

naître le Québec comme entité nationale et étatique» (3), facteur essentiel au bon fonctionnement de la fédération canadienne.

Somme toute, en présentant une bonne synthèse de différents enjeux entourant la campagne référendaire de 1995 et ses déclinaisons politiques et idéelles, ce collectif, accessible tant au grand public qu'aux spécialistes, demeure un apport indéniable à une période phare de l'histoire du Québec. Un livre ne peut tout couvrir, bien évidemment, mais on pourrait toutefois lui reprocher d'avoir omis d'intégrer la perspective d'acteurs incontournables des débats référendaires et post-référendaires, à commencer par Gérard Bouchard, l'un des principaux intellectuels du courant «néo-souverainiste» critiqué par Bédard. En ne donnant pas de voix à cet important champ de la pensée souverainiste, dont on se doit de reconnaître les propriétés novatrices malgré le ton polémique, on sent que l'ouvrage néglige de présenter les dimensions d'un débat constitutif du questionnement sur la souveraineté du Québec qu'est celui de la définition de la nation. Ne sont posées aucunes réflexions ni voies de réponses audacieuses au sujet des multiples paradoxes inhérents au concept de «nation québécoise». À ce sujet, les commentaires d'un Michel Venne, d'un Jacques Beauchemin, d'un Joseph-Yvon Thériault, d'un Michel Seymour, d'un Jocelyn Létourneau ou encore d'un Charles Taylor auraient été appréciés.

D'autres critiqueront cet ouvrage pour avoir omis d'y inclure une réflexion sur la voie de «l'autonomisme», creusée – et aussitôt enterrée – par l'Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ). On suppose peut-être que le sujet était négligeable compte tenu de la piètre performance de l'ex-parti de Mario Dumont aux dernières élections, symptôme d'un ancrage plus ou moins certain de la droite au Québec. Et pourtant, plusieurs occurrences – les élections de 2007 et Bouchard-Taylor entre autres – ont confirmé l'affirmation d'une droite québécoise que l'on croyait éteinte depuis la Révolution tranquille. Or, comment se réinvente cette droite à l'aune d'un possible troisième référendum? Quelle est sa contribution au débat national? Quel avenir pour cette troisième voie qu'est l'ADQ, parti en qui certains intellectuels comme Guy Laforest ont vu la possible réhabilitation du projet modernisateur de la droite québécoise? Que nous dit cette voie sécurisante de l'entre-deux – s'affirmer sans se séparer – sur l'intention nationale des Québécois? Ces questions demeurent toujours ouvertes, dans l'attente de propositions de réponses.

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James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government

Colleen A. Sheehan

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. xix, 204.

doi:10.1017/S0008423909990813

Recent years have seen a plethora of popular and academic books on the founding fathers of the United States. In *James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government*, Colleen Sheehan contributes to this literature by examining the founding father who may be both the most important and the least understood.

Madison's political thought is as difficult to pigeon-hole as his influence on America is profound. He resists convenient categorization and almost invites charges of inconsistency; many scholars perceive a change from Madison's writings in the *Federalist Papers* about the danger of the tyranny of the majority to his writings a few years later against the Federalists about the danger of a tyrannical federal government. Sheehan argues that Madison was not inconsistent but rather merely "changed his emphasis" as times dictated (7); he always wanted to secure popular self-government and simply addressed different threats to it at different times. While the book seeks to explicate a consistent Madisonian philosophy, it also purports to

fill a gap in the vast scholarly literature on the founder and fourth president by examining Madison's "Notes on Government" and his "Party Press Essays," which consist of 19 articles that he wrote in the pro-republican *National Gazette* newspaper in 1791–1792.

Sheehan's book is organized "dialectically rather than chronologically" (12). Successive chapters describe Madison's general republican politics in the early 1790s, the difficult political context in which he espoused his ideals (that is, the dominance of Federalist policies promoted by John Adams and Alexander Hamilton), various contemporary French authors whom Madison studied, his complex overall theory of republicanism, his positions on major political issues during the administrations of George Washington (such as promoting industry and the conflict between England and France) and John Adams (such as the Alien and Sedition Acts), and the main themes of his "Notes on Government."

The presentation of Madison's allegedly complete and coherent republican theory (contained mostly in chapters 4 and 7) is the book's most important feature. Sheehan discerns six components of Madisonian republicanism: the extent of territory, representation, both separation of powers and checks and balances, federalism, elite influences on public opinion and the influence of public opinion on government (85). Much of this is familiar and conventional, but Sheehan's account stresses the last two components. According to Sheehan, Madison's republicanism bridged the chasm between the aristocratic few and the democratic many (56) by calling for the sovereignty of a united, informed, moral public voice. In practical political terms, this required pushing for a significant political role for enlightened public opinion (10). Thus, Sheehan's Madison emerges as something of a deliberative democrat or a civic republican with an appreciation for "the commerce of ideas" (94) and an uncanny prescience for the power of mass communication.

