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Omer Héroux and La Vérité, 1904-1908:
French-Canadian Nationalism and Catholicism
in the Early Twentieth Century

H.Jean Morrison

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
June 1992
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ISBN 0-315-80940-X

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ABSTRACT

Omer Héroux and La Vérité, 1904-1908:
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in the Early Twentieth Century

H.Jean Morrison

Canadian historians note that the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries were marked by religio-political strife. These struggles were compounded by the fact that the ultramontane doctrine of supremacy of Church over State, while supranational in Europe, was in Canada combined with French-Canadian national fervour. As the French-Canadians had been conditioned to protect their nationality and meet any challenge that threatened 'la survivance,' conflict of interest between French-Canadian nationalism and Roman Catholicism supranationalism, was bound to arise.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how the conflict of interest could affect the lives of ordinary French-Canadians. This will be established by examining how the clash of ideologies affected the life of Omer Héroux (1876-1976) in the period 1904-1908, while he was working as a journalist at La Vérité in Quebec City.

Omer Héroux was chosen for this study because he was immersed in every aspect of the Nationalist Movement, economic, constitutional, cultural and social. He also knew professionally or socially many of the dedicated French-Canadian nationalists who worked to achieve the goal of the Providential Mission of French Canada. Because he was also devoted Roman Catholic, his experiences at La Vérité in 1904-1908, one of the last strongholds of ultramontanism, helps to identify some of the problems that can arise when the French Canadian nationalism is required to co-exist with the supranationalism of Catholicism.

The period 1904-1908 was broken down into two units. In the first period 1904-1905, Héroux worked under the aegis of the implacable ultramontane Jules-Paul Tardivel. In the second period 1905-1908, Omer Héroux had become editor-in-chief in 1905 on the death of Tardivel. Héroux's authority was then challenged by the former supporters of La Vérité and family members, who zealously guarded against any perceived intrusion of liberal Catholic ideas that might threaten the ultramontane position of the newspaper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would humbly like to acknowledge the many people, who selflessly helped in the completion of the thesis. She would also like to acknowledge the graciousness and l'accueil chaleureux, with which the French-Canadian interviewees received 'la maudite tête carrée' who was asking sensitive questions. Their cooperation provided insights for the thesis that otherwise would have been missed. The sympathetic cooperation of the archival staff of La Fondation Lionel Groulx, of the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Saint Jérôme under the direction of Père Joseph Cossette and of the Bibliothèque Aegidius Fauteux, with excellent newspaper archives, was invaluable. The author would also like to thank her husband James Morrison, who literally 'kept the home fires burning.' Finally, eternal gratitude to Professor Pierre Savard, le patron de la thèse, whose patience, enthusiasm and encouragement never faltered.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACM	Archives de la Chancellerie de Montréal
ASTR	Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières
AUL	Archives de l'Université Laval
ASJCF	Archives de la Société de Jésus, Province de Canada français
A.C.J.C.	Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française
CHAR	Canadian Historical Association Report
CCHAR	Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report
PUL	Les Presses de l'Université Laval
RHAF	Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française
RS	Recherches Sociographiques
RSCHEC	Rapport de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique
SR	Sciences religieuses

Introduction

Much has been written about the religio-political struggles that took place in Quebec at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Clashes existed between imperialism and nationalism, between the Liberals and the Conservatives and between the ultramontane Catholics and the Liberal Catholics.¹ However, there was an important factor, identified by the historian Mason Wade, that compounded the struggles. He wrote:

While ultramontanism was anti-nationalistic in Europe, it was combined with an aggressive nationalism in Quebec, in the fervor of French Canadian reaction to the assimilative program of the Union.

The ultramontane doctrine of the supremacy of the Church over the State and the national doctrine of vigorous defence of French-Canadian rights both held the seeds of religio-political conflict.²

The purpose of this paper is to identify how the religio-political conflict could affect the lives of individual French-Canadians who had to live within the conflicting ideologies. By studying the lives not only of the main actors but also the supporting cast, insights and nuances surface that help to explain the more complex and paradoxical aspects

¹ Mason Wade, The French-Canadians 1760-1967, Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1968, pp 447-607. See also Philippe Sylvain, 'Quelques Aspects de l'antagonisme libéral-ultramontain au Canada français,' Recherches Sociographiques, Vol.VIII: 3, 1967, pp.275-297.

² *Ibid.*, p.342.

of the institutional approach to history.³ Omer Héroux, while working at La Vérité from 1904-1908, could be considered to be one of the individual units in French Canada, who was forced to establish a balance between Roman Catholicism, that incorporated a supranational concept with the national doctrine of French Canada.

Omer Héroux, 1876-1963,⁴ was chosen for this study not because he represented an important historical figure nor because he was a great leader but rather because he was in a position to act as a mirror and reflect and report on the personalities and times in which he lived. By the time that he arrived at La Vérité, in 1904, he had been exposed to many conflicting ideologies and a society in transition. He had witnessed the dramatic changes between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in the fields of religion, politics, education, society, technologies and economics.

In religion, the papal throne had passed from the intransigent ultramontane Pie IX to the diplomatic pope Leo XIII; in politics, the Liberal Party had replaced the Conservative Party both provincially and federally; in education the laymen had made inroads into the clergy's exclusive domain; society had been transformed from a rural population to an urban one, with all the problems that that produced; economically, industry had produced a new class of workers, who had cash to spend and who organized labour unions; advances in technology included new inventions that improved communications, transportation and the ease with which newspapers could be mass produced.

By the time that Omer Héroux had joined La Vérité in 1904, he was an experienced journalist who had successfully met the challenge of the technical and ideological

³ Professor Wise called the discovery of individual units 'the vineyard stage' in our history - the patient rediscovery of individual men. Cited in Alain Wilson, 'Forgotten Men of History,' The Canadian Historical Association Report, (CHAR.), 1965, p.73.

⁴ 'Omer Héroux,' Biographies Canadiennes-Françaises, Montréal: J.A. Fortin, 1942: p.619.

changes that had taken place from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Héroux had experienced the hard physical labour necessary to issue a paltry hundred or so copies of a four-page paper,⁵ such as Le Trifluvien. He had seen the old technology replaced by modern methods of production used in La Patrie. Omer Héroux not only had to adapt to the technological changes but also he was one of the journalists who was forced to adjust to the change from producing a newspaper of ideas to producing a newspaper for profit.⁶

Another reason for examining the life of Omer Héroux was that he became one of French-Canada's most respected journalists, thus providing a written record of his ideologies. Also, because he reported on the activities and speeches of his contemporaries, their ideologies could be identified and inherent differences analysed.

Omer Héroux was born in Champlain, in the County of Saint Maurice on September 8, 1876, to a Liberal father, Louis-Dolor and a mother of Acadian descent, Adélaïde Neault. His family moved to Saint-Barnabé-Nord, where his father ran a general store. At age seven, Héroux left the little school in Saint-Barnabé-Nord, to attend the school in Yamachiche, run by the ultramontane Frères des Écoles chrétiennes.⁷ From there, he took his 'cours classique' at the Séminaire de Trois-Rivières, under the jurisdiction of the implacable ultramontane Mgr. Louis-François Laffèche.

Héroux started his journalistic career in 1896 at the Conservative and

⁵ Col. William Wood, ed., The Storied Province of Quebec, George F. Wright, 'Journalism,' Vol.I, p.582.

⁶ Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority - A Daily Press in the Late Nineteenth Century, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

⁷ Nive Voisine, Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada. T.I: La conquête de l'Amérique (1837-1880). Québec: Anne Sigier, 1987.

ultramontane weekly newspaper Le Trifluvien⁸ in Trois-Rivières, where he was 'rédacteur en chef et en seul.'(sic)⁹ At the same time, he collaborated at Le Mouvement catholique¹⁰, where he was not paid but had access to imported French newspapers, that stimulated his interest in 'la mère patrie.' From 1900-1902, he worked in Montreal for a Conservative and Roman Catholic but not ultramontane newspaper Le Journal¹¹, whose motivation was profit not ideas. He was also collaborating with Le Pionnier¹², whose editor Amédée Denault, was mainly concerned with the plight of the French-Canadian workers and colonists.

From 1902-1904, Héroux joined the staff La Patrie¹³ under the aegis of Israël Tarte, a seasoned journalist and 'libéral modéré.' La Patrie's goal was to make peace between the religious and national factions, 'une politique de paix.'¹⁴ With the concurrence of Tarte, Héroux contributed to Le Rappel,¹⁵ a Conservative newspaper edited by Aegidius Fauteux and organ of the young nationalists. Héroux also collaborated with Le Nationaliste¹⁶ founded by Olivar Asselin¹⁷ and 'rédigé par . . les gens

⁸ André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La Presse Québécoise: des origines à nos jours. Québec: PUL, 1973. 1880-1895, 'Le Trifluvien,' pp.200-201.

⁹ L'abbé Henri Vallée, ptre, Les Journaux Trifluviens de 1817-1933, Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public, 1933. pp.50-70. Quote p.56.

¹⁰ Beaulieu and Hamelin, op. cit., 1896-1910, 'Le Mouvement catholique,' p.60.

¹¹ Beaulieu and Hamelin, op. cit., 1896-1910, 'Le Journal,' p.102.

¹² Beaulieu and Hamelin, op. cit., 1896-1910, 'Le Pionnier,' pp.84-87.

¹³ Beaulieu and Hamelin, op. cit., 1860-1879, 'La Patrie,' pp.287-289.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.288.

¹⁵ Beaulieu and Hamelin, op. cit., 1896-1910, 'Le Rappel,' pp.156-157.

¹⁶ Beaulieu and Hamelin, op.cit., 1896-1910, 'Le Nationaliste,' pp.186-188.

¹⁷ Marcel-A. Gagnon, La Vie Orageuse d'Olivar Asselin. Tome I, Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 1962. p.124.

combattifs.¹⁸

The period 1904-1908 was chosen for study because it was a time of transition of ultramontanism in Quebec. Nicole Gagnon, a sociologist at Laval University, claimed that 'L'Église québécoise de 1898 est sans doute ultramontaine; celle de 1910, à mon sens, ne l'est plus.'¹⁹ Even though the bitter struggles that had existed between the liberal Catholics and the ultramontane Catholics had lessened by 1900, nevertheless, there were still pockets of resistance by intransigent ultramontanes. The latter remained vigilant in identifying and crushing any liberal ideas that were perceived to be a threat to the supremacy of the pope in all matters, spiritual or temporal.²⁰

La Vérité an ultramontane newspaper founded by Jules-Paul Tardivel and supported by the ultramontane Jesuits, can be considered to be one of these pockets.²¹ Through maintaining constant pressure, the ultramontanes contributed to the social conservatism of the leading groups whether they were the 'clergés modérés' or the politicians.²²

As neither the term 'Roman Catholicism' nor 'French Canadian nationalism' can be considered to be monolithic concepts, some explanation as to their meaning in relation to this paper is necessary.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Roman Catholic society who

¹⁸ Ibid., p.187.

¹⁹ Guy Laperrière, 'Les Ultramontains,' Recherches Sociographiques, (RS), Vol. XXVII, 1, 1986. p.99.

²⁰ Guy Laperrière, 'Les Ultramontains,' RS, Vol. XXVII, 1, 1986, p.97.

²¹ Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les États-unis, Quebec: PUL, 1967.

²² P.-A. Linteau, R. Durocher et J.-C. Robert, Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confédération à la crise (1867-1929), Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979, pp.314-316.

although it continued to fight to protect Catholic rights, avoided airing their internal problems in public or openly defying the State.²³ However, there were still the two opposing currents of ideas flowing through the ideology of Roman Catholicism in French Canada. They were ultramontanism and liberal Catholicism, although both are misnamed. As previously noted, French Canadian ultramontanism had a strong nationalist and even racist bent more characteristic of gallicanism than European ultramontanism. Also French Canadian liberalism was a different form from its European name-sake condemned by Pope IX in the Syllabus of Errors 1864. 'The semantic confusion caused by applying European terms to North America movements of different origins and purposes envenomed the struggle between these two rival groups of ideas.'²⁴

Robert (Philippe) Sylvain, f.c.c., professor emeritus of religious history at Laval University, who has written extensively on ultramontanism, claims that even the ultramontanes were never a monolithic group, but there are at least two categories 'les exagérés ou intransigeants et les modérés ou réalistes.'²⁵ According to Nive Voisine, a professor specializing in the history of the Catholicism in Quebec, even among the intransigent ultramontanes, there exists a group of 'fanatiques.' The intransigent ultramontane continually accused their moderate ultramontane adversaries of the sin of 'libéralisme catholique.'²⁶

²³ Guy Laperrière, 'Les Ultramontains,' RS, Vol. XXVII, 1, 1986, p.97.

²⁴ Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1967, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1975, p.341.

²⁵ Robert (Philippe) Sylvain, 'Compte rendu,' Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, RHAF, Vol. XXXIV, I, 1980, p.107.

²⁶ Nive Voisine, Louis-François Lafleche, deuxième évêque de Trois-Rivières. Dans le sillage de Pie IX et de Mgr. Bourget, 1818-1878. Saint-Hyacinthe: Edisem, 1980.

There were also shades to liberal Catholicism from the moderate Roman Catholic to the anti-clerical, but not anti-Catholic. Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon in their history of Quebec Catholicism in the twentieth century, wrote that liberal Catholicism was made up of Roman Catholics, who 'ont assumé les idées de progrès de modernité, de démocratie et d'individualisme.'²⁷ They believed in racial and religious tolerance. 'Ils se font des promoteurs de l'industrialisation par le capital étranger.'²⁸ They wanted the women to play a larger role; reform of the school system; bilingualism generally; a creation of a work force adapted to industrialization and a class of workers educated to meet the changing social order. They fought 'l'obscurantisme, l'autoritarisme, la routine et les idées étroites qu'incarnent, à leurs yeux, les cléricaux.'²⁹ They professed to being Catholic but 'refusent l'immixtion du clergé dans les affaires publiques et privées, la soumission de l'autorité civile à l'autorité ecclésiastique.'³⁰ They claimed that religion was a personal affair and 'réclament le droit de débattre du temporel en dehors du discours religieux.'³¹ Hamelin and Gagnon claimed that the liberal Catholics had their associations, 'la loge maçonnique l'Émancipation'³² and the Ligue d'enseignement (1902). Liberal Catholics were Catholics who tried to avoid being identified as 'priest-ridden.'³³

²⁷ Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, dirigée par Nive Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XXe siècle. Tome 1, 1898-1940. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984, p.235.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ H.Livingstone Robertson, 'The Ultramontanes Group in French-Canada, 1867-1886.' M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1952. p.96.

However, liberal Catholics and ultramontanes had many points in common: both had the same devotion to the Pope and defended his spiritual power with vigour; they both acknowledged the infallibility of the pope; they both believed that there was no social order without religion. They both fought the same enemies, foes of Louis Riel, the opponents of the Jesuit Estates' settlement and the Manitoba School Question. They both shared the same doctrines and sought the same goals but their inspirations were different. Ultramontanes took inspiration from Veuillot, Rohrbacher; the liberal Catholics from Dupanloup, Montalembert, Lacordaire. However, they differed as to methods of attaining those ends. The intransigent ultramontanes wanted results immediately 'la vérité pure et complète.'³⁴ The liberal Catholics accepted some moderation, tolerance and christian charity and good will to avoid provoking sterile religious quarrels.

Omer Héroux's formative years had included the period after 1875, when ultramontanism was being challenged on every front. Every time that a dispute had arisen between ultramontanes and the liberal Catholics, that demanded an answer from Rome, Leo XIII's decision had gone against the ultramontanes. It was in this atmosphere of ultramontanism under siege that Omer Héroux was raised in Saint-Barnabé-Nord. The change in religious attitudes affected Omer Héroux because although Saint-Barnabé-Nord was situated in one of the remaining strongholds of ultramontanism in Quebec, the Diocese of Mgr. Louis-François LaFlèche, Héroux's father was a liberal in religion as well as Liberal in politics. The liberalism of Dolor so offended the local priest that Dolor was refused the sacraments. Omer Héroux learned at an early age the ramifications of challenging the

³⁴ René Hardy, 'Libéralisme catholique et ultramontanisme au Québec; Éléments de définitions,' RHAF, Vol. 25, no.2, September, 1971; pp 247-251. Quote p.251.

authority of the Church.³⁵

One of the most important reason for choosing Omer Héroux as the subject of this thesis to examine the interaction of French-Canadian nationalism and Roman Catholicism, is that he was involved in every aspect of the French-Canadian nationalist movement. He was active in its organizations, its publications and he was in contact with all the people, whose names are synonymous with the growth of nationalism in Quebec.

It is very difficult to interpret with certainty the nuances of the nationalism of the people caught up in the rise of the nationalist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. The men and women, who gathered together to support nationalism were not a homogeneous group. Their religious beliefs could run the gamut from ultramontanism, to liberalism, to anti-clericalism and even in rare occasions to the rejection of religion all together.

Politically, they could be Conservative, (castor or 'tout court') or Liberal, (rouge or 'avancé.') Even the method, by which the goals of the nationalists could be attained, differed. Some saw the solution through ideological reform, through economic reform, through social reform, through educational reform, through constitutional reform or through managed immigration and colonization. Some saw the nationalist movement best served by maintaining the status quo and even returning to the past for inspiration. The permutations and combinations of the above factors made the interaction of the nationalists very complex and very often threatened the movement itself.³⁶

³⁵ Oral History Interview: Subject, Omer Héroux, Interviewer, Jean Morrison, Interviewee, Roland Héroux, nephew of Omer Héroux, February 23 1988, Trois Rivières Ouest. Tape I Side A 042-051; Transcription pp 5-6.

³⁶ André Laurendeau, (1912-1968), 'Is there a Crisis of Nationalism?' in Ramsay Cook, ed., French-Canadian Nationalism. An Anthology. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971. p.257.

Because of Omer Héroux's particular personality traits, his gentleness, his avoidance of confrontation, his ability to see 'les deux côtés de la médaille,' he was able to act as a liaison between the many factions of French-Canadian nationalism that emerged.³⁷ His contemporaries described what they considered were Héroux's attributes. He was called:

un inspirateur de l'enseignement de Saint Augustin: Pour les choses nécessaires, il faut s'unir;³⁸ un Lacordaire - une sentinelle plutôt qu'un vigilant combattant;³⁹ l'apôtre de la pensée catholique et française;⁴⁰ un guide en même temps qu'un animateur;⁴¹ informateur par principe plutôt que batailleur;⁴² un éveilleur . . . de la conscience nationale. le Patriote désintéressé;⁴³ modèle de travail, de clarté, de pondération, de conviction religieuse et patriotique;⁴⁴ grand ami des Acadiens.⁴⁵

³⁷ La Patrie, June 25 1948, cited by Henri Dufresne, 'Hommages à M.Héroux,' Le Devoir, July 1948.

³⁸ Oswald Mayrand, 'Omer Héroux, doyen de nos journalistes,' L'Apostolat du Journalisme, May 31 1957, p.72.

³⁹ Paul Tardivel, 'Omer Héroux,' in unpublished document in the possession of Jean Tardivel, grandson of Jules-Paul Tardivel, Outremont Quebec. Reference is to Lacordaire one of the early French ultramontanes, who along with Félicité de Lamennais and Comte Charles Montalembert, published L'Avenir in France.

⁴⁰ Louis-Philippe Roy, 'Cinquante Ans de Journalisme catholique. 1896-1946,' L'Oeuvre des Tracts, août p.4, Montréal: L'École Sociale Populaire, 1946.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.9, Chanoine Joseph-C. Tremblay, Le Progrès du Saguenay.

⁴² Ibid., p. 11 Le Saint-Laurent

⁴³ Ibid., p.11, Le Front ouvrier.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.12, Le Salaberry, de Valleyfield.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 13, Léandre Legresley, L'Évangéline.

