

témoignages de la population de l'endroit sont très intéressants et donnent un caractère humain à l'ouvrage. La carte géographique à la fin de la préface est cependant de mauvaise qualité. Quelques photographies de la ville auraient sûrement agrémenté le livre. L'orthographe et l'emploi des majuscules pour quelques-uns des noms en français sont souvent fautifs, par exemple : « Théâtre de Veuille Dix-Sept » (193) et « Ecole Secondaire Régional de Glengarry » (220). On peut aussi s'étonner de ne retrouver aucun titre en français dans la bibliographie alors que Rayside s'intéresse aux Franco-Ontariens et au Québec. Cela dit, cette recherche demeure très valable et elle contribue à une meilleure connaissance de l'est ontarien et des relations entre francophones et anglophones dans cette province. De plus, Rayside met bien en évidence les divisions qui existent à l'intérieur même des communautés linguistiques d'Alexandria.

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Harriet G. Rosenberg — *A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988. Pp. xv, 234.

Harriet Rosenberg's *A Negotiate World* is a fine work of political economy, a case study in the interaction of political and economic change in a French village. Her subject is Abriès, an alpine commune in the highest inhabited valley in Europe. She places herself squarely in the tradition of LeRoy Ladurie and Eric Wolf (who introduces her work) as an opponent of the rosy linear view of modernization theory: "Implicit in the concept of modernization is a marching-to-glory metaphor embedded in the idology of capitalist progress which discounts local-level resistance as being simply characteristic of peasant ignorance (3). Her thesis might be defined as the systematic refutation of this "marching-to-glory" metaphore

The eighteenth-century Abriès that emerges from Rosenberg's pen is a well-balanced political and economic mechanism. Its economy is diversified and virtually self-sufficient; villagers raised grain and other food for themselves and their animals, and turned a tidy profit from trading sheep and ewes's milk, butter and cheese. The valley provided summer pastures to as many as 40,000 sheep from Provence and Piedmont. Collective institutions such as common lands and corvée labor tied households together by a complex network of elections, fines and scheduling necessitated by the demands of managing the 80 percent of surface area communally owned. Economic interdependence reinforced strong social ties which included amusements, a tradition since the fifteenth century of lay schoolteachers supported by the community, and a village welfare system to help the temporarily or permanently disadvantaged.

The complexities of maintaining the communal domain, the constant influx of outsiders associated with the sheep trade and movement, and the seasonal migration of male workers provided villagers with functional knowledge of the wider world and an appreciation for skilled negotiation. Negotiation became, in turn, their pattern of dealing with royal governments, invading armies, and religious divisions. The people of Abriès never rebelled; they tried always to negotiate a deal in the face of challenges

or abuse. During the Old Regime, they enjoyed much success in winning concessions to local autonomy and supported their own lobbyist in Paris to protect their privileges.

This cohesive, communal bond was breached first by the centralizing tendencies of the French Revolution which destroyed the regional political structures of their charter (granted by Humbert II in 1343) and their *escartons*, local assemblies which raised the annual tribute to the king and settled other communal matters. In the course of the nineteenth century, the agro-pastoral economy was attacked by the combined forces of international capitalist economic development and the probably well-meaning but destructive plans of "experts" in central bureaucracies like the Forest Administration. Aggressive governmental policy forced villagers to abandon their sheep for cattle, and big capital (especially the Nestlé Company) moved in to exploit their labor by monopolizing the milk market. Villagers gradually and reluctantly adopted a pattern of permanent, rather than seasonal, migration and the population of the village declined. In a downward cycle, the village grew smaller, had consequently less independence economically and less clout politically, and then grew even smaller still. Politically, the villagers no longer employed a negotiator to represent them collectively, but instead negotiated individually in patron-client relationships with individuals who maintained some influence regionally or nationally. As the military importance of the alpine passes declined, villagers could get less and less from the central government.

Abriès had 2,000 inhabitants in 1789, and has 200 today. Since 1945, the "experts" of the governmental bureaucracies have criticized peasants for reliance on cattle (a situation peasants were forced into by an earlier generation of bureaucrats) and have urged a turn to sheep and to co-operative agricultural projects. The villagers' lives are centered today on family not community, and the village is really two communities, one of peasants and another of city dwellers who have come to build a tourist trade.

