

description du document et remarques. A chaque fois que cela s'avéra utile, des explications furent ajoutées concernant l'un ou l'autre personnage ou événement; de plus, les fiches contiennent aussi, s'il y a lieu, la référence à des documents correspondants classés ailleurs. Cette incidence est assez fréquente à cause du fonctionnement de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, fonctionnement dont les diverses séries inventoriées sont en quelque sorte le reflet. Ainsi, comme le précise Codignola, quand un mémoire ou une lettre parvenait à la Propagande, le document était classé selon qu'il ferait l'objet d'une discussion au sein de la Congrégation générale, d'une Congrégation particulière, ou selon qu'il serait traité en *Congresso*. Par la suite, les procès-verbaux de la Congrégation générale étaient consignés dans les *Acta* où se trouvent conséquemment la plupart des décisions prises par la Propagande; ceux des Congrégations particulières étaient classés avec les originaux correspondants dans *Congregazioni Particolari* alors que ceux des discussions en *Congresso* n'étaient tout simplement pas consignés. Dans tous les cas, cependant, une réponse était expédiée aux correspondants et copiée dans ce qui constitue la série Lettres. Le processus ayant été tel, le chercheur se doit donc d'utiliser plusieurs séries de documents et c'est ici que réside toute l'importance d'un bon inventaire.

A cet égard, celui de Codignola s'avère tout à fait exceptionnel. J'ai longuement parcouru cet inventaire: la facture en est excellente et l'on ne peut qu'être impressionné par sa qualité soutenue. De même, l'ampleur de sa portée est telle qu'il rendra service non seulement aux historiens de la religion mais aussi à tous ceux que l'histoire du Canada intéresse. A vrai dire, la lecture des fiches du répertoire, à elle seule, ajoutera grandement aux connaissances des uns et des autres et mettra en lumière les rapports constants qu'entretenaient les gens d'ici avec une Europe qui ne leur paraissait peut-être pas aussi lointaine que certains l'ont pensé par la suite. Il faut espérer que cet instrument de recherche soit largement diffusé et que l'inventaire des volumes portant sur le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle nous parvienne dans un avenir rapproché.

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RAMSAY COOK — *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1985. Pp. x, 291.

The "religious crisis provoked by Darwinian science and historical criticism of the Bible led religious people to attempt to salvage Christianity by transforming it into an essentially social religion (p. 4)." Evolutionary theory and higher criticism were not the only reasons for the crisis of faith. Protestant leaders also struggled in the late nineteenth century to respond to the social and economic ills of an industrialized and urbanized Canada. Their solution, Ramsay Cook argues, was to move away from the increasingly indefensible theological bases of their faith toward social ethics: the social role of the church was exalted; orthodoxy was downplayed. But by dismantling the theological underpinnings, late Victorian Protestants ultimately deprived religion of its central place in English-Canadian society. Although remodelling Christianity into a combination of social service and civic duty encouraged the growth of social reform movements and maintained clerical leadership, in the long run this refashioning undermined the role of institutional religion. The "manner in which liberal Protestants responded to the socio-economic, scientific, and historical challenges of the nineteenth century resulted in Christianity becoming less rather than more relevant (p. 6)." Ironically, "the path blazed by nineteenth-century religious liberals led not to the kingdom of God on earth but to the secular city (p. 229)."

Cook pursues his thesis in a series of well-researched and beautifully drawn sketches of individual clerics, journalists and intellectuals. This fascinating group includes men and women, savants and amateurs, believers and skeptics. Goldwin Smith believed that the challenges to orthodoxy threatened the social order. He also noted that a new emphasis on the social role of religion would

restore clerical prestige and that the removal of the theological base of religion would ultimately destabilise the church as a social institution. The positivist W.D. LeSueur substituted Darwin for theology in his efforts "to free moral teaching from religious belief (pp. 42-43)." Spiritualists such as B.F. Austin and Flora MacDonald Denison fought the uncertainty of death by producing what they thought was scientific proof of "the validity of traditional religious teachings about immortality (p. 67)." In doing so spiritualists created an "earthly paradise" that blurred the lines between the holy and the mundane. The effect of R.M. Bucke's Whitmanesque notions and "Cosmic Consciousness" was rather similar: Bucke's insistence that everyone could reach "the mystic state of nirvana — or salvation (p. 103)" also helped to erase the line between the sacred and the secular.

More substantial social critics such as Henry George, Phillips Thompson and even Mackenzie King are also to be understood as responding to the Victorian socio-economic and religious crises. George argued "that the source of religious doubt and the decline of faith lay in social circumstances and false economic arrangements rather than in the intellectual climate," thereby delegitimizing classical economics and pointing "Christians away from theological concerns and toward social criticism (p. 120)." J.W. Bengough favoured a "'whose hog' remedy" of free trade and a single tax (p. 142), while Thompson responded with theosophy and socialism, a means of serving "'God by serving humanity.' (p. 173)" The likes of Alexander Sutherland, J.C. Murray, G.M. Grant, Agnes Maule Machar and J.L. Hughes among them assembled the elements of the social gospel, demoting theology and exalting ethics, weakening the barrier between secular and sacred, and producing a prototype of twentieth-century social Christianity.

It would be left to a new trinity — W.L.M. King, J.S. Woodsworth and A.E. Smith — to work out the various implications of this new sociological dispensation. "For King, then, social reform was religious in a rather traditional sense: regeneration of man had to precede social regeneration. He was a moralist much more than a social critic (p. 207)." But Woodsworth's search for a "'practical Christianity' (p. 218)" that would satisfy both his doubts about Methodism and his social conscience led to a Christian socialism in which "social salvation did not follow from individual salvation but rather preceded it (p. 219)." Smith "followed his personal trajectory (p. 226)" from Methodism to Marxism, substituting *The Communist Manifesto* for traditional theology.