Early in his life, Omer Héroux had been aware of the religio-political battles between the Liberals and the Conservatives that had divided the French-Canadians and prevented them presenting a solid front to promote nationalism. Because Dolor Héroux, a Liberal at the time of Mercier, used to read aloud to the family, it is reasonable to assume that Dolor would have passed on his Liberal ideas to his children.⁴⁶ Dolor had been exposed to the nationalism of Honoré Mercier, who had rallied the French-Canadians around the Riel Incident with the cry. 'Cessons la lutte fratricide. Unissons-nous.' The confrontation between political parties soured Héroux on politics for life. In 1895, in a letter to one of his former class-mates Joseph-G.Gélinas, he wrote:

... Je me demande encore pourquoi tel ou tel député a le droit de s'intituler 'représentant du peuple' quand il ne devrait avoir que le droit de se dire 'représentant du Whiskey et de l'or.'⁴⁷

Omer Héroux would have also been influenced by the French-Canadian nationalism of Mgr. Louis-François Laflèche, whose opinions were well known in the Diocese of Trois-Rivières, where Omer lived. The opinions of Mgr. Laflèche were also preached to the students of the Séminaire Saint-Joseph de Trois-Rivières, which Omer attended from 1887-1895. Mgr. Laflèche would speak to them after he had given his 'cours de pastorale aux

⁴⁶ 'Devant la famille attablée, mon grand-père prenait le journal, puis y ayant les yeux fixés, lisait un conte. La bonne disait à ma grand-mère qu'elle n'arrivait pas à retrouver le conte. Grand-papa l'avait inventé à mesure.' Jean Héroux, 'Omer Héroux. 1876-1963. Vie, carrière, intimité (jusque vers le mi-juillet 1924). Unpublished manuscript, p. 3.

⁴⁷ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Joseph-G Gélinas 'début de décembre, 1895.' Deposited at the Archives du Séminaire de Trois-Rivières, C-3-H-41.

grands séminaristes⁴⁸ on Sunday afternoons. Mgr. Laflèche would not have lost an opportunity to expound on his theories, that were being neutralized and negated by the Liberals, by some clergy and even by the Vatican.⁴⁹ The impact and meaning of the words would be reinforced by the fact that he was a great orator. Omer Héroux writing in Le Devoir, paid tribute to Laflèche's oratorical skills, 'c'est probablement l'image du prestigieux orateur qui s'imposait le plus vivement à leur attention. Les enthousiastes l'appelaient volontiers le Chrysostome du Canada.'⁵⁰

Mgr. Laflèche believed in messianic nationalism. He claimed that the French-Canadians formed a real nation. He laid down the basic principles of French-Canadian nationalistic ultramontanism, that is, that the French-Canadians formed a true nation because they shared a unity of speech, unity of faith, uniformity of morals, customs, and institutions.⁵¹ Laflèche linked faith and language as the basis of French-Canadian nationhood. This would present a conflict of interest for this champion of ultramontanism because true Catholicism as defined by the Holy See, was supranational.

When Héroux left Trois-Rivières for Montreal in 1900, there was a movement of young people who were supporting the rise of French-Canadian nationalism, that had gained momentum in response to the threat to Canadian autonomy from the revitalized British imperialism. The impassioned speeches of the Liberal parliamentarian Henri Bourassa

⁴⁸ Omer Héroux, "Souvenirs: Mgr. Louis- François Laflèche, L'apôtre, le patriote, l'orateur - "Faites venir Louise", Le Devoir Dec.21, 1957.

⁴⁹ Adélard Dugré, Souvenirs et Réflexions. Montreal: Maison Provinciale, 1971, p.10. Unpublished Manuscript deposited in the Archives de la Société de Jésus, Province de Canada français, Saint Jérôme, Quebec.

⁵⁰ Omer Héroux, Souvenirs: Mgr. Louis-François Laflèche . . op.cit.

⁵¹ See Ramsay Cook, ed., French- Canadian Nationalism, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969; pp.92-106, 'Mgr. L.F.R. Laflèche (1818-1898). The Providential Mission of the French-Canadians.'

(1868-1952) provided a focal point for discussions and meetings. The gatherings of young 'bourassistes' afforded Héroux with an opportunity to share a common bond with other French-Canadians in an atmosphere free from political differences and battles between liberal and ultramontane Catholics. He described the meetings:

Nous, nous étions connu dans la mêlée, dressés vers le même champ de bataille par les instincts de fierté et de générosité qui font battre le coeur de la jeunesse. . . Et nous vécûmes dans cette atmosphère enfiévrée de 1900-1901 des jours pleinement heureux.⁵²

Bourassa's nationalism differed from that of Mercier and Laflèche, in that it transcended a purely defensive and cultural nationalism that was oriented solely to French-Canadian problems. Bourassa wished to formulate a distinctive concept for a Canadian nation, a Canadian nationality.⁵³ He had entered politics in the critical decade between 1887-1896 and described himself not only as 'a passionate rouge' but also as 'an uncompromising ultramontane Catholic.'⁵⁴ His purpose was to maintain the role of the Church in society and the authority of the Pope in the Church.

Héroux reported on an interview that he had had with Henri Bourassa on June 16, 1901, in Le Pionnier.⁵⁵ From the time of this interview, a friendship and trust

⁵² Marcel-A. Gagnon, op. cit., p.124.

⁵³ Martin Patrick O'Connell, 'Henri Bourassa and Canadian Nationalism,' Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1954. p.40.

⁵⁴ O'Connell, op. cit., pp.39-41.

⁵⁵ Omer Héroux, 'En présence d'un homme. Les opinions de M.Henri Bourassa, L'impérialisme -le rôle de M.Chamberlain et celui de M.Laurier. Avant tout soyons Canadiens.' Le Pionnier, June 16 1901, p. 1.

evolved between the two men that was maintained all their lives. In the interview, Omer Héroux identified the limitations to Bourassa's support for French-Canadian nationalism. To the question as to whether the nationalist movement could count on Bourassa's name 'comme drapeau,' Bourassa answered that they could 'compter sur son adhésion.'⁵⁶ In spite of Bourassa's tempered answer, the French-Canadian nationalists looked to him as 'le chef' even though their nationalism did not always incorporate the uncompromising ultramontanism of Bourassa.

One of the people who organized meetings and publicized the political philosophy of Bourassa was Joseph-François-Olivar Asselin (1874-1937). Although Asselin was a Catholic, he was not ultramontane. His criticism of the clergy was condemned as anti-clerical.⁵⁷ Asselin's nationalism differed in many respects from that of Bourassa as he stressed the need for more economic control in the hands of the French-Canadians through reforms in the educational system. Omer Héroux claimed that 'il (Asselin) a toujours eu le goût passionné des études économiques.'⁵⁸

Although Héroux worked closely with Asselin to encourage French-Canadian nationalism, there was an incompatibility of personalities and basic instincts that separated the two men. Asselin and Héroux differed fundamentally in their approaches to education. Asselin believed in free and compulsory education for all in the hands of the laity. Héroux, like Bourassa, believed in the elitist system with clerical control. La Ligue de l'Enseignement, established in November 1902, was supported by Asselin. Héroux saw the organization only

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, Montréal: Fides, 1940-1969, Vol XII, p.87.

⁵⁸ Le Devoir, April 19, 1937.

as a tool of the freemasons to gain control of the educational system.⁵⁹

Omer Héroux, by collaborating at Le Nationaliste under the aegis of Olivar Asselin, was exposed to a militancy that reflected the ideology of the latter. Whereas Asselin sought out confrontation, not only in his newspaper but in the courts, Héroux avoided it all costs.

Another example of how a dedicated French-Canadian nationalist could be a disciple of Bourassa but differ fundamentally on the method of achieving his goal, was Amédée Denault, editor of Le Pionnier. He supported neither Bourassa's pan-Canadian nationalism nor his ultramontanism, even though Denault was a sincere Catholic. His anti-imperialism went further than Bourassa's and bordered on anglophobia.⁶⁰ Denault believed that French-Canadian nationalism could be achieved through managed immigration and colonization. Denault believed in the colonization of 'le pays d'en haut,' more to stem the tide of emigration to the United States than just to create more parishes in the North.⁶¹ He might also be considered an economic nationalist. He felt that economic reforms 'les études d'économie sociale'⁶² were necessary to free the French-Canadians from English domination.

While working at Le Journal in Montreal from 1990-1902, Héroux came in contact with Arthur Beauchesne,(1876-1959),⁶³ who was one of the editors. Beauchesne was a French-Canadian nationalist who was a Conservative and a committed Catholic, but at the

⁵⁹ Mgr Bruchési viewed the Ligue with suspicion, fearing that free and compulsory education included lay control. Cited in Robert Rumilly, op.cit., Vol.XI, p.11.

⁶⁰ Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, Montreal: Fides/Éditions Bernard Valiquette, 1940-1969, 41 Vols., Vol. X, p.72.

⁶¹ Le Pionnier, July 14 1899.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See fonds Arthur Beauchesne, National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, MG 30. E 375.

same time, one who did not approach journalism as a priestly duty. Beaulieu was chastised by the clergy when he suggested that Mgr. Paul Bruchési had failed to protect the rights of the French-Canadians in Manitoba because '(il) ménageait Laurier, susceptible d'influencer Rome dans l'attribution du chapeau rouge.'⁶⁴ Beaulieu took an early interest in school reform in the province. He became secretary-correspondent of *La Ligue de l'Enseignement*, founded in November 1902 in Montreal. For Omer Héroux and the ultramontanes, the Ligue's free, compulsory education, staffed with the laity, challenged the authority of the fathers over education and subsequently, the authority of the clergy.

Omer Héroux through his collaboration with *Le Rappel*, came in contact with Aegidius Fauteux⁶⁵ who could be considered a cultural nationalist. *Le Rappel* was founded on September 14 1902, to serve the aspirations of the young Nationalists, both Conservative and Liberal. Fauteux was one of the most important members of a group of young French-Canadians who felt the need for more cultural and educational facilities if the French-Canadians hoped to achieve their goal.

Laval University in Montreal was producing its first generation of graduates, who in turn were forming societies interested in archival history. Thus grew an intellectual movement based on patriotism and pride in their own cultural nationalism and created a public and civic demand for a public library. The clergy viewed the new awakening with apprehension in case it became a challenge to their authority.

Although Fauteux recognized the genuine need and had promoted the idea for a library, he responded to pressure from the clergy to downplay its acceptance. He wrote

⁶⁴ Rumilly, *Histoire*, op.cit., Vol.X, p.186.

⁶⁵ See Jean-René Lassonde, *La Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, 1910-1931*. Montréal: Ministère des affaires culturelles, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1987.

in 1901, 'La bibliothèque populaire est en effet très dangereuse.'⁶⁶ Omer Héroux shared the same concerns because he responded to the request from Mgr. Bruchési to convince the French-Canadians that public libraries were a danger to the morality of the public.⁶⁷ Cultural nationalism had to be restrained to satisfy the clergy's need to maintain control of reading patterns.

While Héroux was employed at La Patrie from 1902-1904, he worked with Israël Tarte, (1848-1907), whose nationalism combined the supranationalism of Catholicism,⁶⁸ pan-Canadianism of Bourassa and French-Canadian economic nationalism of Asselin and Denault. His French-Canadian nationalism recognized the need for more French-Canadian participation in the economic life of Quebec if the French Canadian culture and language were to survive.

Omer Héroux met another type of French-Canadian nationalist, Armand Lavergne, (1880-1934)⁶⁹ when La Ligue Nationaliste was set up in 1904. Lavergne was a devoted disciple of Bourassa and shared Bourassa's concept of pan-Canadianism but insisted that Quebec should be maître chez- eux. Lavergne furthered the cause of French-Canadian nationalism by initiating Constitutional reform. He spent his entire political career, federal and provincial, fighting for the minority rights of French-Canadians, including their Constitutional right for bilingualism in all federal jurisdictions, including stamps, cheques and

⁶⁶ La Patrie, December 21, 1901, p. 24. 'Les Bibliothèques publiques.' However, Fauteux thought it wiser to use a pseudonym M. France.

⁶⁷ 'Letter from Mgr. P. Bruchési to Omer Héroux, September 14 1907.' Archives de la Chancellerie de Montréal, Journaux 780.034, no.26. See also Le Journal, January 2, 1902, p.1.

⁶⁸ See Laurier L. LaPierre, 'Joseph Israël Tarte: Relations between the French-Canadian Episcopacy and the French-Canadian Politician, (1874-1896). Canadian Catholic Historical Association, (CCHA), 1957-1958.

⁶⁹ Armand Lavergne, (1880-1935), lawyer; Member of Parliament for Montmagny 1904-1908, 1930-1935; Legislative Assembly 1930; Author of Trente ans de vie nationale. Montréal, Les Éditions du Zodiaque, 1934.

currency. The Lavergne Law passed in Quebec specified that all public companies should published all material in French and English. Omer Héroux supported him in all these concerns.⁷⁰

If individuals could play a part in furthering the cause of French-Canadian nationalism, institutions could play an even bigger role. Héroux was aware of the fact. 'Si la vie d'un homme est brève, celle d'un peuple, de ses institutions, peut se prolonger indéfiniment.'⁷¹

Omer Héroux not only knew the principal players of the nationalist movement but he was an integral part of every French-Canadian national association like the Société Saint-Jean Baptiste, the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne, (A.C.J.C.), the Ligue Nationaliste, the Association des journalistes canadiens français, (A.J.C.F.).

Before the turn of the twentieth century, the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society⁷² had brought together French-Canadians of all classes in an atmosphere free from political and religious differences. It had attempted to form a bridge, religiously, between the liberal Catholics and the ultramontane Catholics and politically, between the Liberals and the Conservatives.⁷³ In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the activities of the Society had been down-played at the request of politicians and Mgr. Bruchési, because of the racial tensions that existed between the English and the French. The animosity that had existed

⁷⁰ Armand Lavergne, Trente-ans de vie nationale. Montréal: Les éditions du Zodiaque, 1934.

⁷¹ Marcel Gagnon, 'Doyen du Journalisme fêté par la S.S.J.B.,' Le Canada, June 26, 1948. Deposited at ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, Bo-165-4.

⁷² See Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Montréal des Patriots au Fleurdalisé 1834-1948. Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975.

⁷³ Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, 'Cultural and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism,' CHAR, 1946, p.60.

between the two races due to the hanging of Louis Riel in 1885, had recently been reactivated by the French-Canadian opposition to Canada's participation in the Boer War. Bruchési recommended in 1899 that only a mass at Nôtre-Dame Cathedral should be held instead of a huge public demonstration to celebrate Saint-Jean Baptiste holiday. 'Les officieux engagent d'ailleurs à la prudence. Ne pas jeter l'huile sur le feu.'⁷⁴This was an example of how the clergy could influence the level of national fervour permitted to the French-Canadian nationalists.

However, by 1900 when Héroux arrived in Montreal, the Society was taking on a new vitality. It organized technical and commerce courses for the general public at Monument National, set up schools to train housekeepers and encouraged the French-Canadians to support the Caisse nationale d'Économie, that had been established in 1895.⁷⁵

Omer Héroux acted as a publicist for the Society in every newspaper with which he was associated. He particularly recognized the need for French-Canadians to consolidate their assets in the Caisse nationale d'Économie, a French-Canadian organization. On February 28, 1908, in L'Action sociale of Quebec City, he wrote that the Caisse was using its money wisely, giving loans to 'des corporations scolaires, à des fabriques, à des municipalités, à des congrégations religieuses.'⁷⁶ He also reminded the readers that if the money had been deposited in 'des institutions anglo-protestantes ou juives,'⁷⁷ the entrepreneurs would have used the money to create jobs for the 'étrangers,' whose influence

⁷⁴ Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal. Des Patriotes au Fleurdelisé 1834-1948. op.cit., p.180.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.196.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.203.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.204.

would then be extended.⁷⁸

Héroux was honoured on June 24, 1948, (and again in 1960) for promoting the activities of the Saint-Jean- Baptiste Society, for the role that he had played in promoting French-Canadian nationalism and for protecting French-Canadian minority rights.⁷⁹

Omer Héroux claimed that at the beginning of the century, certain ideas and certain aspirations were floating in the air. On strictly religious and national issues, they found an outlet in L'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne. On political or economic-social issues, they turned to La Ligue Nationaliste. Omer Héroux pointed out that although Bourassa provided the inspiration for the nationalists, and gave them credibility, he never joined either group. It was Olivar Asselin who, 'fut l'inspirateur, le créateur du mouvement et son maître ouvrier.'⁸⁰

By March 13, 1904, the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française under the aegis of Père Bellevance, was officially formed with aims, principles, methods and by-laws⁸¹. The Association's principles incorporated 'la soumission à l'autorité de l'Église et l'attachement aux directions du Saint-Siège.'⁸² The nationalism of the A.C.J.C, according to the historian Mason Wade, was the old politico-religious nationalism of Jules-Paul Tardivel. It was more a French-Canadian nationalism than the pan-Canadian

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.204.

⁷⁹ Marcel Gagnon, 'Doyen du Journalisme fêté par la S.S.J.B.,' Le Canada, June 26 1948, op. cit.

⁸⁰ Omer Héroux, 'Au Temps de la Ligue nationaliste - Sur la tombe d'Olivar Asselin,' Le Devoir, April 19, 1937, p.1.

⁸¹ Le Congrès de la Jeunesse à Québec en 1908, Montréal: Le Semeur, 1909. p.9.

⁸² L'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française. Statuts généraux, Montreal: Secrétariat général de l'Association, 1904.

nationalism of Bourassa.⁸³

The members of the A.C.J.C experienced the problems that arose when the doctrine of the supremacy of the Church over the State and the national doctrine of the vigorous defence of French-Canadian rights were at odds.⁸⁴ The third word, 'Action' of their logo, 'Piété, Étude et Action,' caused concern to politicians and the clergy who wanted to maintain political and ecclesiastical calm. Any 'Action' outside the two recognized parties could be dangerous. Laurier feared the formation of a nationalist party in Quebec. The hierarchy of the Church was concerned about any 'Action' that young students might take under the aegis of the Jesuits, 'qui passent encore pour attachés à un corps d'idées et combatifs.'⁸⁵

The Central Committee of the A.C.J.C. at the Congress on June 25-27, 1904, elected Omer Héroux as one of the vice-presidents. He was forced to resign when he left for Quebec City to join La Vérité but there is proof that he maintained his interest in the group. On October 26, 1905, he wrote to Henri Bourassa asking him if he would come to Quebec to speak under the auspices of the A.C.J.C.⁸⁶

At the same time as the A.C.J.C. was becoming a focal point for the young nationalists in Quebec on religious national issues, another nationalist organization was taking shape, La Ligue Nationaliste, which answered the concerns of the nationalists on political and

⁸³ Mason Wade, The French-Canadians -1760-1967, Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1968. pp.324-325.

⁸⁴ For an overview of the role of the Vatican in Canadian politics, see Roberto Perin, Rome In Canada. The Vatican and the Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. Also see F.J. McEnvoy, 'Religion and Politics in Foreign Policy: Canadian Government Relations with the Vatican.' CCHA, Historical Studies, 1984, pp.121-144.

⁸⁵ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province, op. cit., Vol 11, p.160.

⁸⁶ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Henri Bourassa, October 26, 1905,' Fonds Henri Bourassa, no.214.

economic-social affairs. It was founded in June, 1903 with Olivar Asselin as president, Omer Héroux as secretary and Armand Lavergne as animator for Quebec City. The program of the Ligue sought autonomy for Canada vis-à-vis Great Britain, politically, economically and militarily and autonomy for the provinces vis-à-vis the federal government. On March 6, 1904, Asselin made the announcement of the establishment of Le Nationaliste, as the organ of La Ligue Nationaliste. Omer Héroux, acting as secretary for both groups, created a bridge between the two organizations.

