issue of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies* and to its assessment of scholarly achievement in the field of scholarly research on Canada.

It would also be useful, however, to refrain from the celebratory mood and to emphasize shortcomings and negative trends, in order to allow better planning for the future: [i] the constant trend towards worldwide expansion could be placed under close scrutiny, in order to verify whether future expansion teams possess all the required qualifications to join the major league, so that their admission is based on scholarly, rather than political arguments; [ii] the perennial academic fear of government interference in ICCS matters could also be raised, as it was in 1987 when the reorganization of ICCS began. Incidentally, for the relations between the ICCS and the Government of Canada, which I have not touched upon in this presentation, allow

me to refer this audience to American political scientist Gregory S. Mahler's extensive, well-researched, and thorough study;<sup>14</sup> [iii] one could question whether change should prevail over continuity, and the national associations be encouraged to allow new blood to attend the annual meetings of the Executive Council; [iv] one could also wonder why communication between the ICCS and national associations has always been a major problem, as the latter do not seem to convey the importance of the creative and coordinating role of the ICCS to their individual members, there by fuelling jealousy rather than co-operation. Furthermore, no historian of the future will be able to explain the history of the ICCS without reference to the outcome of the political struggle within Canada. Will she stress the "federalist" leaning of the ICCS majority, by starting her explanation with, "*As foretold* by the federalist leaning of the ICCS...". Or will he stress the "provincial" slant of its minority, beginning his crucial sentence with, "*In spite of* the federalist leaning of the ICCS..."?<sup>15</sup>

At this point, having played with the historical profession so far, I will do something no historian should ever do, that is, reach the end of my presentation with a conclusion that is totally detached from previous evidence. In fact, my presentation has not been the summary of the activities and development of the ICCS that I had been asked to prepare. Events have been cited at random, important players have gone unmentioned, the presentation has been neither chronological nor issue-oriented. Mine has been, at best, a blueprint for the future

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<sup>14</sup> Gregory S. Mahler, *Foreign Policy and Canadian International Academic Relations, 1945-1985*, an impressive 74-page essay available in typescript from its author, which to date [1991] is still unpublished probably because of its length.

<sup>15</sup> Personal entanglement with current issues cannot be escaped. (A number of historians believe that it should not be avoided.) Even an apparent monument to objectivity and detachment, such as the Canadian Centenary Series, published by McClelland and Stewart between 1963 and 1988, is very much a product of the ongoing struggle between nationalism and regionalism. According to a wonderful review article by one of its contributors, John Herd Thompson, "Integrating Regional Patterns into a National Canadian History," *Acadiensis* 20, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 174-184, the final outcome deceived even the two eminent Canadian historians who had conceived it in the mid-1950s, William L. Morton (1908-80) and Donald G. Creighton (1902-79).

ICCS historian, to whom the years we have lived will be "the early years." What maturity will bring, to Canada, to Canadianists, and to the International Council for Canadian Studies, she will know already. I, and you, do not.

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V.

APPENDICES



## APPENDIX 1

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## APPENDIX 2

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AFTERWORD  
RECONSTRUCTING AN ATLANTIC WORLD:  
A PERSONAL QUEST

*A mio padre,  
mio maestro*

The editor, Matteo Binasco, and I have mulled at length over the title to be given to this book. In the end we decided that, if the writings we had selected had anything in common, this was the geographical area shared by all of them and the emphasis on historiography. Hence *History and Historians of the North Atlantic*. In this way, however, Catholic expansion would not have been immediately evident. Still, we felt that writings focusing on the Catholic church were *de facto* comprised in both the North Atlantic and the historiographical perspectives. As for the rest of the title, *1492-2010* represents the earliest Atlantic crossing and the year of the original publication of the latest selected articles. Finally, I take full responsibility for *Little Do We Know*. On this, more later.

When reviewing the list of my publications in order to select the articles to be included in this collection, it occurred to me that the relationship between historical sources and their use for the writing of history had always been one of my main concerns.<sup>1</sup> My Atlantic

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<sup>1</sup> In spite of their interest for this collection, articles already republished in Luca Codignola, *Colombo e altri navigatori* (Genova: Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2007), were purposely left out and are henceforth not included here. They were Codignola, "English Discoveries and Explorations to 1607. Luca Codignola Interviews David Beers Quinn," *Storia nordamericana* 4, no. 1-2 (1987): 189-204; Codignola, "Laurens Van Heemskerck's Pretended Expeditions to the Arctic 1668-1672: A Note," *The International History Review* 12, no. 3 (August 1990): 514-527; Codignola, "Another Look at Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524," *Acadiensis* 29, no. 1 (Autumn/automne 1999): 29-42; Codignola, "Le prétendu voyage de Samuel de Champlain aux Indes Occidentales, 1599-1601," in *La relation de voyage: un*

perspective, on the contrary, was one of which I had long been conscious. Its origin had coincided with my earliest research in the Roman archives (1974-5). This had started off as a sort of fishing expedition meant to discover unknown documents dealing with early-modern North American history. However, this research had soon become an attempt to understand how the Holy See bureaucrats viewed the world — and North America with it — from their Rome vantage point. A decade later, I used the locution "Atlantic World" for the first time in the title of a paper presented in 1985.<sup>2</sup> The 1980s were the time when the notion of an Atlantic world became common currency among historians, mainly in North America and Great Britain.