Sheehan's book is often interesting and even provocative, but it is not without its shortcomings. First, Sheehan might say more in terms of justifying her ostensible focus on a select set of Madison's writings. She notes that there is no other book-length treatment of some of these works (7), and her time frame roughly matches the point at which critics contend that Madison's views changed, but these considerations are not fully developed.

Second, the book's dialectical organization has the ironic result that at times it obscures—both chronologically and intellectually—the allegedly consistent character of thought that Sheehan attributes to Madison. Even when the parts add up to a convincing whole, the order of their presentation can be confusing (perhaps like Madison's views themselves). Another consequence of the book's unusual organization is that it is somewhat repetitive, as the same points repeatedly come up in slightly different contexts. And the chapter on the French Enlightenment's influence on Madison seems out of place: Sheehan notes that Madison's version of republicanism emerged from the English–French war of ideas in the 1790s (11), and the connections that she makes to some two dozen French authors may be of interest to intellectual historians, but this could be better integrated with the analysis in the rest of the book.

Third, Sheehan's account is bracketed by invocations of Robert Frost's poetry as a perceptive interpretation of American democracy and spirit, and she intends for the book to explain how Madison created not just a nation but also the spirit and the moral habits that sustain it, but that aspect of her analysis is not as clear or convincing as it might be. Madison is certainly an important figure in American civic religion, but the precise nature of his influence on the national ethos and the function of that spirit in the nation's politics remain somewhat ambiguous.

These points notwithstanding, *James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government* is an informed and intriguing addition to the literature on the American

founders. The book will appeal to fans of Madison and to scholars of American political thought and the American founding.

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Nineteenth-Century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition: A Reader

Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey, eds.

Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 2007, pp. xii, 366.

doi:10.1017/S0008423909990825

Nineteenth-Century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition: A Reader is an impressive collection of works from several prominent thinkers (or *pensadores*) that constitute a philosophical foundation within and from the region. The excerpts cover vast political terrain, in both geographical and ideological terms, and represent accurately and richly a number of historical and enduring debates. The collection is timely and incredibly relevant; many countries in Latin America are currently undergoing profound political, social and economic change. The selected readings provide a historical point of departure for (as well as a multivariate historical understanding of) many present-day debates.

The anthology is organized chronologically, which is useful in that the reader gets a sense of how thought progressed in Latin America throughout the period of de-colonization. The editors identify some of the central themes in the introduction (x-xii) and have included a guide to themes as an appendix (365–66), which refers to various selections that address the central themes: Education for Citizenship and Economic Development; Foreign Relations; History: Its Nature and Uses; Political Organization; Race; Religion; and Women. However, greater integration of historical progression and thematic inquiry might have helped to guide readers through some rather dense theory and disparate historiography.

Many of the *pensadores* follow in the Enlightenment tradition, which can be discerned in their preoccupation with matters concerning citizenship, civil society, representation, and natural rights. It is remarkable that many of the *pensadores* seem to have been taken with more collectivistic notions of rights and entitlement. This orientation was shaped, in large part, in relation to the intense individualism of the American republic, which, as the editors state, was “a nation both admired and feared” (ix). The writings of Simon Bolivar, which begin the conversation in this book, demonstrate this conception of rights. Bolivar insists upon the supremacy of law that is generated from the citizens (of Venezuela) and not determined by Washington (8). He asks, “Who can resist the love that is inspired by an intelligent government that simultaneously links individual rights to general rights, that forms the supreme law of the individual will from the common will? Who can resist the rule of a benevolent government, which, with a skillful, active, and powerful hand, directs always and everywhere all its resources toward social perfection, the sole end of human institutions?” (9).

“On the Expulsion of This Republic Born in Spain” by Jose Maria Luis Mora (Mexico), is a compelling (and soberingly relevant) argument concerning justice and citizenship. This essay also addresses (critically) the role of the Catholic Church in nation building (as do many of the other contributions). Andres Bello (Venezuela/Chile) and Jose Victorino Lastarria (Chile) examine the “Black Legend,” which is the “view that the Spanish colonial past left Latin America ravished and unprepared for self-governance” (52).

The perennially important themes of socialism, inequality and revolution are addressed in the selected writings of Francisco Bilbao (Chile), Esteban Echeverria (Argentina) and José Martí (Cuba). Among these selections, and others, there is a