Léon XIII's call to the laity in Rerum Novarum to protect the structures of Catholicism, had been answered by Héroux and his contemporaries. A.C.J.C. was helping spiritually to implement the imperial ambitions of the Vatican. La Ligue Nationaliste, by its program of demanding autonomy from Great Britain, was helping temporally the imperial ambitions of the Vatican. With the appointment of a permanent apostolic delegate to Canada in July, 1899, the Vatican could by-pass Great Britain and deal directly with Canadian interests.

Omer Héroux was a chartered member of another organization that afforded an opportunity for French-Canadians to meet without the pressure of partisan or religious differences. L'Association des Journalistes de Langue française d'Amérique, was founded in June, 1903.⁸⁷ The fact that Omer Héroux was elected as the first president was an indication of the degree of respect that he enjoyed among his journalistic peers. In the first year, he organized 'le grand banquet public' in December, 1903, followed by the first Congress of La Presse française d'Amérique in June, 1904, where Héroux was instrumental in proposing a new law on libel. Héroux would have increased his prestige from these events.

⁸⁷ Amédée Denault, 'L'Association des Journalistes Canadiens- Français,' Revue Canadienne, Tome XLVII, 1904, Vol II, p.294.

The fact that his journalistic contemporaries had recognized Héroux's talents would have increased his credibility among the politicians of the day and hierarchy of the Church.

In 1904, La Revue Canadienne allocated a chapter to l'Association des Journalistes Canadiens-Français for articles that would provide more space for an in-depth analysis of the problems facing French-Canadians more than was available in a daily or weekly newspaper. Héroux was appointed 'Directeur-délégué' for the group.⁸⁸

Although some of the French-Canadians can be categorized as Liberals or Conservatives, as ultramontane or liberal Catholics. it is more difficult to establish a firm position for Omer Héroux before he joined La Vérité in 1904. It is easier to place him in relation to his contemporaries than to determine his own personal commitment to any one approach to nationalism. Although he did not trust partisan politics, the rise of French-Canadian nationalism, that united Liberals and Conservative gave him a platform for his political ideas.

It could be argued that Héroux was a Conservative because he denounced Liberal Laurier and because he helped to destroy Liberal Simon-Napoléon Parent. However in both cases, it was the lack of support for French-Canadian rights by the Liberal politicians for which Omer Héroux condemned them.

By the time that Omer Héroux joined la Vérité, if the liberal Catholicism of his home had permeated his Roman Catholicism, it would have been minimized by the ultramontanism of the educational system. On the other hand, the liberal Catholic influence of his father Dolor would still have been a factor whenever Héroux returned home. His awareness of the delicate balance between the two ideologies would have made him hesitant of adopting an extreme position either as a 'liberal enragé' or as an intransigent

⁸⁸ Omer Héroux, 'Deux Mots d'Explication,' La Revue Canadienne, Tome XLVII, Vol 2, 1904, pp.291-292.

ultramontane.

Therefore, Omer Héroux was able to build up friendships in all segments of the groups, both political and religious, because he rejected confrontation at all times. The fact that he was secretary of both A.C.J.C. and La Ligue Nationaliste showed that he was prepared to balance the ultramontane position that religion came before nationalism with the liberal position that stated that nationalism came before religion.

Before joining La Vérité in 1904, he had been able to find a modus operandi to weigh his French-Canadian nationalism with Roman Catholicism supranationalism. Héroux's career at La Vérité from 1904 to 1908, highlighted how delicate a problem it was to maintain an equilibrium between the two forces.

To understand a specific period in a man's life, it is necessary to have an appreciation of the broader picture. Gathering background information on Héroux should have been an easy task because he kept every piece of paper and consequently one could anticipate that a foundation would exist where his material had been gathered. This was not the case. Unfortunately, although Héroux saved every scrap of paper his co-workers at Le Devoir, Henri Bourassa and Georges Pelletier, at one time or another, arbitrarily disposed of the piles of notes, newspapers and documentation to create a working space on his desk.⁸⁹ Gérard Filion, who was editor of Le Devoir from 1947-1963, confirmed the disorganized fashion in which Héroux worked. One Friday afternoon, Filion instructed his secretary to clear out and dispose of all the papers on Héroux's desk. On Monday morning, when Héroux entered the office to find that all papers were gone, he raised no question as to their disappearance, nor did he criticize the staff's arbitrary action, but proceeded to write

⁸⁹ Oral History interview with Anne Bourassa, daughter of Henri Bourassa, March 2 1988. Tape I Side 2, 270; Transcription, p.59.

his columns for the day as though nothing had happened.⁹⁰

This anecdote underlined a personality trait of the journalist, that was evident very early in his life. There was a lack of asserting himself or fighting for his personal rights in spite of his continual battles for the rights of others. He was never a leader, '[Héroux] n'a jamais joué les grands ténors et qui tout sa vie durant, a occupé des postes de lieutenant.'⁹¹

⁹⁰ Oral History interview with Gérard Filion, December 15, 1988. Tape 1, Side 1, 476: Transcription, p.49.

⁹¹ Article 'L'Hommage de la presse à Omer Héroux.' Le Devoir, May 3, 1963.

CHAPTER I: OMER HÉROUX AND JULES-PAUL TARDIVEL 1904-1905

The years 1900-1904 spent in cosmopolitan Montreal, had brought Héroux into contact with every conceivable ideology in religion, politics, social and economic affairs. In the religious arena, there were Jews, Protestants and every shade of Catholicism, from the most liberal to the most ultramontane.

Politically, the old parties both Liberal and Conservative were divided internally by differences of opinion between the old guard and the youth. These differences were further compounded by the rise of nationalism. Omer Héroux pointed out the differences between parties when he wrote in La Vérité, that in 1895, the Conservatives who were in power were supporting the minorities in the West, and were opposed by the Liberals. By 1905, the Liberals wished to help the minorities but were opposed by the Conservatives. Language complicated the situation further when the English Liberals were against supporting the French-Canadian minority while the English Conservatives were for them.⁹² In Montreal, he had become aware that even among the nationalists, who were rallying around the old cry of Mercier, 'Cessons nos luttes fratricides,' and the anti-imperialism of Henry Bourassa, there were numerous, mutually opposing factions.

Socially, Héroux had seen an upheaval in what was considered acceptable in public mores. The theatre and the movie houses were seen as a threat to the foundations of family life by the clergy. Newspapers had turned from 'la bonne presse' to yellow journalism, exploiting every conceivable weakness of mankind. Economically, industrialization had brought masses from the rural areas to live in urban centres, ill-equipped to handle the influx. The working man's area in which Héroux lived, 313 Saint André Street, would have made him aware of the overcrowding conditions that existed, with the health problems that

⁹² Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la province de Québec, Montréal: Fides 1940-1969, 41 Vols. Vol.XII, p.17.

insued. Unions had been formed that responded more to leadership by the laity than that of the clergy. The new conditions would have been unsettling to a young man who had just left the traditional society of the Mauricie Valley.

Héroux had made many contacts in Montreal, but though he had worked and collaborated on many newspapers, and had been an integral part of and even a chartered member of many of the exciting nationalist organizations that were formed in this period, his stay in Montreal did not impress him. There appeared to be too many negative elements for his liking. In La Vérité, he wrote:

Montréal compte dans son sein des Juifs, des francs-maçons par milliers; des immigrés, le lie des vieux pays, des libres penseurs, des anti-cléricaux, des impies haineux, militants enfin des socialistes révolutionnaires, et des anarchistes de la pire école américaine.⁹³

Omer Héroux had many acquaintances in Montreal but not many friends. He confided in the abbé Lionel Groulx, that in Montreal, it was easy to be invited to a dance in a home where they had many daughters to be married but it was not easy to be invited into a home, just as a friend for an evening of intelligent and cultivated conversation. He wrote:

Pendant les quatre années que j'ai passées à Montréal, lors de mon premier séjour, j'ai connu beaucoup de gens, et de milieux très différents; je n'ai rencontré que trois, notre ami Gregor, l'ancien consul d'Espagne, Quintana

⁹³ La Vérité, May 1908, p.1, column 3-4.

et l'ancien consul de Russie, de Struve, qui m'aient invité chez eux.⁹⁴

By October 1, 1904, Omer Héroux had moved from Montreal to Quebec City and was working for La Vérité, an ultramontane newspaper directed and owned by Jules-Paul Tardivel.⁹⁵ When Héroux joined La Vérité, Tardivel was an intransigent defender of the Pope and the Church. He had fought for all the causes defended by the ultramontanes. By joining the staff of La Vérité, Héroux was returning to the ultramontane ideology of Les Frères des Écoles Chrétienues, Le Séminaire de Trois -Rivières, Mgr. Lafèche and Pierre McLeod of Le Trifluvien.

Omer Héroux had left Montreal and the daily La Patrie with a circulation of 27,488 to go to Quebec City and the weekly La Vérité, with a tenuous circulation of about three thousand. However, Omer Héroux would have appreciated a change because the editorial policy and the more commercial approach to journalism at La Patrie under Israël Tarte, had not been in keeping with 'la bonne presse' of Héroux.⁹⁶ If he had any desire to return to Le Journal where he had worked from 1900-1902, he would have been influenced by the

⁹⁴ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to the abbé L.Groulx. October 16 1913.' Deposited at La Fondation Lionel-Groulx, La Centre de Recherche en Histoire de L'Amérique Française, Montreal. No accession number.

⁹⁵ For biography of Tardivel see Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les État-Unis 1851-1903, Les cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, #8, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967; Jules-Paul Tardivel, Textes choisis et présentés par Pierre Savard, Montréal: Fides, 1969; Séraphin Marion, 'Jules-Paul Tardivel, pionnier de la presse indépendante et catholique du Canada français,' C.C.H.A., Annual Report, 1955-1956, pp. 13-23; Réal Bélanger, 'Le Nationalisme ultramontain: le cas Jules-Paul Tardivel,' in Nive Voisine et Jean Hamelin, Les Ultramontains canadiens-français, Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985 pp. 267-303; Mgr. Justin Fèvre, Vie et travaux de Jules-Paul Tardivel, fondateur du journal La Vérité à Québec, Paris: Arthur Savaète, 1906. See also oral history interview with Jean Tardivel, April 26, 1988, Cassettes A-B, Transcription pp. 106.

⁹⁶ André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours 1860-1879, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973- 'La Patrie,' Tome II, 1860-1879, pp.287-290.

fact that its circulation was dropping, partly due to the fact that the Conservatives had lost power in both the federal and provincial arenas with a subsequent drop of patronage. Another factor was that the French-Canadian entrepreneur Louis-Joseph Forget no longer wanted to underwrite its losses. It ceased publication March 3, 1905.

It can be stated that the invitation from Tardivel to join his ultramontane newspaper came at a propitious time for Héroux. He was ready for a change. The relationship was beneficial to both parties. Tardivel's health had been failing steadily since 1900, even having to interrupt the publication of his newspaper. He needed someone to keep the newspaper in production. There was only one paid employer, the typographer. For the rest of the tasks, Tardivel had found 'une solution élégante: il avait des filles, il les chargea de l'expédition du journal et de la correspondance administrative.'⁹⁷ The girls were assisted from time to time by their friends, who 'étant donné l'atmosphère de la maison, c'était du reste souvent une partie de plaisir.'⁹⁸

Tardivel was also demoralized by the growing opposition to his ideas whose troubles were compounded by the fact that many of his old friends were deserting him. Tardivel wrote, 'En somme, il n'y a rien comme les amis pour vous mordre.'⁹⁹

Tardivel now needed someone to take over the responsibility of running the operation, someone he could trust to maintain the same ultramontane, ideological views as expressed by La Vérité since its inception in 1881. He must have had faith in Héroux because he invited him to become his assistant editor in 1904, even though he knew that he had spent the last four years in Montreal, a city that Tardivel called 'un centre de Haute Maçonnerie,

⁹⁷ Omer Héroux, 'Souvenirs - Journalistes d'autrefois. Jules-Paul Tardivel,' Le Devoir, November 9, 1957.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel. La France et les États-unis, p 448.

de Palladisme, de néo-manichéisme, de Luciférianisme, de Satanisme, pour appeler cette horreur par son vrai nom.'¹⁰⁰

Héroux's signature appeared for the first time in La Vérité on October 1, 1904. In the same edition, Tardivel wrote an editorial welcoming him aboard. He wrote that for several months, his doctor had prescribed total rest for him and now thanks to Héroux, he would be able to take it. At the same time, his newspaper would continue to appear twice a month, the first and the fifteenth. He described Héroux as 'un journaliste très favorablement connu dans le monde des lettres canadiennes.'¹⁰¹

Tardivel wrote that Héroux knew his 'métier' very well, having been a journalist since 1896; Héroux was interested in the colonization question; he was not attached to any political party in Quebec or Ottawa. In the same article, Tardivel felt the need to answer the question as to why he had not called upon his son Paul at that time. He wrote that it would be 'de l'égoïsme de ma part' to remove him from a position as editor of La Défense de Chicoutimi that he was fulfilling so well.¹⁰² Tardivel's decision to hire Héroux instead of calling on the services of Paul contributed to tensions between Omer and Paul, that added to the difficulties in running the newspaper after the death of Jules-Paul in 1905.

A few months later, on December 15, 1904, Tardivel wrote another editorial praising Héroux for his ability to step in and run the newspaper at such a sensitive political time, when Tardivel could not help him because of illness:

M. Héroux a su maintenir notre publication dans toutes ses traditions de

¹⁰⁰ Cited in Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel. La France et Les États-Unis, op. cit., p 281.

¹⁰¹ Jules-Paul Tardivel, 'Aux lecteurs de La Vérité,' La Vérité, October 1, 1904, p.2.

¹⁰² Ibid.

fermeté, de modération et de saine indépendance à l'égard des partis, des factions, et des hommes politiques, ainsi que de complète soumission aux enseignements de l'Église.¹⁰³

At the same time, Tardivel acknowledged that Héroux had added an elegance, 'une correction' and variety, that had pleased the readership. He had performed beyond the expectation of Tardivel.

By joining La Vérité, Héroux would not have any illusions as to the ideological position of his patron on Catholicism, French-Canadian nationalism, agriculture, colonisation, industry, unions or politics. Tardivel's philosophy was that 'la nation canadienne-française doit reposer sur une société traditionnelle, ordonnée, hiérarchisée, respectueuse de l'autorité et soumise en tous points à l'Église.'¹⁰⁴

Omer Héroux was familiar at an early age with Tardivel's philosophy because La Vérité was one of the few newspapers permitted in Le Séminaire de Trois-Rivières, where Omer Héroux took his 'cours classique.' Tardivel must have been convinced that Héroux respected his ideology because Tardivel claimed that the spirit of the newspaper would not change 'en aucun façon,' because the new assistant editor had read the newspaper since the age of ten, at Le Séminaire . 'Il connaît parfaitement les principes et les traditions.'¹⁰⁵ As Héroux would have been influenced by 'les principes et les traditions' of Tardivel, it is important to identify some of them.

¹⁰³ Jules Paul Tardivel, 'Le Rédacteur de La Vérité,' La Vérité, December 15, 1904, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Réal Bélanger, 'Le nationalisme ultramontain: le cas de Jules-Paul Tardivel,' In Nive Voisine et Jean Hamelin, eds., Les Ultramontains canadiens-français, Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985. p.274.

¹⁰⁵ La Vérité, October 1, 1904.

Tardivel always claimed that the Catholic religion was the primary force behind the French-Canadians. Like Mgr.Lafleche, he felt that the French-Canadians had a Providential Mission to continue the civilization in America that Old France had followed for many generations in Europe. He saw that the Providential Mission could be achieved by exploiting any new concessions that could be acquired as Constitutional changes were implemented. For example, he saw the Act of 1774 as a protection of their faith and their language. French was equated with catholicism. He predicted that:

L'élément anglo-américain et protestant ne pourra pas résister à la conquête pacifique de ce territoire par l'élément français et catholique. . . Les Anglais et les Protestants devront disparaître entièrement, tôt ou tard, de ce coin de terre où la race française est si fortement implantée.¹⁰⁶

Tardivel also approved of the Constitutional Act of 1791, but rejected the Rebellion of 1837 because it led to the creation of the Union of 1840, that was a threat to the autonomy of French Quebec. At first, (1880-1885), Tardivel accepted the Confederation of 1867 enabling Quebec to govern itself as a Catholic nation, to build a French society and push the Catholic cause in North America. He perceived that the first separation could be that of Canada from Great Britain and then that of Quebec from Canada. By 1885, Tardivel claimed that the French-Canadians were now 'un véritable peuple, une nationalité distincte, ayant une histoire propre, des traditions, des héros, des héroïnes, des gloires qui n'appartiennent qu'à nous.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Cited in Réal Bélanger, op. cit., p. 281.

¹⁰⁷ Bélanger, p.277.

By 1885-1890, when Hérroux would be reading La Vérité at Le Séminaire, Tardivel stopped believing in the Confederation. He saw it as a menace to French-Canadians. he portrayed John A. Macdonald as a freemason, seeking the fusion of the two nations, more centralized government and a union of the legislatures. He also saw the Orange Lodges as a threat to the linguistic and religious rights of the French-Canadians in Manitoba, Ontario, the North-West and even Quebec. The execution of Louis Riel in 1885 provided an incident on which he could hang his theory. He admitted in his private diary that Riel was crazy but it did not stop him from exploiting the incident in his newspaper, by claiming that Riel was hanged because he was a French-Canadian and Catholic. Tardivel also resented the fact that the French-Canadian politicians, like Wilfrid Laurier seemed to be becoming anglicized and accepting liberal, masonic, satanic and Jewish ideas.¹⁰⁸

Tardivel felt that only a nation separated from Canada would be able to 'progresser, s'épanouir, survivre et, conséquemment, réaliser la mission que la Providence leur a confiée en Amérique du Nord.' He was seeking 'un État qui accomplirait dans sa plénitude intégrisme ultramontain.'¹⁰⁹ Tardivel's Quebec, 'le berceau de notre race,' would remain 'le chateau fort' but it would expand to form French-Canada, which would include north-eastern United States, parts of Ontario and New Brunswick, all bordering on Quebec.¹¹⁰

Omer Hérroux would have been exposed to these ideas because Tardivel first expressed his separatist theory in 1885, repeating and clarifying it until 1895 when he published his novel, Pour La Patrie. By 1901, Tardivel was claiming that in fifty years, the Providential Mission of French-Canadians could be realized without violence and without

¹⁰⁸ Réal Bélanger, op. cit., p.285.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.287.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.289.

revolution. The Messiah would be neither an orator nor a politician but a great christian like the ultramontane Garcia Moreno, 'le modèle d'homme d'État chrétien.'¹¹¹

Tardivel's answer to the problem of the English in Quebec was that the rights of the anglophones should be respected until the English had all disappeared. In the meantime, to protect 'la race canadienne française comme race distinct' no contacts should be made; there could be alliances but no fusion or unions in marriage and understanding but no amalgamation, particularly with the Protestants.¹¹²

Tardivel deplored the party system that forced the French-Canadians to be divided instead of presenting a united force. He wanted to form a Catholic Party like the Centre Party in Germany, but he was warned by the politicians and the hierarchy of the Church that the time was not right. The logic was that the Protestant backlash that might result, would endanger the advances that had already been achieved in the recognition of religious and language rights in Canada. Tardivel realised that his plan to seek autonomy for Quebec was premature but wrote 'C'est très difficile, nous l'admettons, mais difficile, très difficile même, n'est pas synonyme d'impossible.'¹¹³

Tardivel's concern for the French-Canadians would always take second place to his concerns for the Catholic religion. He was continually challenging his compatriots 'à défendre au maximum l'Église catholique et à contrecarrer toutes les erreurs modernes ainsi que l'action de toutes les sociétés maçonniques.'¹¹⁴ At the same time, he was telling the French-

¹¹¹ Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, op. cit., p.68-69. For a biography of Garcia Moreno see R.P.A. Berthe, Garcia Moreno, président de l'Équateur, vengeur et martyr du droit chrétien (1821-1875). Édition canadienne. Trois-Rivières: Librairie du Sacré-Coeur, P.V. Ayotte, n.d.