The real beginning in my historiographical perspective can be dated to the years 1973-5. In my view, this must be attributed to two major factors. The first was my 1973-4 year at the Department of History of the University of Toronto. There, under the harsh guidance of Dr. William J. Eccles, I learnt the difference between militant historiography and historical scholarship — and chose the latter.<sup>3</sup> The

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*document historique et littéraire. Actes du Séminaire de Bruxelles*, ed. Madeleine Frédéric and Serge Jaumain (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1999), 61-80; Codignola, "North American Discovery and Exploration Historiography, 1993-2001: From Old Fashioned Anniversaries to the Tall Order of Global History?," *Acadiensis* 31, no. 2 (Spring/printemps 2002): 185-206; Codignola, "Préface," in Christopher Columbus, *Relation du premier voyage entrepris par Christophe Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau-Monde en 1492* (Montréal: Boréal, 2005), 9-24.

<sup>2</sup> Luca Codignola, "A World yet to be Conquered. Pacifique de Provins and the Atlantic World, 1629-1648," in *Canada ieri e oggi. Atti del 6° Convegno Internazionale di Studi Canadesi. Selva di Fasano, 27-31 marzo 1985*, III: *Sezione storica*, ed. Codignola and Raimondo Luraghi (Fasano: Schena, 1986), 59-84; revised as Codignola, "Pacifique de Provins and the Capuchin Network in Africa and America," in *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society. Martinique and Guadeloupe, May 1989/Actes Du Quinzième Colloque De La Société d'Histoire Coloniale Française. Martinique et Guadeloupe Mai 1989*, ed. Patricia Galloway and Philip P. Boucher (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), 46-60.

<sup>3</sup>As I have explained in a 2003 paper reviewing the development of North American historiography in Italy (here republished), my writings can be attributed to the



second factor, as I have already stated, was research in the Roman archives. This began almost by happenstance in 1974, only a few months after my return to Italy from Toronto. The Holy See opened up a new world for my historical imagination. This research combined sound and apparently little-used documentary evidence with a new global perspective. In the early modern era, the Holy See was in fact an international institution *par excellence*, no less so than any other European capital with Atlantic interests.<sup>4</sup>

By making this book focus on North Atlantic historiography, I made the conscious choice not to include research articles. By these I mean articles that try to answer old and new questions by re-reading well-known evidence or finding new one. In fact, there is almost nothing in this collection that is related, in a direct way, to the archival research that — since 1974 and for the ensuing thirty-five years or so — has brought me not only to Rome, but also to France, Switzerland, England, Ireland, the United States and Canada. It was archival work, however, that made it possible for me to experience first-hand historical vicissitudes with the eyes of the people of the past. Without it, I wonder whether I would have had the courage — the ability is not for me to judge — to enter the domain of historiography and to review other historians' writings, as shown by the articles collected in this book.

In spite of its being rather cliché, the expression "Little did we know that..." has always struck me as being at the core of the historical profession. It means, quite simply, that there is such a thing

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"Leftist School" until 1975, but not later. See Part IV, Ch. 1, "On the Witness Stand: A Prosopography of North American Historiography in Italy in the Post-World War II Decades, 1945-78," 371-372 n28.

<sup>4</sup> My last article in the field of the French and English conflict in North America, a field that I had originally borrowed from American historian Francis Parkman, but had been later revised via Eccles, was Codignola, "Montcalm, Vaudreuil e la guerra per bande, 1754-1758," in *Canadiana. Aspetti della storia e della letteratura canadese*, ed. Codignola (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1978), 41-55. This was a follow-up on Francis Parkman, *Scritti scelti*, ed. Codignola (Bari: Adriatica, 1976); and Codignola, *Guerra e guerriglia nell'America coloniale. Robert Rogers e la Guerra dei Sette Anni, 1754-1760* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1977).

as human agency, but that the consequences of such an agency — that is, of one's decisions and actions — cannot be fathomed. The expression also means that the more we know about the men and women that inhabited our past, the more we realize that the number of variables is such that we will never be able to know it, let alone to grasp its complexity. Herewith lies, as I tried to describe in the opening chapter, the unsolvable contradiction of the historian's quest — or at least of my own quest. Hence the *Little Do We Know* of the title of this book.

This book is dedicated to my father, Luciano Codignola, a man of uncommon wit and imagination, who did not share my passion for detail, hated footnoting, and believed that the writing of history was an activity worth pursuing only insofar as it could help explain the world in which we live. As is evident from this collection, I subscribe to different views. Yet it was my father who put me on the right path, accompanied me all along, and still does.

*Luca Codignola*

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