Rosenberg makes a persuasive case against the "marching-to-glory" image of modernization theory, but the true value of her work lies elsewhere. The myths that she set out to debunk as a young anthropologist in 1972 had long since succumbed by the time her book was completed. Though she struggles to avoid romanticism, the tone of her portrayal of Old Regime Abriès is undeniably tinged with the idyllic. Clearly, she feels that the people of Abriès would have had a far better two hundred years since 1789 if the Government of France had simply left them alone with their sheep.

This work is based on thorough archival research, especially in local and regional archives. The point of view is always that of Abriès, and the author makes little effort to understand the national events, groups and ideologies which may have influenced the Parisian officials' treatment of Abriès. She presents, for example, a detailed picture of the peasants' relations with the Forest Administration. Her assertion, that "Peasants were thus administratively integrated with but politically isolated from the centre" (104), explains how the villagers of Abriès were unable to resist the pressure of the Forest Administration's bureaucrats in their relentless drive to change the village's economy. She compares Abriès to other mountain communes where these new forest regulations were resisted by force, and explains the peaceful response of Abriès as a result of their long established pattern of negotiation as a survival technique. Unfortunately for the peasants, Abriès no longer had the importance or the political connections to negotiate successfully. What she does examine, however, is the ideological, economic or social origins of the bureaucratic policies. She refers

repeatedly to a cycle of crisis in capitalism which affect the village, but she presents no systematic effort to explore the nature of the bureaucracy, or of its policies or goals. She may well argue that the people of nineteenth-century Abriès did not understand, but it would be helpful to have a fuller picture of what did not understand.

Any scholar interested in how the disparate pieces of the Bourbon monarchy were gradually and painfully fused into an economic whole will find this book useful. Political historians may be especially intrigued by her conclusion that, politically, the remaining peasants of Abriès are not really a part of national life. This European case study can provide thoughtful comparisons for social scientists with interests in peasants studies and development issues. Rosenberg adds little to the theory of economic development, but her case study does elaborate, illuminate or emphasize aspects of others' theories. Its strongest aspect is chronological; because she covers three centuries, she shows the gradual nature of change, the villagers' acceptance and their rejection of a variety of economic alternatives, and (as was one of her chief goals) how the peasants tried to control their own economic fate.

A Negotiated Worlds is as short on social information as it is detailed in economic analysis. Readers familiar with older, chronologically briefer and more intimate pictures, such as the books of Laurence Wylie, will miss the intricacies of education, family and friendship and the arresting portraits of peasant personalities. Rosenberg notices social structure, but does not explore it. She notes, for example, the changing work of women, but does not provide any concrete sense of gender and how it was part of a changing village polity. She omits mention of the traditional French links between family construction and economic development. But Rosenberg does something very useful by providing a long-term economic analysis of how French peasant villages became the underdeveloped places that Wylie and others found after World War II. This book is a solid achievement of which its author can be justly proud.

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Jacques Rouillard — *Histoire du syndicalisme au Québec : des origines à nos jours*. Montréal, Les Éditions du Boréal, 1989, 535 p.

Le livre de Jacques Rouillard représente une somme des travaux historiques sur le syndicalisme québécois et restera, pour de nombreuses années à venir, un ouvrage de base essentiel pour toutes les personnes qui s'intéressent à l'évolution des organisations de travailleurs et de travailleuses au Québec. L'auteur, qui avait déjà mené des études approfondies sur plusieurs aspects du syndicalisme québécois, notamment sur le courant du syndicalisme catholique et sur la CSN, met à contribution ses propres recherches et celles d'autres scientifiques dans l'élaboration de cette synthèse.

Le premier chapitre est consacré à la « Naissance du syndicalisme au Québec (1818-1896) ». Typographes, débardeurs, cordonniers, charpentiers sont parmi les premiers à fonder des associations. Dans certains cas, ces regroupements font fonction de sociétés d'entraide; dans d'autres cas, ils agissent comme syndicats, c'est-à-dire, selon le critère de l'auteur, qu'ils « interviennent auprès d'employeurs dans la détermination [des] conditions de travail » (15). Le syndicalisme est lié à la condition