¹¹² Bélanger, p.295.

¹¹³ La Vérité, October 21, 1893, p. 3. Cited in Bélanger, op. cit., p. 292.

¹¹⁴ Bélanger, p.293.

Canadians to maintain the status quo and work within the system. As La Vérité was under the aegis of the Jesuits, who were supranational, with Père Grenier as liaison with Tardivel, any support for French-Canadian nationalism would have to be secondary. The historian Roberto Perin, in his book Rome In Canada,¹¹⁵ pointed out that the Vatican, at that period, wanted English to be the vehicle of Catholicism in North America. As Tardivel was an intransigent ultramontane, the interests of the Vatican would surely be addressed before the interests of French-Canadian nationalism.

Just before Tardivel died, he wrote that the French-Canadians should prepare themselves 'qu'au jour de la débâcle (de la Confédération, ils) aient un idéal qui leur permette de remettre un peu d'ordre dans le chaos, de reconstruire, cette fois, sur des bases logiques et durables.'¹¹⁶ Before 1880, Tardivel refused to use the word 'nationalism' but preferred the word 'patriotism, l'amour de la patrie.' By 1905, not only was he using the word 'nationalism' but he was encouraging the French-Canadian nationalists to set up their own state.

Although Tardivel felt threatened by the European immigration to the West, he rejected pleas from both Mgr. Alexandre Taché and Mgr Vital Grandin for colonists. He felt that Quebec should not deplete itself by emigration but should remain the 'château fort' for the French-Canadian culture. He could accept that some might go to New Brunswick, northern Ontario or north-east United States, because they could maintain a geographical identity and help in the creation of a Nouvelle France.¹¹⁷ The fact that Tardivel's position

¹¹⁵ Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada. The Vatican and the Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1990, pp.88, 94.

¹¹⁶ La Vérité, January 1, 1905. Cited in Bélanger, op. cit., p. 292.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.297.

was well publicized and well known among the elite, suggests that journalists like Hérroux, Amédée Denault, Olivar Asselin, and Israël Tarte were aware that the French-Canadians had been discouraged from going out West, for reasons that had nothing to do with the federal minister Clifford Sifton's immigration policy. However, they still used the phenomenon as a divisive tool to enrage the French mass against the English, by claiming that the English were trying to inundate the French Catholics in the West.¹¹⁸

In October, 1904, shortly after Hérroux had joined La Vérité, he overheard a conversation that the French Huguenot historian André Siegfried had with J.P. Tardivel. Siegfried said:

Si j'étais Canadien français et catholique, je préférerais une presse nettement anticléricale à votre presse actuelle; car à quoi tend cette presse sinon à brouiller dans l'esprit de votre peuple l'ordre, la hiérarchie des valeurs? Vienne une crise où vos intérêts religieux ou nationaux soient engagés, vous n'aurez pas assez de force pour résister victorieusement.¹¹⁹

Hérroux commented on the wisdom of these words that recommended the maintenance of awareness to counteract the complacency that was arising from what was appearing to be a period of calm in the politico-religious climate at that time. It was shortly after the conversation between Siegfried and Tardivel, that it was necessary to alert the

¹¹⁸ Robert Painchaud, 'French-Canadian Historiography and the Franco-Catholic Settlement in Western Canada, 1870-1915,' CHAR, LIX,4,1978, pp447-466.

¹¹⁹ Contained in a letter dated April 5, 1962, from the files of Pierre Savard from Léon Pouliot, s.j. The information was transcribed from a letter from Omer Hérroux to Léon Pouliot dated March 26, 1928. The quote must have made an impression on Omer Hérroux because he included it in a presentation at the Semaine Sociale in Chicoutimi in 1929. Jean Hérroux, op. cit, p.5.

French-Canadians to the threat to their language and religious rights in the question of 'les Écoles du Nord-Ouest.' The impact of the words would have been less effective if the French-Canadians had not been forewarned of the potential danger. This perceived need to keep the racial pot boiling might be a factor as to why the French Canadian press felt some pressure to interpret most events, that involved the English and the French, as a threat to the survival of French Canada.

Tardivel's philosophy on all other issues also reflected the traditional ultramontane position. Agriculture was 'l'âme du peuple,' to be reinforced with colonization. Tardivel was against large industries, but supported small business, where the family, the rural parish and the Church could maintain the traditional Catholic direction and control. He totally rejected liberalism that encouraged unions to be run by the laity, or free and compulsory education and universal suffrage. He disapproved of any action that encouraged women to abandon their traditional role of nurturing the family. Omer Héroux's articles before and after joining La Vérité never varied very far from these themes except for the role of women in society. Héroux was more accepting of the larger part that women could play than Tardivel.

When Héroux joined La Vérité in Quebec City, it had already faced many challenges. In 1881, Jules-Paul Tardivel had been encouraged to found the weekly with the financial help of Père Pierre- Zacharie Lacasse, OMI, (1845-1921)¹²⁰ and with S.L. Drouin et Frères as administrators. When Lacasse withdrew his financial support, Tardivel was forced to take over responsibility for its production. As the technology was not too complex at that time, he

¹²⁰ Père Pierre-Zacharie Lacasse, 1845-1921; Born at Saint-Jacques de L'Achigan de Montcalm; studied at Collège de L'Assomption and with the Oblates; priest in 1873; missionary with the Betsiamites and at the Bay of Eskimos in Labrador; he organized parish retreats in Canada and the United States; took a particular interest in workers and colonists; died at the Marie-Immaculate Oblates house in Gravelbourg, Manitoba. Jean Tardivel, 'Jules-Paul Tardivel,' Montreal: p.54, unpublished manuscript in the possession of Jean Tardivel, grandson of Jules-Paul, Outremont, Quebec.

was able to do his own composition, and his own printing on a press that he had bought from Beauchemin and Valois for seven hundred and fifty dollars. From the beginning it was 'un journal de combat.' His attacks on the liberal Honoré Mercier, resulted in pressures being brought to bear on Drouin et Frères, that forced them to desert Tardivel. Left to his own devices, he tried to meet expenses by starting a printing business, which failed. By 1891, he had moved his press to the basement of his house. He continued publishing his newspaper with the help of his daughters, Isabella, Alice, Albertine, Georgine and his son Paul.

Although Tardivel's articles were concerned with the problems of the farmers, the colonists and the workers, his readership was among the elite, the clergy and the professionals. As he would not accept any advertisements or political patronage, the financial rewards were limited.

Tardivel did not want his newspaper to be involved with finances or business. He preferred to deal with principles and morality and with political, philosophical and social doctrines. Even his stationery reflected his interests. In 1901, his letter-head was printed with 'La Vérité, Revue Hebdomadaire, Religieuse, Antimaçonnique, Sociale, Politique et Littéraire: J.P. Tardivel, Directeur-Propriétaire: Chemin Sainte-Foy, près Québec.'¹²¹

The burden of maintaining the newspaper under these difficult conditions was lightened by the support of Père Joseph Grenier, S.J, who was an intimate friend of Tardivel from 1883 until the journalist's death in 1905. Through correspondence Grenier provided a great deal of the content of La Vérité without ever claiming authorship. As a Professor of Dogmatic and Moral Theology and Canon Law, he could write on theological matters with a great deal of authority. He maintained contacts with clerics and people all over Europe,

¹²¹ 'Letter from Tardivel to l'abbé,(?), October 5, 1901,' re cross on Mount Saint-Hilaire, . Deposited at Le Bibliothèque National du Québec à Montréal. Jules-Paul Tardivel La Vérité. 1881-1922. p.1000-5 486: Bobine 258.

in particular France, that provided him with material for articles of interest to French-Canadians. This was particularly important because there was no international press organization at that time to disseminate the news. Therefore La Vérité gained credibility for its coverage of the international field. According to Paul Tardivel, son of Jules-Paul, La Vérité could not have lasted without the intervention of this 'grand jésuite théologien.'¹²² Père Grenier was an inspiration, provided direction and documentation for Tardivel. On the death of Père Grenier in 1913, Omer Héroux wrote in Le Devoir, that Père Grenier was 'un austère partisan du catholicisme intégral (et) adversaire irréductible du libéralisme doctrinal'¹²³ who could not help but have had an influence on Tardivel.

With many influential friends in Montreal, Grenier found money to support both the newspaper and the family when Tardivel became discouraged and threatened to quit. Grenier would remind him of his God-given talents to produce a Catholic newspaper, and that it was the Devil that was tempting him to forsake his Providential Mission. Grenier was the general and Tardivel was his soldier 'et le faisait combattre pour la grande cause de Dieu.'¹²⁴ According to Madame Tardivel, he drove her husband without pity and she warned Paul, to be on guard against his influence because 'il a fait mourir ton père.'¹²⁵ Tardivel, in return for running a newspaper that could be called 'le journal des jésuites,' was rewarded with five trips to Europe and was financed with funds raised by Père Grenier.¹²⁶

¹²² Jean Tardivel, 'Jules-Paul Tardivel,' op. cit. p.51.

¹²³ Cited in Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les États-Unis, op. cit., p.40.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.51.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.52

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.52.

The Society of Jesus was aware of what Grenier was doing. It permitted the collaboration until such time as it no longer served its purpose. When the time came, Père Grenier was seen as an embarrassment and relegated to serve in the missions of Northern Ontario.¹²⁷ 'Il fut envoyé en pénitence comme saint Jean à Patmos.'¹²⁸

The rejection of Père Grenier by the Jesuits would have reminded Omer Héroux of two other men who had made sacrifices and dedicated their lives for a cause that they believed represented the interests of the Church, only to be deserted by the hierarchy of the same Church. Héroux was at the Séminaire when Mgr. Laflèche was devastated by the Pope's decision to uphold the position of the liberal Catholics over those of the ultramontanes. He also was old enough to appreciate the significance of the desertion of Honoré Mercier (1840-1894) by the Jesuits shortly after the Jesuits' Estates Question had been settled.¹²⁹

While Tardivel was aware that some of his old ultramontane friends were aging, dying and deserting him, others were joining him in his crusade to fulfill the Providential Mission of the French-Canadians. One of the most important was Henri Bourassa. Tardivel's ideology was only reaching the elite until Henri Bourassa, the ultramontane nationalist and Liberal deputy, brought his ideas to the youth, thus creating disciples to propagate Tardivel's ideas. As Bourassa's career began in 1896 and Tardivel died in 1905, their relationship lasted only five years. Bourassa sent his first articles to Tardivel, reporting on his first trip to England. Tardivel used his newspaper to organize and publicize Bourassa's political and nationalistic

¹²⁷ Pierre Savard, *op. cit.*, p.40.

¹²⁸ Jean Tardivel, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹²⁹ Mercier died, 'accablé', ruiné, abandonné par ses amis,' Samuel Baillargeon, *rédemptoriste, Littérature canadienne-française*, Montréal et Paris: Fides, 1957, p.136. For an over view of the Jesuits' Estates Question see Roy C. Dalton, *The Jesuits' Estates Question 1760-1888*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968; and J.R. Miller, *Equal Rights: the Jesuits' Estates Act Controversy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

meetings.¹³⁰ Bourassa, himself, identified the influence that Tardivel had on his ideas. Bourassa claimed:

If I seek the origins of some of my ideas, I have no difficulty in finding them in the articles of Tardivel and even more, perhaps, in our infrequent conversations.¹³¹

Tardivel died five years before the founding of Le Devoir, but it is suggested that it was Tardivel that had recommended the name of the newspaper to Bourassa. In 1902, Tardivel wrote that if he were to found another newspaper, he would call it Le Devoir because men are too conscious of their rights but neglect their 'devoirs.'¹³²

Differences of opinion between Tardivel and Bourassa arose when the nationalism of Bourassa took on a different perspective than that of Tardivel. Whereas Tardivel was now a separatist, Bourassa believed in pan-canadianism; whereas Tardivel believed in maintaining ties with Great Britain, Bourassa believed in the autonomy of Canada; whereas Tardivel was anglophobic, producing an apocalyptic novel, Pour La Patrie, that was read by the youth, Bourassa's ideology included respect for the two nation concept. It can be argued that it was men like Mercier, Mgr. Laflèche and Tardivel with the help of La Vérité, who set up a collective French-Canadian identity even if it was only among the elite in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Neither Bourassa nor any of the nationalist organizations like

¹³⁰ Jean Tardivel, 'Jules-Paul Tardivel.' Unpublished manuscript. p.41.

¹³¹ Le Devoir, April 26, 1915, on the tenth anniversary of Jules-Paul's death. Cited in O'Connell, op. cit, note p.4.

¹³² Jean Tardivel, op.cit., p.42.

A.C.J.C. or La Ligue Nationaliste would have enjoyed the success that they did without the ground work done by these men and others. When Omer Héroux joined La Vérité in 1904, he would be forced to rationalize and try to position his own brand of nationalism in such a way that it would neither alienate Tardivel, nor compromise his dedication to Bourassa.

Héroux had already become aware of the many faces of French-Canadian nationalism and the difficulty of reconciling all the different factions. One in particular, was the iconoclastic position taken by Olivar Asselin, with whom Héroux had worked closely. Tardivel and the ultramontane supporters of La Vérité were suspicious of Olivar Asselin and Le Nationaliste, where Omer Héroux had been a collaborator.

Asselin had expressed his reservations about the positions taken by Tardivel in the past. On the death of Tardivel, he wrote in Le Nationaliste of April 30 1905, that Tardivel should be respected for 'son patriotisme, le désintéressement et la pureté de sa vie et son attachement aux principes.'¹³³ Asselin added that he found some of his opinions, were sometimes 'un peu exagérées.' Asselin also deplored that Tardivel, in attempting to discredit the secret societies, like freemasonry, that were seen as a threat to the Catholic Church, actually presented them in such an exaggerated form that the criticism was ineffectual.

Because of Héroux's close association with Asselin in La Ligue Nationaliste (1904) and its newspaper Le Nationaliste, the directors and the ultramontane supporters of La Vérité were leary of the influence that Asselin might have had on Héroux. As late as November 9, 1905, a year after Héroux had joined ultramontane newspaper, he was still taking an interest in the future of Le Nationaliste.

When Asselin was running for a provincial seat in Terrebonne, Héroux wrote to Père

¹³³ Cited in Mgr. Justin Fèvre, Vie et Travaux de J.P. Tardivel -Fondateur du Journal La Vérité, à Québec. Paris: Arthur Savaète, Éditeur, 1906, pp. 209-210.

Théophile Hudon¹³⁴ over the prospect of having a new director of Le Nationaliste. He explained that Asselin was looking for a source of outside income, that would guarantee his daily bread but at the same time would leave him free to continue to collaborate at the newspaper on civic, economic or other affairs that could use 'sa compétence.' Héroux seemed to be projecting the idea that Le Nationaliste might become a daily.¹³⁵

There is evidence that the abbé Georges Dugas,¹³⁶ a supporter of La Vérité was not in favour of Asselin's Le Nationaliste becoming a daily. He wrote to Père Grenier wondering what the policies of the newspaper would be. He felt that the liberalism of the paper would do the ultramontanes no good because 'Asselin est un être dangereux.'¹³⁷ Paul Tardivel, son of Jules-Paul, who was working with Héroux, also wrote to Hudon pointing out the damage that Le Nationaliste was doing to the youth. Paul was concerned that its attitude

¹³⁴ Théophile Hudon,(1865-1946), Jesuit, Professor, at different intervals at Collège Sainte-Marie in Montreal from 1893-1940; director of the Messager 1904-1905; Professor at Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, 1908-1912; Superior at Collège d'Edmonton, Alberta, 1912-1916; Superior at Villa Manrèse in Quebec, 1916-1917; Superior of the Résidence de Québec 1917-1929; associated with the Collège de Québec, 1940-1946; author of L'Institut canadien.

¹³⁵ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Théophile Hudon, November 9, 1905.' Deposited at ASJCF in Saint-Jérôme, Bo 27-8-7.

¹³⁶ Abbé Georges Dugas (1833-1928). Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, op. cit. Vol I, p.171.- l'abbé Georges Dugas, missionary under Mgr. Taché, was sent to influence Cartier to set up scheme to get French-Canadians to emigrate to the West instead of the United States.(1871); Vol.VI, p. 320; Published Monseigneur Provencher et les Missions de la Rivière Rouge, a study on the missions in the North-West and the Métis; Vol. IX, p.87; Dugas, attached to the Diocese of Saint Boniface for a long time, then retired to to Saint-Anne des-Plaines; he wrote many monograms; Vol.IX, p.85; Dugas along with Tardivel and Denault were involved with first Congress on Colonization in 1898; pp.236, 285; in 1902, insisted on better conditions for the colonists, as set up in the Congress of 1898; Vol. X, p. 137; accused of deliberately arousing the colonists, 'un prêtre démagogue.' Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel-La France etc. p.453; Dugas along with Père Grenier proof read the controversial biography of Tardivel by Mgr. Justin Fèvre. On the death of Mgr. Ritchot, La Vérité, March 25 1905, took the opportunity of publicizing Dugas' book Le Mouvement des Métis à la Rivière Rouge.

¹³⁷ 'Letter from the abbé Georges Dugas to Père Grenier, March 8, 1906.' ASJCF. Saint-Jérôme, 4264-5.

toward school issues, was acquiring a following.¹³⁸

With Asselin's positions being criticized by the clergy, it is no wonder that Héroux's association with Asselin was a source of worry to the ultramontane nationalists. There was no doubt that Asselin was a supporter of French-Canadian nationalism but they were worried in case his nationalism was more French-Canadian than Catholic. Héroux could never be accused of being a liberal but when a controversy between him and Paul Tardivel arose over the management of the ultramontane newspaper La Vérité, Héroux's position was weakened by his past associations with elements not acceptable to the ultramontanes 'exagérés.' In a letter from the abbé Georges Dugas to Père Grenier, who both supported Paul in the debate, the abbé Dugas described Héroux as 'un utilitaire qui songe avant tout à manger.' He also added that 'on le trouve têtue comme un mulet, opiniâtre impossible et l'on fera de son mieux pour déloger de sa place.'¹³⁹

By December, 1906, Omer Héroux had decided not to become involved in the formation of Le Nationaliste as a daily in Montreal or any Catholic daily newspaper in Quebec City. He had decided to stay at La Vérité in Quebec and manoeuvre with the help of Madame Tardivel to maintain his control of the newspaper that had slowly been slipping into Paul's hands. However, in a letter from Doctor J.A. Couture,¹⁴⁰ an old life-time ultramontane friend of Tardivel, to Père Grenier, the former expressed the opinion that he

¹³⁸ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Théophile Hudon, September 18, 1906.' ASJCF, Saint-Jérôme, Bo-27-8-22.

¹³⁹ 'Letter from l'abbé Georges Dugas to Père Joseph Grenier, March 8, 1906,' Deposted at ASJCF, Saint-Jérôme, 4264-5.

¹⁴⁰ Doctor Joseph-Alphonse Couture, (1850-1922); veterinarian doctor for forty years; former pontifical zouave; 1883, involved in the L'École de Médecine controversy with Laval; 1884, supported Tardivel's petition sent to Dom Smelders, the apostolic delegate against Mgr. Taschereau; wrote in Le Trifluvien and in La Vérité, under his own signature and a pseudonym Jérôme Aubry; he was 'un ultramontain pure laine, un catholique irréprochable' in his public and private life. (Quote. Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p.58.)

was afraid that if Omer became the master again, that he might become 'aussi indépendant, aussi outspoken (written in English) que l'était son père.'¹⁴¹ Evidently, even though Tardivel had accepted that Omer Héroux had rejected the Liberalism of his father, Dolor, there were others who would use the issue to threaten his position, if served their purposes.