*The Regenerators* argues that Canadian Protestants answered the twin challenges of scientific doubt and social disorder by emphasizing social issues and forgetting much of the traditional theology that had been discredited. These leaders embraced the secular to provide their Christianity with a more practical purpose and to respond to contemporary social problems. The consequence was a blurring of the line between the holy and the worldly. "That union of the sacred and the secular, so ardently wished for by Christian social reformers anxious to regenerate the social order, unexpectedly acted as the accommodating midwife to the birth of a secular view of society (p. 231)."

Cook's analysis provides many valuable insights for social and intellectual history. *The Regenerators* appropriately restores religion to the central place it occupied in the lives of Victorian Canadians, a welcome reversal of the demotion it has suffered for generations. Cook's survey also complements and extends Brian McKillop's brilliant examination of philosophy in English Canada (*A Disciplined Intelligence*, Montreal, 1979). Like McKillop, Cook finds the roots of the social gospel in Canadian social conditions and Canadian thought, thereby refuting Richard Allen's claim in *The Social Passion* (Toronto, 1973), that the social gospel originated in Europe and the U.S. And Cook has sketched an intriguing hypothesis — that the secularization of Canadian society in this century originated in the evolution of liberal Protestantism of the last — that could keep graduate students busy for decades testing it in theses in institutional, biographical and intellectual history. All these contributions add up to a substantial achievement as *The Regenerators'* receipt of the Governor General's Award recognized.

But Cook's work, as fine as it is, raises several questions. How representative are the figures in this account? Were they followed because their message was understood and accepted? There is a problem about representativeness in another sense. Almost all of these Regenerators came from that part of Canada bounded by Montreal, Ottawa and southwestern Ontario. The only Maritimers

who appear are people like Dawson of McGill and Grant of Queen's. And the West is represented only by transplanted Ontarians such as Woodsworth and Smith. Did Halifax, Winnipeg and Vancouver contribute so little to the reshaping of English-Canadian progressive thought in the last century?

Cook's analysis is not always well-rounded. *The Regenerators'* views on French-English, nativistic and sectarian differences are ignored. Indeed, one of their chief attractions to Cook is their absence of nationalism. "And best of all, at least in my account," he says, "they almost never 'alluded to the cultivation of a national sentiment.' (p. 6)" Were Goldwin Smith, J.W. Bengough, Alexander Sutherland and G.M. Grant not preoccupied by nationalist concerns? Did Woodsworth not go through a nativist phase before realizing that social problems were rooted in the economy? Cook refers briefly to the anti-French views of some of his subjects, and he fleetingly mentions Woodsworth's concern with immigration. But there is no systematic integration of these ideas with the rest of *The Regenerators'* analyses and proposals for social improvement. Eighteen years ago, William Magney argued in "The Methodist Church and The National Gospel" (United Church of Canada Archives, *The Bulletin*, 1968) that Methodism pursued a "national gospel" before coming to the social gospel. *The Regenerators* ignores Magney's insight.

Finally, as penetrating and persuasive as Cook's analysis is, it does not account fully for the complexity of the social criticism produced by liberal protestantism. *The Regenerators* explains the similarities but not the differences among the critics. For example, the chapter on "The Modernist Pilgrim's Progress" shows why such unlikely figures as King, Woodsworth and Smith all migrated leftward. But it does not explain why one stopped at liberal reform, a second advanced to Christian socialism and the third did not stop until he reached communism. *The Regenerators* has begun the task of analysing the evolution of English-Canadian progressive thought out of the turmoil of scientific doubt, scholarly theology and social crisis, and it has done so brilliantly. Professor Cook's contribution to Canadian intellectual and social history is not just that he has taken us well along the path of discovery, but also that he has pointed the way for further explorations.

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ANDRÉ CORVISIER et coll. — *L'Europe à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vers 1780-1802. Scandinavie, Empire russe et Empire ottoman exclus*, Paris, SEDES, 1985, 523 p. (Regards sur l'histoire)

A l'exception si l'on veut — mais en est-ce vraiment une? — des deux tomes de P. Chaunu sur l'Espagne de Charles-Quint (1973), la collection « Regards sur l'histoire » ne nous a pas habitués à des volumes consacrés à une période aussi courte que celle qui est envisagée ici: des années 1770-80 à la paix d'Amiens, le temps d'une génération. Mais c'est la génération contemporaine de la période révolutionnaire en France et en Europe d'une part, de la « révolution industrielle » en Angleterre et de ses premières manifestations sur le continent d'autre part: c'est l'ampleur du sujet, indique A. Corvisier en introduction, qui a amené à restreindre le cadre chronologique — comme le cadre spatial excluant en principe une partie de l'Europe du reste —, conformément aux limitations prévues par les programmes des concours du C.A.P.E.S. (ouvrant à l'enseignement secondaire) et de l'agrégation. L'ouvrage que voici traite seulement des thèmes généraux du programme pour la période: d'autres volumes devraient mettre davantage en lumière les diversités par grandes aires: aires méditerranéenne, atlantique, continentale.

Cette présentation d'ensemble est une oeuvre de collaboration: neuf auteurs y ont contribué, dont sept de la Sorbonne. La démarche va tout d'abord des phénomènes révolutionnaires et de ses répercussions, puis des activités économiques, vers les rapports de force et les aspects militaires, sur mer et sur terre. Dans une seconde partie, on passe ensuite à la démographie, la société, puis