Omer was discovering how difficult it was, as a French-Canadian nationalist to serve both his language and his religion, without offending one side or the other. However he did break with Asselin at this point, which might have been a factor in Asselin's refusal to accept Héroux as editor-in-chief when Bourassa established Le Devoir in 1910.¹⁴² Although the nationalists of La Ligue Nationaliste claimed that nationalism and religion were inseparable, 'qui dit canadien français dit catholique,' for the intransigent ultramontanes this was not enough. The old friends of Tardivel claimed that religion should be defended, apart from any patriotism.¹⁴³ This distinction also created a schism between the ACJC, under the aegis of the Jesuits, and La Ligue Nationaliste, more under the control of the laity. Omer Héroux was forced at this point, at least to appear to agree with the intransigent ultramontane position of Tardivel's old guard, because he needed their support to succeed in maintaining control of La Vérité.

The last quarter of 1904, must have seemed a very rewarding time for Héroux. He had professional security with La Vérité, a newspaper that better reflected his interpretation of 'la bonne presse' than La Patrie in Montreal. There was another factor that contributed

¹⁴¹ 'Letter from Doctor Joseph-Alphonse Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, December 10, 1906,' ASJCF, Saint-Jérôme, 4264-13. Reference is to Omer's father Louis-Dolor Héroux, 1856-1938, a general merchant in Saint-Barnabé-Nord, in the County of Saint-Maurice. He was so Liberal, (perhaps a Mercieriste), that the local priest refused to allow him 'de faire ses pâques,' at the parish church. Omer Héroux would have learned early, the ostracism that could result if one's political opinions clashed with those of the Church.

¹⁴² Rumilly, Histoire de la province, op. cit., Vol. 14, p.117.

¹⁴³ Robert Rumilly, L'Histoire de la Province, op. cit., Vol.XII, p. 84.

to his happiness. On October 26, 1904, he had married Marie-Anne Clara Alice Tardivel, who was beautiful, educated, well travelled and capable. He had left behind the impersonal nature of Montreal to join a close-knit family who shared living accommodations. After the marriage of Héroux to Alice, they moved in with the extended Tardivel family, who lived in a large, three-storied house, in Quebec City at 79 chemin Ste-Foy near Des Érables Street.¹⁴⁴

Although all the family members gathered together in 'le foyer Tardivel' could be considered to be ultramontane nationalists, it would be wrong to assume that they were a completely homogenous group. An examination of the ideologies of some of the family members helps to identify that even within the category of ultramontane nationalism, there were nuances. The family around the table consisted of Mr. and Mrs Jules-Paul Tardivel; Alice married to Omer; Marie-Eloise Georgina (Ginette) married to Henri Bazin, president of a successful import-export business, 'Nazaire Turcotte'; as of January 1905, Paul Tardivel and his wife Gratia (Pageau) left La Défense de Chicoutimi to join La Vérité; Henriette Isabella Tardivel, married to Charles-J. Magnan, inspector general of schools, lived on Rue Des Érables, which made them close enough to hear the dinner bell that summoned everyone for meals; Marie- Hermelanda Albertine Tardivel married to Joseph Bégin had been part of the household before they had moved to Montreal to found the intransigent ultramontane La Croix in 1903. As La Vérité was printed in the basement of the house, the day-to day activities revolved around 79 chemin Ste-Foy.

¹⁴⁴ As of June, 1992, the house still exists.

Working with Tardivel, the Louis Veillot¹⁴⁵ of Canada, would have been an honour. Living with Tardivel was apparently a pleasure. Although Tardivel was distant with many people, with his close friends and with his family he was entertaining. He had many interests: he relaxed by gardening; he enjoyed music, playing the organ; he was a sportsman, enjoying fishing, sailing and snowshoing.¹⁴⁶ Jules Paul's wife Henriette (Brunelle), daughter of notary, Antoine- Amboise Brunelle of Saint-Hyacinthe, was a capable woman, who managed to maintain family harmony by not allowing any controversial subjects to be introduced at meal time.¹⁴⁷ In spite of the financial problems in running the newspaper, the domestic finances seemed to have been adequate because the day-to-day running of the home was aided by two maids, Élise Lacasse and Philomène Dufour, 'qui ont enchanté la jeunesse des enfants par leur bonne humeur et leur savoir-faire.'¹⁴⁸ Aside from the comraderie of the family, the Tardivel household was a happy meeting place for many prominent people.

Héroux's wife, Alice Tardivel, along with her sisters, had done her preliminary studies at a little school run by Mlle Biron, situated just behind her home. There also was a Mlle Voyer, who completed the children's studies at home. In 1900, Alice went to study in Columbus, Ohio, where her aunt, Tardivel's sister, Soeur Aloysius taught.¹⁴⁹ This would

¹⁴⁵ Louis François Veillot (1813-1883) French Catholic journalist and writer: editor of *l'Univers* in Paris, an ultramontane newspaper that fought for freedom in Catholic education and for acceptance of the infallibility and supremacy of the pope in all matters. R.Limouzin-Lamothe, 'Veillot, Louis François,' *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol.XIV, 1972, pp.634-635.

¹⁴⁶ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., pp.25-26.

¹⁴⁷ Oral History interview with Jean Tardivel, grandson, April 26 1987. Tape: Cassette I, Side 1, 260; Transcription; p.20.

¹⁴⁸ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p.43.

¹⁴⁹ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., pp. 43, 83.

have exposed her to some English language and an insight into American life, even if it was through the prism of convent living.

On her return from the United States in 1901, Alice went to Europe for three months with her father. They spent ten days in Rome where Tardivel tried unsuccessfully to obtain an audience with the Pope. They then went to France where they were able to renew acquaintances with people like Réticius, Frère des Écoles chrétiennes, whose ultramontanism had influenced French-Canadian education in Canada and with Jesuit friends.¹⁵⁰ This trip equipped Alice with memories that she was able to share with her husband, who was already showing an interest in France. When Omer Héroux worked at Le Mouvement Catholique, he was not paid but was rewarded by having access to the newspapers that came from France, which otherwise would not have been available to him. Omer Héroux's exposure to the French press led to an interest in 'la mère patrie.'¹⁵¹

Although his wife Alice could fulfill the traditional role of a wife, as well as an excellent companion, she also brought with her journalistic talents that would be of great value to Héroux. Six months after his marriage, he had to assume responsibility for La Vérité on the death of Jules-Paul Tardivel on April 24, 1905. As previously stated, Tardivel's daughters had already been called upon to help their father with the running of the newspaper, so Alice Tardivel had the experience to act as Héroux's secretary, proofread his articles and make suggestions to improve them.¹⁵² Tragically, Alice died of an etopique

¹⁵⁰ Pierre Savard., Jules-Paul Tardivel. La France et Les États - Unis, op. cit., pp. 446-447. 'Petites Reminiscences' of the trip were published from February 18- March 4 1905 in La Vérité.

¹⁵¹ Louis-D.Durant, Le Ralliement, 1960. Magazine published by the alumnae of Le Séminaire de Trois-Rivières, No. DR.0368.

¹⁵² Jean Héroux, 'Omer Héroux 1876-1963. Vie, carrière, intimité jusque vers la mi-juillet, 1924.' Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Jean Héroux, son of Omer Héroux. p.17.

pregnancy, June 11, 1908, a few days after the birth and death of their second child, Marie-Paule. This left Omer a widower with a little girl, Lucie who had been born in 1905. Alice's tragic death also left Omer Héroux's position on La Vérité less secure, at a time when his position was being threatened by the intransigent ultramontanes.

Paul-Ernest Tardivel, played a major role in the life of Omer Héroux while he was with La Vérité. Paul was born to Jules-Paul Tardivel and Henriette Brunelle, in 1879, the only son among four daughters. He studied at his father's old Collège Classique de Saint-Hyacinthe, at the Jesuit college, Sainte-Marie in Montreal, and then at the Université Laval in Quebec City. While at the University Laval, he wrote his first article for La Vérité on May 27, 1899, entitled 'Les Plaines d'Abraham.' He also had a seat in the Press Gallery in the Quebec Legislature, when Liberal Gabriel Marchand was elected premier. Paul acted as parliamentary correspondent for Le Pionnier of Montreal, where Omer Héroux had also collaborated. Paul's first articles appeared on February 23, 1902, signed with 'Correspondant parlementaire.' As Omer Héroux had acted as parliamentary correspondent for La Patrie he may have come in contact with his future brother-in-law in Quebec City.

In 1903, Paul was named 'directeur-rédacteur de La Défense' in Chicoutimi. He left Quebec City at one of Tardivel's most difficult periods. Jules-Paul had suffered a heart attack, which was followed by the diagnosis of Bright's disease, which resulted in the suspension of La Vérité from March to September 1903, when it reappeared as a monthly for a short time.¹⁵³

Paul's personality differed from that of Omer Héroux in that Paul was interested in sports and the outdoor life. Paul was an active member and captain of the Bicycle Club of Saint-George, that organized gruelling trips at the turn of the century between Montreal and

¹⁵³ Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, La France et Les États-Unis, op. cit., pp. 447-448.

Quebec City. However they were both community minded. Paul helped to set up the Colonic du Lac Commissaires, that was sponsored by La Société Saint-Jean Baptiste.¹⁵⁴ He visited the local prisons and sponsored prison reforms. Like his father, he was interested in the plight of the colonists, being a founder of La Ligue Nationale de Colonisation, active in the region of Abitibi and supporter of L'Orphelinat de Colonisation du Lac Sergent. He was interested in the formation of Les Caisses Populaires d'Alphonse Desjardins and publicized the movement in La Vérité. Although Paul complained about his poor health in his letters to Père Grenier, he carried on the publication of La Vérité until 1922, lived until 1974, dying at the age of ninety-five, having raised nine boys and four girls.¹⁵⁵

One of the other members of the family with whom Omer Héroux could exchange opinions around the table at the Tardivels was Charles-Joseph Magnan,(1865-1941).¹⁵⁶ He was eleven years older than Héroux and a trusted friend of the Tardivels. He had become a part of the Tardivel family by his marriage in 1898 to Isabella, the eldest daughter of Jules-Paul Tardivel. Even before Magnan's marriage, he and Tardivel had been friends. He had helped with the editing and the proof-reading of his future father-in-law's novel, Pour La Patrie, published in 1895. The novel projected a dire future for the French-Canadians in the

¹⁵⁴ It was on Lac des Commissaires, that Omer Héroux also had contact with Alice Tardivel. C.J.Magnan, married to Alice's sister, Isabelle, had a chalet there. His son, Jean-Charles Magnan told the story that during a boat-race, he was egging on his partner Omer Héroux to go faster, but he refused because Alice Tardivel was in the other boat. Jean Héroux, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁵⁵ Jean Tardivel, op.cit., pp.87-89.

¹⁵⁶ Charles-Joseph Magnan, 1865-1941; born in Saint-Ursule: started teaching at fifteen years old at Louiseville; 1883, entered l'École normale de Québec where poor health forced him to leave; in 1887, under the direction of Honoré Mercier, he started a weekly La Paix, a liberal-nationalist newspaper; 1896, he founded the Bibliothèque Canadienne française that later became Fleurs de la Charité, and the Bulletin du Patronage; by 1890, he was director of the revue L'Enseignement primaire; 1889-1890, he became full professor at l'École normale of Quebec City; by 1911, he was named inspector-general of the Catholic Schools. Joseph-Papin Archambault, s.j., Figures Catholiques, Montréal: Institut Social Populaire, 1943, pp.127-152.

twentieth century if they associated with 'les étrangers.'¹⁵⁷

When Jules-Paul died, Paul claimed that it was Magnan, who replaced the father in the eyes of Madame Tardivel. 'Pour Mama C.J.M. remplace papa, il est son conseil, c'est le chef de la famille.'¹⁵⁸ It was important for Héroux to maintain a good relationship with a man who could influence the direction of the management of La Vérité.

Magnan was one of the rare breed of French-Canadian laymen, who produced texts for schools, 'les auteurs d'ouvrages pédagogiques sont rares.'¹⁵⁹ Although Magnan had 'servi par l'action, par la plume et par la parole les causes que nous sont les plus chères: religion, patrie, education,'¹⁶⁰ his credibility was still challenged by the intransigent ultramontanes such as Père Grenier.

The fact that Magnan had been the editor and had collaborated with the Liberal Mercier in the publication of La Paix, made him suspect in the eyes of the ultramontane clergy. By 1885, he had redeemed himself slightly by collaborating on the review L'Enseignement primaire, and then buying it and assuming its debts when the Liberals, who had come to power under Félix-Gabriel Marchand, had cut off all funding. The journal popularized history and stimulated patriotism among the students. It was a journal 'franchement catholique et canadienne-française,' distributed free to the schools through the

¹⁵⁷ Pour La Patrie was reissued by Joseph Bégin, son-in-law of Tardivel in 1936. In 1976, Le Conseil des Arts du Canada helped to finance another edition with a preface by John Hare, professor of Quebec literature at University of Ottawa. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, Ltée, 1976. In the preface Hare wrote, 'Comme témoignage, ce roman demeure un document essentiel dans le développement de l'idéologie indépendantiste au Québec.'p. 10.

¹⁵⁸ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Grenier, December 10 1906,' ASJCF, Saint-Jérôme, 4264-12.

¹⁵⁹ Procure des Missions des Soeurs de Saint-Anne, Précis d'Histoire des Littératures. Française canadienne-française étrangères et anciennes. Lachine P.Q.: Procure des Missions de Saint-Anne, 1933. 'Magnan,' pp 310-312.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p.312.

municipalities to help the lay instructors with the science of teaching. At the same time, the journal was a vehicle to point out the dangers that threatened the Catholic school system, threats like a State interference in education, compulsory and free education.¹⁶¹ Magnan had influenced the French-Canadians to fear and reject the proposals that were made by *La Ligue d'Enseignement*, formed in 1902.¹⁶²

Because of Magnan's acceptance by both camps, he played an important role in bridging the gap between the ultramontane concept of total control by the clergy over education and the new concept of the government assuming the responsibility for some of the funding without the clergy losing pedagogical control. In a speech to teachers in the diocese of Nicolet, in 1905, he said 'Si, par vocation, nous ne sommes pas tous appelés à être des religieux éducateurs, nous devons tous être des éducateurs religieux.'¹⁶³

Joseph-Emery Robidoux, the provincial secretary, wanted a more uniform standard of texts books in the Quebec schools. He appealed to two young professors at l'École Normale at Laval, Magnan and John Ahern to produce text books that would more effectively prepare the students for the challenges facing them in the new society. He chose Magnan because he would be acceptable to the clergy, having already proven his dedication to the importance of the Church in education. He had already made personal sacrifice to save L'Enseignement primaire and because he was perceived to view his profession 'comme un sacerdoce.'¹⁶⁴

However, when in 1899, Magnan and Ahern published Mon Premier Livre in two

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.311.

¹⁶² Rumilly, Histoire de la province, Vol. XII, p.58.

¹⁶³ Archambault, op. cit., p. 147.

¹⁶⁴ Rumilly, Histoire de La Province, Vol IX, p. 238.

volumes, the hierarchy of the Church condemned the work, not because of the content but because it had been published without ecclesiastical permission. The Bishops were prepared to fight any action that could be construed as the State's sponsorship of the school books for French-Canadians. Before Mon Premier Livre could be distributed, the book had to be presented to the Church for authorisation. Once that was done 'La bonne oeuvre pédagogique,' was approved and permission was given to have it circulated among the school children.¹⁶⁵

Omer Héroux was aware of both of these publications, L'Enseignement primaire, and Mon Premier Livre. While he worked at Le Journal, (1900-1902), a summary of the contents of the former was published.¹⁶⁶ He felt free to give Mon Premier Livre a good review, assuming that it would not have been published without the Church's stamp of approval. Père Grenier recalled the event to Paul in a letter in 1907, as an example of Héroux's liberalism.¹⁶⁷ Grenier wrote that there had been an article by Héroux that praised C.J. Magnan's book that Magnan had written with John Ahern, from l'École normale Laval, for the school children. Grenier had examined the book carefully, when it came out and had remarked to J.-P. Tardivel, who had asked for his advice, that it favoured neutral schools. It concentrated on material things, and that only in the end, did it mention God. Père Grenier added that if he could have seen what was going to happen, that people like Magnan and Héroux and other writers would push liberal ideas even into 462, (a code number for La Vérité), he would have said to 419 (code name for Tardivel) to destroy it immediately. Grenier has refrained from sanctioning the book, claiming that it could be done later and in

¹⁶⁵ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province, Vol.IX, pp. 238-239.

¹⁶⁶ The Journal of Montreal, examples are March 2, 1900 and April 18, 1900.

¹⁶⁷ 'Letter from Père Grenier to Paul Tardivel, April 23, 1907.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4265.8;

another place than 462. 419 asked Grenier to advise him when it would be opportune.¹⁶⁸ Nothing had been done in public up until this time. Grenier claimed that he had only to give certain instructions to certain people and the book Mon Petit Livre could be recalled.

Père Grenier now felt that the time had come to speak against the book. He instructed Paul to tell Héroux and Magnan all the facts, without them knowing where the source of the information. Père Grenier felt that Magnan was wrong to try to justify his statements in his subsequent writings. Omer Héroux, 'tout bon libéral,' had written in favour of the book. But according to Grenier, the State was taking away the rights of the fathers and the Church, and giving them to the idolators. He ended the letter with a word of caution that Magnan claimed that he was what he always had been - a liberal Catholic.¹⁶⁹

There was also an enclosure in the letter from Père Grenier, because, in spite of his desire to remain anonymous, the letter had fallen into Héroux's hands. Héroux had apparently not opened it, but had sent it back to Grenier because he had recognized his hand-writing. Grenier was surprised and shocked because he did not want Héroux to know that he was corresponding with Paul.¹⁷⁰ The fact that Grenier used numbers, 462 = La Vérité and 419 = Tardivel, instead of names, was another example of how fearful the people of that era were to express their opinion openly.

The secrecy that was felt to be necessary at that time, illustrates how much suspicion and division existed within each faction. After all, anyone involved with La Vérité had to espouse the ideology of ultramontanism. However, one was never trusted completely, one

¹⁶⁸ It would have created a family situation for Tardivel, if Grenier had asked him to discredit Magnan and his book, because Magnan had become his son-in-law, in 1898.

¹⁶⁹ 'Letter from Père Grenier to Paul Tardivel, April 23, 1907.' op. cit.

¹⁷⁰ 'Letter from Père Joseph Grenier to Paul-Ernest Tardivel, June 27, 1907,' ASJFC, Saint-Jérôme, 4265-18, enclosed with letter 4265-8.

was never above suspicion. The ultramontane clergy and laity would be constantly holding a vigil to negate any one who entertained even a liberal ultramontane idea. The letter also leaves no doubt about the fact that, if La Vérité claimed complete independence from partisan politics, it was certainly not independent from clerical influence.

Although the ultramontanes were nervous about the 'liberalism' of Magnan, they recognized the sensitivity of his professional position and were prepared to support him. Dr. J.A. Couture wrote to Père Grenier about Magnan's situation. Couture felt that Magnan shared their ideology in every thing except education. But as a civil servant of the State, Magnan could not write any other way unless he was prepared to leave L'École normale and relinquish the editorship of L'Enseignement primaire. Anyone else, appointed by the Liberals, could be more of a threat. They also acknowledged that Paul, 'bon petit homme qui ne fléchisa pas,' had been helped by Magnan, in the past, when he had needed a strong hand against Héroux.¹⁷¹

On one hand, the ultramontane Catholics were accusing Magnan of being too liberal, on the other hand, the liberal Catholics like Godfroy Langlois,¹⁷² were calling him 'le grand pontife de l'ignorance' or "l'apôtre de l'obscurantisme."¹⁷³ Regardless of what his contemporaries thought of him, the Vatican was one of his staunchest supporters. In 1918, Benoit XV named him Chevalier-Commandeur de l'Ordre de Saint-Grégoire-le Grand.

¹⁷¹ 'Letter from Dr. J.A. Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, December 10, 1906,' ASJCF at Saint-Jérôme, 4264-13.

¹⁷² Godfroy Langlois, (1866-1928), lawyer, journalist at La Patrie and Le Canada; elected in 1904 as liberal Member of the Quebec Legislature from Saint-Louis in Montreal. He was a guiding light of the Emancipation Lodge and the Ligue de l'Enseignement. He was also anti-clerical, challenging Bruchési's authority, 'Ti-Paul ne nous mènera pas par le bout du nez.' Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, op. cit, Vol. XI, p.11.

¹⁷³ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province, Vol. XVI, p.15, Vol XIII, p.12.

'L'Église a couronné le chrétien convaincu, le patriote intègre, l'éducateur émérite.'¹⁷⁴

Omer Héroux would have been able to relate to the difficult position in which Magnan found himself. They were both devoted Catholics, who viewed their profession as a priestly calling, but who, due to past events were viewed with suspicion by the intransigent ultramontans. As early as December 3 1903, they had shared their interest in the nationalist movement by being the only non-Liberals on the stage during the meeting at Saint Roch, organized by La Ligue Nationaliste, when Bourassa identified the aims of the Association.¹⁷⁵ Héroux's disgust with politics prevented him from having a firm commitment to either of the major parties. If he was a Conservative, it would have been to oppose Laurier.

Héroux would have been influenced by the man, C-J Magnan, who was described as coming from 'le lignée des grands catholiques français, les Ozanam, les Veillot, les de Mun.'¹⁷⁶ On Magnan's death on the June 2, 1942, Omer Héroux identified the major role that he had played in education in the Province of Quebec by building the bridge between the clerical and lay community at the turn of the century. He wrote:

... qu'il ait été l'un des plus grands ouvriers du progrès scolaire dans notre province . . . L'une de ses dernières joies fut bien d'avoir pu si largement aider à l'organisation des scolasticats-écoles normales qui permettent aux congréganistes, non seulement de se donner une formation pédagogique qu'ils n'avaient jamais songé à négliger, mais d'imprimer à cette formation un

¹⁷⁴ Archambault, op.cit., p. 152.

¹⁷⁵ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, Vol. XI, p.77.

¹⁷⁶ Archambault, op, cit., p. 143.

caractère officiel, de lier plus intimement le travail des congréganistes à celui des laïques.¹⁷⁷

Héroux also recognized that Magnan was influenced by Tardivel's concept of French-Canadian nationalism. Magnan 'avait le souci de nationaliser notre enseignement.'¹⁷⁸ He did not wish to relate to either France or England but to build a French-Canadian nation. Magnan wanted to produce French-Canadians of character, sober, virtuous and well educated, farmers, proud of their vocation, capable workers, and professionals of a more superior quality than the other races with whom they shared the field. In the Manuel de Droit civique, 1895, he reminded the French-Canadians that the rights that they were enjoying were gained by 'des luttes parlementaires gigantesques, . . . cette Constitution elle-même, arrachée lambeau par lambeau à l'oligarchie anglaise.'¹⁷⁹ Unlike Tardivel, who wanted a break with Canada, while maintaining ties with Britain, Magnan advised that they should contribute to the welfare of Confederation, but at the same time, they should conserve their maternal language, their faith, their religion and their culture, 'qui en font une nationalité distincte des différentes races qui se partagent l'Amérique du Nord.'¹⁸⁰

Héroux would also have had met another member of the Tardivel family circle Joseph Bégin, who on May 10, 1904 had married another daughter of Tardivel, Marie Hermelende Albertine, (1877-1951). The marriage ceremony was performed by his brother abbé P.A. Bégin, Professor of Science at the Séminaire de Sherbrooke. In June, 1897, J.Bégin

¹⁷⁷ Archambault, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

¹⁷⁸ Archambault, op. cit., p.150.

¹⁷⁹ Archambault, op. cit., p. 151.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.,

founded a monthly review, La Croix at Quebec City.¹⁸¹ Héroux would be less influenced by Bégin because on April 1 1903, he moved his newspaper to Montreal. Because of its limited circulation, supported mostly by the clergy, and because of Bégin's refusal to accept advertising, the finances of the newspaper were fragile.

Even though Bégin's credentials as an ultramontane were above suspicion, even though he could never be accused of harbouring any liberal ideas, Tardivel did not ask him to join La Vérité, as he had had done with Héroux. Acknowledging that personalities also can play a part, even though Tardivel's health was threatening the future of La Vérité, he did not invite Bégin to join the team.

Bégin's newspaper which was set up in Montreal, followed the ideology of Tardivel. 'La Croix est un journal catholique, au service du pape et de l'Église. C'est un journal de combat.'¹⁸² Like Tardivel, he lived in fear of the conspiracies inspired by the freemasons, whom he claimed had infiltrated City Hall, the Jews and the liberal institutions, that threatened Catholicism. Anti-semitism was one of his main themes that became more virulent as the presence of the Jews in Montreal were perceived as a threat to the French-Canadians.¹⁸³

By 1907, Bégin wanted his newspaper to become a daily. One would expect that at least the most ultramontane clergy would welcome the initiative of a journalist who was so dedicated to the ultramontane ideology. However, the reaction of the clergy to his suggestion

¹⁸¹ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p.84. See also Philippe Reid, 'La Croix 1923-1924', in Fernand Dumont, Jean Hamelin, Fernand Harvey, Jean-Paul Montminy, eds., Idéologies au Canada Français 1900-1929, pp. 45-83. Reid uses April 5 1904 as the founding date of La Croix. See also Beaulieu et Hamelin, Tome IV, op. cit., p.169.

¹⁸² Beaulieu et Hamelin., op.cit., 'La Croix,' Tome IV, p. 169.

¹⁸³ For detail analysis, see Philippe Reid, 'La Croix,1923-1924,' Dumont et al, Idéologies, op. cit., pp.45-83.

was recorded in the correspondence between Père Grenier and Paul Tardivel. He wrote that Bégin would be ill-advised to set up a daily because it would end in a fiasco. Grenier wrote that he would not compare Bégin to Héroux in a Catholic sense, nor would he compare his energy, his character, nor his stability. However, Grenier claimed that Bégin lacked something to direct even a weekly, much less a daily.¹⁸⁴

If the ultramontane clergy, like Père Grenier, was apprehensive, about positions that Bégin would assume, Mgr. Paul Bruchési, a liberal Catholic, was even more so. Although the press was always carefully monitored by the hierarchy of the Church, the period after 1900 was a period of great concern, because liberal ideas that had emerged that threatening traditional Catholicism. At the same time, the French-Canadian press had to be monitored to discourage extreme positions that might provoke a Protestant backlash against the Church. There are letters in the Archives de la Chancellerie in Montreal that identify Mgr. Bruchési's concern over Bégin's anti-semitism and his anti-Irish Catholic positions.¹⁸⁵ Bégin, like Héroux and Magnan, found it difficult to assume an ideological position, that would be acceptable at all times to the hierarchy of the Church.

Aside from the members of the family, Omer Héroux would come in contact with some of Tardivel's old friends who were still active, when Omer Héroux took over La Vérité after the death of Jules-Paul Tardivel. His father-in law's friends, who were still alive, were divided between those who supported Héroux and those who worked actively against him. Even some of the ones who supported the new editor might have done so just to honour

¹⁸⁴ 'Letter from Père Joseph Grenier to Paul Tardivel, April 23, 1907.' ASJCF, Saint-Jérôme, 4265-8

¹⁸⁵ Letters from Mgr. Paul Bruchési to J.U. Bégin, Archives de la Chancellerie de Montréal, 780-034, (1907,2) January 15, 1907; request to found a new newspaper, Union populaire canadienne; (1909-15) September 14, 1907, censure for article that the clergy should not be 'actionnaire;' August 31, 1909, Apostolic delegate censured article in La Croix.

Tardivel's memory. The fact that Héroux would have had some contact with these men, would have returned him again to the ultramontane world of the last decade of the nineteenth century to hear at first hand 'les grands luttes d'autrefois.' Héroux would once more be exposed to the ultramontane and Conservative ideology of the trifluviens, with whom he had had contact before going to Montreal in 1900.

Tardivel's friends, who were still alive included men like Père Zacharie Lacasse, (1845-1921), who not only helped to found La Vérité, but supported it with articles on colonization until his missionary work occupied all his time.¹⁸⁶ Another collaborator was Joseph-Antoine Chagnon, (1845- 1910), who was Tardivel's first director at Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, a journalist who had volunteered to fight for the Pope with his sword as a zouave and with his pen as a journalist.¹⁸⁷ There was also an eye doctor, Louis-Edouard Desjardins, who had been involved with the internecine battles between the Ultramontane Castors¹⁸⁸ and the Liberals. He was among the group of lawyers and journalists who met at Alphonse Desjardins' house to form 'Le Programme catholique.'(1871)¹⁸⁹ He was also among the ultramontane group who greeted Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, apostolic delegate, when he arrived in 1897 in Montreal. They used the opportunity to proclaim their devotion to the Church, to Leo XIII and to declare their submission to the bishops and the

¹⁸⁶ Père Pierre- Zacharie Lacasse, OMI, see Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p. 54; Also Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, Vol. VII, pp.170-171; Pierre Savard, Jules Tardivel, La France, op. cit., pp. 38, 90, 104, 306, 418.

¹⁸⁷ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁸⁸ 'Castor' was the name given to the autonomous, independent political party organized by the ultramontanes when after 1882 the Parti Bleu was divided between the old-guard Gallicans and the ultramontanes. See H.L. Robertson, 'The Ultramontane Group in French Canada 1867-1886,' M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1952, pp.224-288.

¹⁸⁹ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 175-176.

national clergy.¹⁹⁰ There was also le Chevalier A.-G. Guilbault (-1920) a former zouave, who was able to talk to Héroux about Louis Veullot, whom Guilbault had met personally.¹⁹¹

Another friend of Tardivel, whom Héroux would have met was Ernest Gagnon (1834-1915), more liberal than most of Tardivel's friends. He might have related more to Héroux on an intellectual level than to Paul but the fact that Paul was his godchild might have drawn him emotionally to him. However, Gagnon was already pulling away from Tardivel before his death because of Tardivel's support for le drapeau Carillon-Sacré-Coeur. Even though Tardivel had spent the last thirty-two years promoting the cause of the French-Canadians, Ernest Gagnon¹⁹² criticised him for intervening in the flag debate, reminding him that he was not a French-Canadian 'pure laine,' having been born in the United States of an English mother.

The latter years of Tardivel's life had become more difficult by the many changes that were taking place in the world. His ideology of ultramontanism had been threatened not only by liberal Catholicism but by the acceptance of a modified liberalism by the diplomatic and political Pope Leo XIII. In 1896 the Liberal Party replaced the Conservative Party in Quebec and Canada. Technology had made the up-grading of old equipment next to impossible in the publishing business unless financial resources were available. Transportation had made the big daily newspapers of the cities readily available to the readers in the rural areas, who

¹⁹⁰ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 178.

¹⁹¹ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁹² Ernest Gagnon, 1834-1915, musician and author; born in Rivière-du-Loup, son of a notary; attended Collège de Joliette; studied music in Montreal and Paris; studied literature and history; became organist in the Cathedral in Quebec City; Précis d'Histoire des Littératures, op. cit., p.235; respected in both French and English communities; member of the Royal Society of Canada; founder of L'Académie de Musique et L'Union Musicale. Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p. 55.

previously were served by local weeklies. The advertisements, pictures and sensational stories of the new style journalism, all made La Vérité, which was 'un journal d'idées,' appear 'démodé.' Tardivel was also faced with the fact that his ultramontane (exagéré) supporters of the past were either dead, ageing or challenging his positions.

When Héroux took over the direction of La Vérité on the death of Tardivel, April 24 1905, not only was he forced to work under the same limitations as his father-in-law but Héroux was faced with problems that were inherent when the direction of the newspaper passed into his hands. He found out very quickly that there was prophecy in his own words 'La plume du Maître est trop lourde aux mains de ses héritiers.'¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ La Vérité, July 14, 1906.

CHAPTER II - OMER HÉROUX AND 'LES HÉRITIERS DE' JULES-PAUL TARDIVEL, 1905-1908.

In the editorials that Tardivel published on October 1, 1904 and on December 15, 1904, he left no doubt that he intended that Omer Héroux should be in charge. When Paul Tardivel left La Défense de Chicoutimi to join his father's newspaper in January, 1905, it created complications for Héroux. On January 21, 1905, an article appeared noting the departure of Paul from La Défense and his arrival at Quebec City. His duties were clearly defined 'Il serait spécialement chargé à l'organisation de la propagande et de la circulation de La Vérité.'¹⁹⁴ However, after the death of Tardivel on April 24, 1905, Paul, with the help of the intransigent-ultramontane faction of Jules-Paul's friends, slowly eased Héroux out of his position of prominence. As the families lived together in the same house, it must have made life quite difficult for Héroux.

An examination of the masthead of the newspaper will identify the subtle easing of Héroux out of his dominant role in the running of La Vérité. The masthead of La Vérité on October 1, 1904, read J.P. Tardivel, Directeur-Propriétaire. Following Héroux's employment on October 1, the next edition on October 15, read J.P. Tardivel, Directeur-Propriétaire et Omer Héroux, Rédacteur. On January 28, 1905, the masthead of La Vérité read, Jules-Paul Tardivel- Directeur-gérant; Omer Héroux- Rédacteur; Paul Tardivel, Gérant. After the death of Tardivel, it read May 6, 1905, Omer Héroux, Rédacteur. Paul Tardivel, Gérant. By April 28, 1906, it was changed to Paul Tardivel, Directeur and Omer Héroux, Rédacteur. In this edition there was a notice that read that since the death of the founder of the La Vérité, there had been no director. At the request of the owners of the newspaper, 'pour régulariser

¹⁹⁴ La Vérité, 'M. Paul Tardivel,' January 21, 1905, p. 6.

la situation Paul Tardivel en prend le direction.¹⁹⁵ By December 21, 1907, Omer Héroux was no longer on the masthead although he continued to contribute articles to the newspaper. He had left to join l'Action sociale, an ultramontane newspaper under the aegis of Mgr.Louis-Nazaire Bégin, archbishop of Quebec, although Héroux continued to collaborate with La Vérité.

The reasons for Jules-Paul's choice of Omer over Paul, his only son, to run his newspaper are not clear. Perhaps he felt that Omer had more experience. However, Paul was aware from the beginning that Omer had been his father's choice. In a letter to Père Grenier, he resented Grenier's criticism that he was not doing enough to counteract liberal thought in the newspaper. He claimed that he was doing his best in a difficult and painful situation that had been created by his father when:

il avait choisi O.H. comme son successeur . . . O.H. a fait fausse route. On me regarde comme un usurpateur. Le jour où j'aura tous les intéressés contre moi, je perdrai tout contrôle.¹⁹⁶

Some of the Tardivel's old supporters were so nervous about whether Héroux might introduce liberal ideas into La Vérité, that they actually worked against him in favour of Paul. One of these was Doctor Joseph-Alphonse Couture.¹⁹⁷ Couture's friendship with Tardivel had spanned many conflicts, with Couture always supporting Tardivel's ultramontane position. He was described as a man who never lost an opportunity to defend 'une sainte

¹⁹⁵ La Vérité, April 28, 1906, p.3 (331), Column 4.

¹⁹⁶ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Grenier, December 29, 1906,' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4264-14.

¹⁹⁷ Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel-La France etc, op. cit., p.101.

cause, ni de transpercer une erreur dans cette arène du catholicisme et du sain patriotisme dans le journal de Tardivel.¹⁹⁸ Couture would not be trying to balance his Catholicism with his French-Canadian nationalism. Men like Couture defended their religion independent of their patriotism.¹⁹⁹

Extensive correspondence exists in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Saint Jérôme that helps to identify the internecine battles that took place between the liberal and ultramontane clergy for control of La Vérité. These battles pitted Omer against Paul and forced a polarization of opinions within the Tardivel family. It forced other family members to take sides, which might have created a difficult situation. However, because of the respect that the family had for Madame Henriette Tardivel, the differences remained within the business and were not permitted to be carried over into the family circle.²⁰⁰

Although there was no doubt that Tardivel had intended Héroux to take over the direction of La Vérité, Héroux's position was challenged almost as soon as the Tardivel died. When he died, his will divided the ownership La Vérité between Madame Tardivel, one half, Paul, one quarter and Alice and Omer received a quarter between them. It is obvious from the division of assets that Madame Tardivel would have the final vote in any decision affecting her late husband's newspaper.

On the death of Tardivel, an editorial appeared on May 6, 1905, signed by both Omer Héroux and Paul Tardivel, that proclaimed that La Vérité would carry on the work that had preoccupied the best part of Jules-Paul Tardivel's life, 'nous relevons le drapeau que seul la mort peut arracher à ses fortes mains.' They were prepared to continue 'les batailles livrées

¹⁹⁸ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁹⁹ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province de Québec, op. cit., Vol. XII, p. 83.

²⁰⁰ Oral History interview with Jean Tardivel, op. cit.

pour la religion et pour la patrie.' They made a request that all those who loved Tardivel would also extend the hand of friendship to them. They insisted that La Vérité would continue to be independent from all political parties and 'en toute choses catholiques, nous acceptons d'une âme soumise et d'un cœur filial la direction de l'Église.'²⁰¹

For those who were not privy to the wishes of Jules-Paul Tardivel, it would be easy to assume that he had left the direction of La Vérité to both of them. If Omer Héroux had hoped that by joining La Vérité, his life would assume more security than he had felt in Montreal, he was to be disappointed. Once Tardivel died, Omer had to contend with Paul's ambition to take over what Paul had perceived to be his filial right.

Although Héroux did not have the support of all of Tardivel's friends, he did extend the circle of La Vérité's influence by calling on all his past contacts to collaborate with him. One such friend was the abbé Lionel Groulx, whom he had met through close association with the A.C.J.C. On May 15, 1905, he addressed a letter to the abbé Groulx, 'Cher Monsieur l'abbé et excellent camarade.' Héroux encouraged the abbé to develop his ideas in La Vérité. 'Notre ambition serait d'en faire le journal de tous ceux qui ont quelque choses à dire.' Héroux ended his letter by inviting the abbé Groulx to come to Quebec, even explaining how to get to his house, chez Madame Tardivel.²⁰²

Héroux maintained the close relationship that he had established with Henri Bourassa. He continued to act as a propagandist for Bourassa. He wrote on October 26, 1905 to 'Mon cher ami' that the Jesuits had opened a great hall that was serving as headquarters

²⁰¹ La Verité, May 6, 1905, p.1, column 1.

²⁰² 'Letter edged in black from Omer Héroux to abbé Lionel Groulx, Valleyfield, May 15, 1905.' Fondation Lionel Groulx, no accession number. Omer Héroux continued to be a publicity agent for Groulx. On his death, Groulx wrote that Héroux had been 'mon publiciste, le publiciste le plus généreux, le plus constant.' Le Devoir May 7, 1963.

for the A.C.J.C. in Quebec City. He invited Bourassa to come Quebec as their guest speaker. 'On vous invite parce ce que vous êtes vous, et c'est un discours à la Bourassa qu'on attend.' Héroux was already on familiar terms with Bourassa because he took the opportunity to send his best wishes to Madame Bourassa. He also mentioned that he was going to debate the subject of the evils of journalists and politicians at his old Alma Mater, Le Séminaire Saint-Joseph aux Trois-Rivières.²⁰³ The letterhead of La Vérité's stationery just read La Vérité, Revue Hebdomadaire, N.-D. de Québec. Although the 'anti-maçonnique' phrase had been eliminated, the attacks against the freemasons did not abate.²⁰⁴

Héroux encouraged the collaboration that he had previously established with Père Théophile Hudon. In a letter, November 3, 1905, he shared his concerns for the threat to education in Quebec, headed by Godfroy Langlois and 'his acolyte Stephens.'²⁰⁵ On November 9, 1905, there was a letter addressed to 'Mon Réverend Père et cher ami,' about the future of Le Nationaliste that has already been examined and illustrated the close relationship that they had established. On the same day, November 9, Héroux identified that one of Hudon's articles on 'Pacifisme' had annoyed 'un abbé français.' Héroux was going to publish the criticism so as to let Hudon respond. The letter illustrated the extent of the supervision by religious orders of all articles, wherever they may have appeared. The clergy had the time to read and examine the articles, time that was denied to laymen, who were

²⁰³ This event was reported in Prospectus du Séminaire Saint-Joseph, Année académique 1905-1906. p.62. October 26, 1906 'Très intéressante conférence sur notre système parlementaire par Omer Héroux, rédacteur en chef de La Vérité de Québec.'

²⁰⁴ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Henri Bourassa, October 26, 1905.' Bourassa Archives deposited with his daughter, Anne, Outremont, Quebec. # 214.

²⁰⁵ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Théophile Hudon, November 3, 1905.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, BO-223-130. George-Washington Stephens, liberal member of the Quebec Government from Montreal-center and Minister without Portfolio under Félix-Gabriel Marchand; alderman in Montreal; member of the Commission de colonisation.

caught up in the challenges of day-to-day activities.²⁰⁶

On November 18, 1905, Héroux contacted Père Hudon once more bemoaning the fact that there was not a daily Catholic newspaper:

Ah! que n'avons-nous (sic) un grand journal quotidien! On est en train de nous empoisonner et de nous abrutir. Il faudra que le peuple canadien ait une sorte de bon sens, s'il résiste à l'action de la presse.²⁰⁷

Although Héroux would already have been aware of the close scrutiny of the press by the clergy and their ability to negate and neutralize any articles that in their estimation would pose a threat to the Church, he was surprised by the criticism that came from the highest level against an article that he had printed in La Vérité. Even though he was not the author of the article, he was nevertheless held responsible for its publication. Mgr. Donato Sbarretti, apostolic delegate, wrote to Mgr. L.N. Bégin, archbishop of Quebec complaining about the article, 'Un Argument' that appeared in La Vérité, November 18, 1905:

Cet article ne peut qu'accentuer les divisions entre les catholiques . . . je prie Votre Grandeur de communiquer ces idées aux Directeurs de La Vérité et comme ils sont des catholiques intelligents et bons, je crois qu'ils ne permettront pas à l'avenir, la publication de semblables articles.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Théophile Hudon, November 11 1905.' ASJCF, BO 27-8-8

²⁰⁷ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Théophile Hudon, November 18 1905.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, BO 27-8-9.

²⁰⁸ 'Letter from the apostolic delegate Mgr. Donato Sbarretti to Mgr L.N. Bégin, November 19, 1905.' ASJCF Saint Jérôme, BO-27-8-10.

The article, 'Un Argument' that had attracted the attention of the apostolic delegate Donato Cardinal Sbarretti, had been written by Jean- Pierre Sauvageau, 'un de nos plus fidèles collaborateurs.' The main thrust of the article was the difficulty faced by the French minority to maintain its language outside of Quebec, because of the Irish Catholic opposition. The article also dealt with the problem of supporting the concept of the Providential Mission of the French-Canadians without offending the apostolic delegate who had to defend the supranationalism of the Vatican.

The article stated that the Franco-Americans were fighting hard to maintain their language in their homes and in their churches. According to Sauvageau, there was very little opposition from 'les Yankees' but 'les Irlandais la combattent avec acharnement.' In effect, the Protestants were more tolerant than certain Catholics. According to the Irish, there should be neither Italian, nor Greek nor 'barbares' Catholics. The Irish wanted 'les canadiens' to renounce their nationality. Sauvageau contended that:

Que l'Église exige que les Allemands, les Polonais, les Canadiens disparaissent, c'est une thèse insoutenable. Dieu veut les races et les nations .. . jamais les Pontifes romains n'ont tenté d'étouffer le sentiment national d'un peuple pour le rendre plus catholique.²⁰⁹

Sauvageau claimed that the Irish should realize how many Catholics were lost to the English Protestants when they lost their language. The 'canadiens' have resisted assimilation by the Protestants because they had retained their language, 'la langue a été le rempart de la foi.' Leo XIII wanted the Italians in the United States to be serviced by Italian priests.

²⁰⁹ Jean-Pierre Sauvageau, 'Un Argument', La Vérité, November 18, 1905, p.1.

However, the Irish expected the parishioners to learn the language of the priest. Sauvageau picked up on the theme that the anglo-saxons 'donnent de temps à autre des leçons de tolérance; . . . ce sont des Irlandais catholiques, qui affichent l'intransigeance la plus inconcevable.'²¹⁰

Sauvegeau observed that where numbers warrant it, 'les Canadiens' can elect deputies, mayors, aldermen, and councillors of their own nationality. But in parishes where they are the majority, they must accept Irish priests. Sauvageau argued that in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Rhode Island and Massachusettes, French-Canadians are accepted as ministers, judges and senators. He wanted to know if it was the hierarchy of the Church, who did not intend to elect French-Canadians as American or Canadian bishops. If their abilities are recognized in the political and civic fields, why not in the religious field? Sauvageau continued 'Mais la règle générale s'impose: les Irlandais sont ardents prosélytes de la langue anglaise et c'est surtout contre les Canadiens qu'ils dirigent leur efforts.' Sauvageau was disappointed in the position taken by the Irish because when the Irish immigrants had arrived in Canada, fleeing from the famine and the typhus epidemic, they had been received with 'les bas de soie.'^(sic)

The article concluded that if the Irish were in control of the country to-day, there would be no place for French-Canadians. If the French-Canadians have civic positions today in Canada, it was because 'qu'en Canada, les Anglais reconnaissent dans nos compatriotes de véritables Canadiens.' It was the same in the United States 'les Yankees estiment que les Franco-Américains sont des loyaux citoyens.' He warned the French-Canadians that the danger was real, 'cette lutte fratricide entre catholiques.' They have the right and the duty to protect the French language. The Irish did not have the mission or the power 'd'arracher

²¹⁰ Ibid.

de nos coeurs la fibre nationale.²¹¹

The fact that the Vatican condemned this article was an indication that the Holy See realized what a complicating factor French-Canadian nationalism that equated faith with language, could be to her ambitions to use English as the common language of Catholicism in North America. Nationalism could be tolerated and sometimes even exploited in Europe, Asia and Africa, where each nationality could be contained in a specific geographical unit. But in North America, there was a need for a common language by which the Vatican could address its fold that was made up of many nationalities. As English was by far the dominant language, it would be natural to encourage its use.

The article 'Un Argument' provides an insight into where Omer Héroux stood in the debate between French-Canadian nationalism and the supranationalism of the Vatican at that time. The fact that he even published an article that raised the question as to how the hierarchy of the Catholic Church was treating French-Canadians, would suggest that, unlike Tardivel, who had been ultramontane 'pure laine,' Omer Héroux was prepared to question why he would have to choose between 'sa langue and sa foi.'

Héroux apparently was comfortable enough with Père Hudon to write candidly about the affair in a letter dated November 22, 1905. The tone of the letter was an indication that although Héroux was a devoted son of the Church, he could not pretend that the threat from the Irish Catholics to the Providential Mission of the French-Canadians, was not a serious problem. He was surprised that the article:

... a valu une lettre de blâme du Délégué Apostolique. Mgr. Sbarretti a

²¹¹ Ibid.

exprimé son mécontentement à Mgr.Bégin avec prière de nous le faire connaître.' . . . Entre nous, l'article était fort et passablement vrai.²¹²

Also because Omer Héroux was not devastated by receiving 'une lettre de blâme' from the apostolic delegate, would suggest that although he was a 'catholique intégral,' he was not an ultramontane Catholic 'tout court.' In a letter to Père Théophile Hudon, December 5, 1905, he claimed that 'La Réprimande de son excellence ne m'a pas beaucoup affecté. Aussi, je vous dit, Mgr. Archevêque me l'a faux remise avec des adoucements.'²¹³

Five months after the death of Jules-Paul Tardivel, September 20, 1905, Paul who was trying to build up his own personal credibility at La Vérité, wrote to Mgr.Paul Bruchési, archbishop of Montreal, asking for his support. Bruchési answered that he gave it willingly and added that he hoped that La Vérité would become a daily. Although Bruchési gave Paul his support, he indicated that he also had confidence in Omer Héroux. The archbishop claimed that he had had a concern for the direction that the newspaper might take under a new director, but he had been reassured with the appointment of Omer Héroux. 'Je connais personnellement votre rédacteur en chef (Omer Héroux) et je sais que nous pouvons compter sur le rectitude de ses principes et son dévouement à la cause de l'Église et de ses droits.'²¹⁴

The answer may have disappointed Paul, but the reply indicated that Héroux could

²¹² 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Hudon, November 22, 1905.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, BO-27-8-12.

²¹³ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Théophile Hudon, December 6, 1905.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, BO-27-8-13.

²¹⁴ Cited in Mgr. Justin Févre, Vie et Travaux de Jules-Paul Tardivel. Fondateur du Journal 'La Vérité, à Québec, Paris: Arthur Savaète, Éditeur, 1906. pp. 224-225.

at least count on Mgr. Bruchési's support. Hérroux responded quickly to the testimonial, by thanking Mgr. Bruchési for his sollicitude. He took the opportunity to reinforce the need for a daily Catholic newspaper in Montreal, as requested by the archbishop. Hérroux wrote 'un journal quotidien catholique à Montréal, c'est le rêve ardent de tous ceux qui préoccupent notre avenir et qui voient quelles batailles nous aurons à livrer sur tous les terrains.'²¹⁵

Tension continued to mount between Omer Hérroux and Paul. On May 16, 1906, Omer wrote to his friend abbé Lionel Groulx that his brother-in law had taken over the directorship of La Vérité. Omer claimed that he was trying very hard not to look as though he was passing judgement on Paul's work. Once more Hérroux expressed the importance of setting up a Catholic daily in Montreal, he wrote 'si les canadiens français ne réussissent pas à faire, d'ici quelques années, je ne dis pas un journal essentiellement religieux, mais un journal pour des gens intelligents et pénétré de l'esprit catholique, je me demande où nous irons.'²¹⁶

Hérroux's uncomfortable position at La Vérité was confirmed in a letter that he had written on May 28 1906 to his good friend and collaborator Père Théophile Hudon. He was grateful for the encouragement that Hudon and others had given him. Hérroux claimed that it was due to the many words of sympathy from Hudon and others 'pour que je ne sois pas soussolé (sic) d'une situation qui a été assez ennuyeuse.'²¹⁷

Hérroux's opponents were keeping up the pressure to have him removed. The most

²¹⁵ Letter from Omer Hérroux to Mgr. Paul Bruchési, February 28, 1906. Archives de la Chancellerie de Montréal, Archidiocèse, 780-034;906-5

²¹⁶ 'Letter from Omer Hérroux to abbé Groulx, May 16, 1906.' Centre de Recherche Fondation Lionel Groulx. (Not numbered).

²¹⁷ 'Letter from Omer Hérroux to Père Théophile Hudon, May 28, 1906.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, Bo-27-8-17.

radical intransigent ultramontane faction of the clergy like Père Grenier and intransigent ultramontane lay person like Dr. Couture, feared that some liberalism was creeping into La Vérité. They felt that Paul, who had arrived from La Défense of Chicoutimi, January 1905, could counteract the perceived liberalism in educational matters of Héroux and to a lesser degree the liberalism of C.J. Magnan. In a letter dated September 11, 1906²¹⁸, Couture contacted Père Grenier to warn him of the immediate danger to the future of La Vérité. Couture expressed a fear that Paul, who had been at the newspaper a year, might not become the director. He claimed that Madame Tardivel should be aware that La Vérité should change its management, that circumstances were not the same as they were when Tardivel was alive. Couture recognized that the intransigent ultramontanism of Tardivel was no longer acceptable and that they should not 'faire de journalisme militant.'

Couture wrote that Madame Tardivel had spent a week at the Lac (Commissaires) with Héroux and his wife and that they had turned against Paul. Couture claimed that the abbé Cinq Mars was going to speak to Madame Tardivel but he felt that the intervention of Père Turgeon would also be necessary if Paul was to become the major force in keeping La Vérité the way it was under J.P.T.(sic) Couture's fear was reinforced when he heard that the Messieurs de Séminaire (du Québec) were thinking of buying La Vérité. He closed by writing that there was an immediate peril and one must act quickly.

The abbé Louis-Napoléon Cinq-Mars, mentioned in the letter, was the curé at Portneuf for thirty years, where Tardivel knew him and turned to him for advice and encouragement. He shared Tardivel's love of the outdoors, sailing, fishing and hunting. As Héroux abhorred sports and Paul loved them, the abbé Cinq -Mars would have had another

²¹⁸ 'Letter from J.-A. Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, September 11 1906.' ASJCF 4264-8

reason to relate more to Paul, other than an ideological one.²¹⁹ There was no doubt that Couture, Père Grenier, the abbé Cinq-Mars and Père Turgeon supported Paul.

About a week later, September 19, 1906, Couture reported to Père Grenier that Paul had regained Madame Tardivel's confidence. However, Couture had been speaking to a close family friend, who was well respected who had rendered the family many services over the past years that had earned for him eternal recognition. Couture itemized the friend's observations to Madame Tardivel (1) that Héroux should be the director; (2) that the biography of Tardivel by Fèvre²²⁰ contained many abominable sentences; (3) that 'tout le monde se plaint de La Vérité telle qu'elle est rédigé actuellement;' (4) and that everyone was angry because one had taken the management from Héroux. In spite of the friend's recommendations, Couture seemed reassured that Paul would not be dismissed because he wrote that Madame Tardivel apparently did not agree with the friend's interpretation and defended both her late husband and Paul with vigour.²²¹

Couture apparently recognized that Héroux was not without influence because in the same letter, he wrote that Mgr O.E.Mathieu²²², Mgr C.O.Gagnon²²³ and les Messieurs de l'Université (Laval) 'remuent ciel et terre pour qu'Héroux redevienne directeur du

²¹⁹ 'Letter from J.-A.Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, September 11, 1906.' op. cit., 4264-8.

²²⁰ Mgr. Justin Fèvre, Vie et Travail de J.P.Tardivel. Fondateur du journal 'La Vérité,' à Québec. Paris: Arthur Savaète, éditeur, 1906.

²²¹ 'Letter from J.-A Couture to Père Grenier, September 19 1906.' ASJCF, Saint -Jérôme, 4264-9.

²²² Archbishop Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu,(1853 -1929) Born in Quebec City; elevated to priesthood in 1878 by Archbishop Taschereau; one year sojourn in Rome; taught philosophy and was rector for nine years of Laval University; appointed Bishop of Regina in 1911 until his death.

²²³ Mgr. C.O. Gagnon, See Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel- La France et Les États-Unis; Gagnon acted as liason between Archbishop Bégin and Tardivel, over the latter's attack on Judge Adolphe-Basile Routhier, p.100; upheld Tardivel in supporting the International Anti-Masonic Congress in Paris 1896, p.292; he was close enough to the family to be chosen to bless 'la fosse' on the death of Tardivel.p.450.

journal.' Couture ended the letter by claiming that because Madame Tardivel was just a woman they could not count on her.²²⁴ Couture did not give Madame Tardivel enough credit for her ability to manage a very difficult and sensitive family business matter and at the same time maintain harmony in the family circle while being bombarded on all sides with conflicting opinions.

The controversy between Paul and Omer was a return to the old battles of the intransigent ultramontanes and the more liberal ultramontanes - the old battle between Mgr. Laffèche and Mgr. Taschereau of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Only this time, because of the support from the Mathieu, Gagnon and the faculty of Laval, Héroux appeared to be on the side of the liberal ultramontanes.

If Paul had hoped that Héroux might leave La Vérité to form a daily newspaper elsewhere, he was to be disappointed. In a letter, from Couture to Père Grenier, of November 16, 1906, Couture claimed that Héroux had admitted that he was not leaving to become director of the a new Catholic newspaper. 'Il dit assez clairement qu'il ne sera pas fondé un tel journal.'²²⁵

Tension began to mount between Paul and Magnan. On December 10, 1906, Couture reported to Grenier that there was a disagreement about the contents of L'Instruction publique of C.J. Magnan. Couture told Grenier that Paul did not agree with the ideas set forward by Magnan, and that he would do everything possible to prevent the ideas being accepted by the public. Magnan had asked for a retraction of the negative article that had appeared in La Vérité. Paul claimed, as an excuse for his criticism, that he had merely

²²⁴ 'Letter from Doctor J.A. Couture to Père Joseph Grenier September 19, 1906.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4264-9.

²²⁵ 'Letter from Doctor J.A. Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, November 16, 1906.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4264-11.

quoted from Fèvre's book on J.P. Tardivel, who rejected all liberalism.

Couture explained to Grenier why it was impossible for Paul not to publish the retraction without breaking windows and causing quarrels for all. Paul would be risking the loss of his mother's support and the advantages that had been gained piece by piece. Paul would find himself alone confronting Madame Tardivel and Magnan, whose opinions Madame Tardivel respected and also Héroux, who would be supported by his wife Alice.

Couture pointed out another factor. Since Héroux was not counting on the directorship of Le Nationaliste or on the formation of a Catholic newspaper in Montreal or Quebec, he had begun again to plot with Madame Tardivel to take over La Vérité. But, as Couture explained, she had held firm up until now, but since she was only a woman, was subject to changes of opinion.

Couture admitted that aside from Magnan's position on education, the latter had adopted all of J.P. Tardivel's ideology. But as a civil servant of the State, he could not say or write any other way unless he was prepared to give up his position at l'École normale and the publication of his journal. In the past, he usually supported Paul against Héroux and he would do it again.²²⁶

On the same day, December 10, 1906,²²⁷ Paul wrote a letter to Père Grenier, on the identical subject of Magnan's L'Instruction publique. The letter also exposed the level of hostility that existed between Héroux and Paul. It is difficult to understand how Madame Tardivel was able to maintain family peace under those conditions. Paul wrote that he was going to counteract indirectly Magnan's position by publishing Mgr. Fèvre's biography of

²²⁶ 'Letter from Doctor J.A. Couture to Père Joseph Grenier, December 10, 1906.' ASJCF Saint Jérôme, 4264-13.

²²⁷ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Joseph Grenier, December 10, 1906.' ASJCF Saint Jérôme, 4264-12.

Tardivel, that exposed the dangers of liberalism in educational matters.

In that letter Paul expressed how insecure he felt in his position at La Vérité. He wrote that he had to be careful because 'si demain je me trouve à avoir les autres propriétaires contre moi, Héroux reprendra l'avantage.' Paul could not always count on his mother's support. Paul wrote that for his mother, Magnan had replaced his father. When Héroux had him on his side, Paul claimed that he counted for nothing. But fortunately for now, Magnan was with him, 'il m'a aidé à prendre la direction du journal.' However Paul protested that Héroux was always trying to regain his lost control. Madame Tardivel had agreed with Héroux, when he 'a rappelé à sa femme, que j'oubliais les volontés de papa en m'occupant de faire la rédaction. Je devrais m'occuper de l'administration et faire de la collaboration d'occasion.'²²⁸

Paul was also objecting to the fact that Héroux was posing as the director among his friends. Héroux had assured the abbés at the Séminaire that he would not publish anything about the Fèvre's book in La Vérité. Héroux also told them that he had discussed the book with Paul. However, Paul wrote that 'il (Héroux) n'a jamais eu le courage de protester.' Paul was probably accurate in stating that Héroux never approached the subject openly because Héroux avoided controversy on a personal level all his life.

Paul claimed that he was sick and needed additional help with the administration, which the family had refused. He alerted Grenier that Héroux and his friends at the Séminaire were biding their time, hoping that Paul would give up the struggle because of his illness.

This time the controversy was proving too much for Madame Tardivel. As Paul terminated the letter, she had requested the help of notary Roy, who was 'un ami enragé de

²²⁸ Ibid.

Héroux,' to look over Tardivel's will. According to Paul, his father had told his wife to arrange that Paul take over after his death. Paul also claimed that these facts had been confirmed by Doctor Couture and by C.J.M.(sic). However, Paul could not talk to his mother about it because she told every thing to Héroux. One solution, Paul pointed out, was to buy his mother's shares, but he lacked the money. In the meantime, he would make sure that no one else got control. Paul had confidence in his ability to take over. 'L'agent de La Vérité, je suis devenu directeur, il me reste à assurer mon succès.' He then asked for advice as to how to guarantee that the program of the founder 'soit suivi intégralement.'²²⁹

By December 29, 1906, Paul was being criticized by Père Grenier for not doing enough. Paul responded that he resented his negative comments because he was doing his best in a difficult and painful situation. After all, he wrote that it was not his fault that 'papa' on the advice of a few, 'avait choisi O.H. comme son successeur.' Paul once more expressed the fear that 'Le jour où j'aurai tous les intéressés contre moi, je perdrai tout contrôle.' Paul felt that he was looked upon as a usurper and if everyone was against him, he would lose control.²³⁰

On January 16, 1907,²³¹ Paul reported to Père Grenier that he had 'une grosse, grosse nouvelle,' that Mgr. C.O.Gagnon had come in the name of an anonymous committee, to buy La Vérité. Paul told him that for his part, it was not for sale but that he would pass on the request to the others. Paul wrote that he had consulted Mgr.Cinq-Mars and Couture, who advised him to ask for the offer in writing. Mgr. Gagnon said that the direction of La Vérité would be changed but that Paul and Héroux 'trouveraient de la besogne dans leur

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Grenier, December 29, 1906.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4264-14.

²³¹ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Grenier, January 16, 1907.' ASJCF, Saint Jérôme, 4265-2.

boutique.' Paul felt that the offer was made to negate Mgr. Justin Fèvre, whose biography of Tardivel, had painted a very negative picture of the hierarchy of the clergy in Quebec, and in particular the late Cardinal Taschereau.²³² Paul reported that Mr. and Mrs. Héroux would never consent to sell but Héroux 'ne veut pas se prononcer et se contente de dire que ce que je ferai sera bien fait.'²³³

In view of the conflict that was going on behind the scenes between Paul and Héroux, Héroux was once more demonstrating his reluctance to get into any open confrontation. One reason why Héroux may have avoided any unpleasantness and allowed Paul to make the decision was the fact that Bourassa must have already made overtures to him to be part of a team to set up a daily in Montreal. In a letter from Bourassa to Mgr. Bruchési, dated May 9 1907,²³⁴ he remarked that due to Bruchési's past encouragement, he had prepared a prospectus on the new daily. He also wanted to inform the Archbishop that he had received the confirmation from Omer Héroux that he would join him. Bourassa must have been aware that the prestige of Héroux would give credibility to his proposal to Archbishop Bruchési or he would not have included his name in his presentation.

Chanoine Émile Roy, Chancellor to the Archbishop of Montreal, knew that he could count on Héroux to support positions taken by the Church. When the Liberals, encouraged by the financial support of the Andrew Carnegie's grant, agitated for a public library in Montreal about 1900, the hierarchy of the Church opposed the concept as a potential threat to the morals of its flock. Omer Héroux, who had been at the Le Journal at the time,

²³² For more information on the controversy surrounding the publication of Tardivel's biography by Mgr. Justin Fèvre, see Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel-La France et les États-unis, op. cit., pp.450-457.

²³³ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Joseph Grenier, January 16, 1907.' ASJFC, Saint Jérôme, 4265-2.

²³⁴ 'Letter from Henri Bourassa to Mgr. Paul Bruchési, May 9, 1907.' Archives de la Chancellerie de Montréal, 780-034, 907-18a.

reported on the proceedings in such a way as to neutralize the project by supporting the position taken by the hierarchy of the clergy.²³⁵

Héroux must have been recognized as a competent journalist by his peers at this stage of his career. At the same time as Bourassa was using Héroux's name to gain support from Mgr. Bruchési for his projected daily newspaper in Montreal, Héroux's old friend Amédée Denault was also using Héroux's name to give credibility to his new project. Denault had appealed to Mgr. Bruchési for his support to expand his L'Ami du Colon into a 'semi-quotidien,'(sic) and rename it Le Pionnier. He added a postscript to his letter that read 'peut-être ai-je omis de dire à Votre Grandeur que, si le projet Nationaliste faisait long feu, j'aurais comme collaborateur, ou plutôt co-directeur avec résidence à Montréal, pour le nouveau Pionnier, mon confrère et bon ami M.Omer Héroux.'²³⁶

As early as February, 1907, Denault thought that the time was right to expand the influence of his newspaper by publishing more often, bi-weekly and then 'semi-quotidien.'(sic) He wrote a letter²³⁷ and sent a prospectus²³⁸ to Mgr. Bruchési requesting a declaration of his support. On March 6, 1907, Mgr Bruchési supported his proposal claiming that he would be remiss if he did not approve 'une oeuvre qui me paraît comme un véritable apostolat.'²³⁹ By April 1, 1907, Denault sent another proposal to Mgr. Bruchési, in which Denault claimed that they were to use the base of L'Ami du Colon to publish a 'semi-

²³⁵ See Le Journal, January 2, October 7, October 9, October 15 and November 13, 1902.

²³⁶ 'Letter from Amédée Denault (Nominique) to Mgr. Paul Bruchési,(Montreal), April 10, 1907.' ACAM 780-034-907-10-a.

²³⁷ 'Letter From Amédée Denault to Mgr. Paul Bruchési, February 28, 1907.' ACAM, 780-034,907-6a.

²³⁸ Amédée Denault, 'Appendice. Le Journal dont il s'agit. Son caractère - son opportunité.' February 20, 1907. ACAM, 780-034, 907-6c.

²³⁹ 'Letter from Mgr Paul Bruchési to Amédée Denault, March 6, 1907.' ACAM, 780-034-907-6b.

quotidien '(sic) starting June 1, 1907. The new title would be Le Pionnier, with the sub-title 'Ami du Colon and Démocrate Chrétien. It was to be "comme organe indépendant, à la mentalité foncièrement catholique, de 'Propagande sociale chrétienne ainsi que de Défense patriotique et religieuse.'"²⁴⁰

Having received the prospectus, Mgr. Bruchési questioned the use of the word 'Démocrate Chrétien, qui pourra paraître suspecte.' He admitted that the word 'democrate' was in vogue elsewhere but 'il n'a guère de signification pour nous.' He also wondered why it was necessary to add 'et de défense catholique,' after the words 'un journal de propagande sociale chrétienne et patriotique.' Mgr. Bruchési recommended that it would be better to write 'un journal de propagande catholique, sociale et patriotique.'²⁴¹

Denault answered Mgr.Bruchési's letter by defending his position. Denault claimed that suggested sub-titles would only reflect the traditions of L'Ami du Colon, the predecessor of the new Le Pionnier. He then tried to explain the term 'Démocrate Chrétien.' Denault admitted that it lengthened the title but the words inferred 'un résumé adéquat de tout son programme d'action sociale.'

Denault pointed out that he was using the expression 'Démocrate Chrétien' in the same sense as in the encyclical of Leo XIII on Démocratie Chrétienne, in the same sense as with the Motu Proprio of Pie X, 'Pleno l'animo.' Under those conditions, the expression took on real meaning and how could it be considered 'suspecte.'

Denault, who from the contents of the original Le Pionnier, was perceived as being more of an economic nationalist than an ultramontane nationalist, was stating a rather

²⁴⁰ Amédée Denault, 'Prospectus de La Coopérative de Publication des Laurentides,' ACAM, 780-034-907-10b.

²⁴¹ 'Letter from Mgr.Paul Bruchési to Amédée Denault, April 16, 1907.' ACAM, 780-134-907-11a.

unpopular position at the turn of the century, when the word 'democrate' might infer a socialist, whose ideology was condemned by the Church. However Denault did substitute the expression 'Démocrate Chrétien' for one that was suggested by the Archbishop of Quebec, 'Organe d'action sociale catholique et patriotique.'²⁴²

The correspondence on the issue of a sub-title for a newspaper like L'Ami du Colon, with limited circulation, was another example of how carefully the clergy monitored every word that was published. Omer Héroux's experience with the article 'Un Argument' would have enabled him to share Denault's concerns in trying to balance an opinion honestly arrived at with one that was at odds with the hierarchy of the Church.

By November 1907, L'Ami du Colon was still a weekly. Omer Héroux wrote to Denault claiming that Denault's project was great but he felt pessimistic about trying to make the weekly into 'semi-quotidien.'(sic) Héroux claimed that even with a brilliant editor, the circulation was too limited, the information too incomplete and too late in publication to attract the large readership of twenty to thirty thousand, that was necessary for success.

Héroux confided in Amédée Denault that he had already been in contact with Bourassa over the formation of a Catholic daily in Montreal. He wrote 'Et pourtant, il faudrait à Montréal un grand journal libre, de mentalité catholique! Chaque jour accroît l'urgence de cette fondation.' Omer wrote that he had hoped that there would be one in Quebec City, but that he was 'dehors du projet.' Héroux then informed Denault that Le Nationaliste may be expanded in Montreal to become a daily, under the direction of Bourassa and friends. However Héroux added that 'L'affaire n'est pas sur pied, et nous

²⁴² 'Letter from Amédée Denault to Mgr. Paul Bruchési, April 18, 1907.' ACAM, 780-034-907-11b.

n'avons pas (cru?) à propos encore, d'en parler aux autorités religieuses.²⁴³

Denault must have been discouraged by the lack of encouragement from Héroux. On top of which, he must have asked Héroux to join him because Héroux closed the letter by writing 'Merci de votre proposition et de votre confiance. Mille Regrets de ne pouvoir donner une réponse satisfaisant.'²⁴⁴

However, Mgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, archbishop of Quebec, had already made overtures to establish his Catholic daily newspaper as early as January 1907, as was previously noted.²⁴⁵ Héroux 's letter to Denault identified that it was still not a fact before November, 1907. However, the decision from the hierarchy of the Church to recruit Héroux must have been made about this time because by November 2, (1907), Héroux wrote to Père Hudon on l'Action sociale stationery asking him to collaborate with 'le journal [qui] paraîtra assez tôt.'²⁴⁶

The opportunity to be involved in l'Action sociale, came at a propitious time for Héroux. The working conditions at La Vérité must have become more and more frustrating for him. He had not only had to contend with all the pressures of producing a newspaper, that Jules-Paul Tardivel had experienced, such as limited funds, changing political climate and new technology in publishing but he also had to contend with the behind the scenes manoeuvring that was going on by the intransigent ultramontanes to replace him.

Omer Héroux's frustrations must have been compounded because he had been recently approached by other newspapers, that would have appreciated his journalistic ability.

²⁴³ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Amédée Dénault, November n.d., 1907.' AUL, copy at Fondation Lionel Groulx, no accession number.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ 'Letter from Paul Tardivel to Grenier, January 16, 1907.' op. cit., 4264-14.

²⁴⁶ 'Letter from Omer Héroux to Père Théophile Hudon, November 2 ,(no year).' ASJCF, BO-223-130.

Olivar Asselin at Le Nationaliste, Henri Bourassa for his proposed newspaper Le Devoir, and Amédée Denault for L'Ami du colon. However, he felt tied to La Vérité for two reasons, one by his commitment to Jules-Paul, who had entrusted his newspaper to him and by his marriage to Tardivel's daughter Alice.

The solution to his problem came when Mgr. Bégin responded to the need expressed by bishops all over Quebec to create a daily Catholic press that would 'faire contrepoids à ces productions malsaines et donner à [leur] peuple des lectures sérieuses, morales, propres à alimenter la piété, à développer ses connaissances.'²⁴⁷ Although the Catholic press in Quebec generally was not anti-clerical as in Europe, according to Mgr. Bégin, 'c'est la presse qui véhicule le socialisme chez les ouvriers et les idées maçonniques dans l'élite.'²⁴⁸

At the instigation of Bégin, sometime about January 15, 1907, Mgr. C.-O. Gagnon approached the owners of La Vérité, in the name of an anonymous committee to buy the newspaper as the official organ of the archbishop. At that time, La Vérité was not for sale because of the concerns of the ultramontane Doctor Couture and Père Grenier who were fearful that the ideology of the newspaper under the more liberal Catholicism of Les Messieurs du Séminaire, would be changed.²⁴⁹ On March 31, 1907, Mgr. Bégin entrusted Mgr. Paul-Eugène Roy with the responsibility of setting up a daily Catholic newspaper in Quebec City.²⁵⁰

The logistics of the problem of setting up l'Action sociale have been interpreted by

²⁴⁷ Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, dirigée par Nive Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XXe siècle, op.cit., pp.209-210.

²⁴⁸ Mgr. L.-N. Bégin, 'Lettres Pastorales,' 31 mars 1907. Cited in Hamelin and Gagnon, Histoire du catholicisme québécois, op. cit., p.211.

²⁴⁹ See letter from Paul Tardivel to Père Grenier, September 11 1906, op. cit., 4264-8.

²⁵⁰ Hamelin, Gagnon, Voisine, op.cit., p.210.

many authors, among whom are Robert Rumilly,²⁵¹ Hamelin-Gagnon²⁵² and Richard Jones.²⁵³ Paul Tardivel also recorded his interpretation of the founding of l'Action sociale.²⁵⁴ As both Paul and Omer had access to the same information, Paul's version would probably be the one with which Omer Héroux would have been most familiar.

Paul Tardivel claimed that abbé P.-E. Roy, who had been instructed by Cardinal Bégin to assemble a team to set up the Catholic daily, had chosen Doctor Jules Dorion, (1870-1939) an old classmate as director and J.-L.-K. Laflamme, a Franco-American journalist from La Tribune of Woonsocket, as editor-in chief. When the choices were made public, the reaction was that, in spite of their many talents, neither Dorion or Laflamme had the expertise to run a daily newspaper. 'Le Cardinal et l'Archévêque lancent un SOS au ciel. La réponse vint: Omer Héroux. La graine de journaliste catholique n'a pas germée. Les journalistes politiques ont tout étouffé. Seul Omer Héroux n'a pas été contaminé'.²⁵⁵

According to Paul Tardivel, Mgr.C.-O. Gagnon came to him to ask if Héroux could be spared from La Vérité. Paul answered 'Personnellement, je ne puis rien refuser à mon cardinal et à mon archévêque,' but it was up the rest of the owners, Madame Tardivel and Omer and Alice Héroux. Madame Héroux decided to let Paul and Omer make the decision.

²⁵¹ Robert Rumilly, Histoire de la province de Québec, op. cit., Vol. XIII, pp 117-120.

²⁵² Hamelin, Gagnon, op. cit., pp 209-212.

²⁵³ Richard Jones, L'idéologie de l'Action catholique, 1917-1939, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974. Héroux is not mentioned among the personalities involved in the founding of Action sociale.

²⁵⁴ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., pp.106-108.

²⁵⁵ Jean Tardivel, op. cit., p.107.

From Héroux's point of view, it would have provided an out for him, without having to betray the trust that Jules-Paul had placed in him. Another reason was the fact that the family ties with the Tardivels had been severed with the death on June 11, 1907, of his wife, Alice Tardivel. Paul recorded what Héroux answered to the proposal:

Vous me faites un grand honneur, je suis touché de la marque de confiance que me témoignent le Cardinal et Mgr. Roy. Vous savez le lien étroit qui m'attache à la famille Tardivel et à La Vérité. Un mourant m'a confié une mission, je suis devenu son fils. Paul a encore besoin de moi, permettez Mgr. que je me retire . . . je laisse Paul discuter l'affaire avec vous . . . sa décision sera la mienne. Si j'accepte ce sera à deux conditions: je devrai continuer à aider mon jeune beau-frère et l'autre ce sera celle que j'ai faite à Jules-Paul lors de mon engagement. Je ne suis pas libre. Quand j'étais à La Patrie, j'ai donné ma parole à Henri Bourassa: je serai son assistant quand il réussira à fonder son journal. Un jour, ma carrière doit se poursuivre à Montréal. Ma femme le sait et courageusement me suivra.²⁵⁶

As Paul had indicated that he could not refuse any request from his Cardinal, Mgr. Gagnon assumed that the way was cleared for Héroux to assume his new duties. Paul added that a promising career was opening up for Héroux as the editor of a great Catholic newspaper. At the same time, Paul was pleased that La Vérité was to continue as a weekly.

It is interesting to note that Paul felt free to refuse his Cardinal when the sale of La

²⁵⁶ Jean Tardivel, *op. cit.*, pp.107-108.

Vérité was the issue but was happy to comply when it involved the removal of Héroux from the scene. Paul's decision would be easy because as the earlier correspondence indicated, his role would be simplified without the presence of Héroux. Paul Tardivel continued as director of La Vérité until its demise in 1923.

Omer Héroux joined l'Action sociale, but only as a stopgap until Henri Bourassa was able to combine all the necessary elements to begin publishing Le Devoir, on January 10 1910, a daily Catholic newspaper in Montreal. Although Bourassa had mentioned to Mgr. Bruchési that Omer Héroux would become the editor-in chief, Bourassa assumed the duties as director and editor-in-chief because Olivar Asselin, who also joined the staff, refused to serve under Omer Héroux. Nineteen hundred and ten was the zenith of Omer Héroux's career. He was married for the second time to a professional musician, Bernadette Dufresne. He had built a prestigious home in Outremont, Quebec, where he could entertain his colleagues with style. But most important, his desire to work for a Catholic daily newspaper, run by the laity, had been realized²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁷ Héroux had also expressed a desire for a truly Catholic newspaper, to his confrère Joseph-G Gélinas, letter dated 'début de décembre, 1895, Archives of Trois-Rivières, C3, H41; to Mgr. Paul Bruchési, February 28, 1906, Archives de la Chancellerie, Montréal, 780-034, 906.5; to the abbé Lionel Groulx, May 16, 1906, Fondation Lionel Groulx; to Amédée Denault, May 24, and November, 1907, July 27, 1909, Archives de l'Université Laval.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the thesis was to identify how the life of Omer Héroux from 1904-1908 could have been affected by the religio-political conflict that was inherent when French-Canadian nationalism had to exist with a Roman Catholicism that incorporates supranationalism.

Long before Omer Héroux joined La Vérité he had become aware of the problems of living within the religio-political system that had evolved in Quebec. At his home in Saint-Barnabé-Nord, Omer Héroux had witnessed the ostracism of his father Louis-Dolor, because he was a Liberal at the time of Honoré Mercier. Mercier was trying to establish his Parti National in a stronghold of Conservatism. Omer Héroux had seen the paradox of a Liberal French-Canadian nationalist Honoré Mercier, who rallied the French-Canadian around the slogan, 'Cessons les luttes fratricides. Unisson-nous,' supported by the ultramontane Jesuits, who were supranational. Héroux had also witnessed how Mercier was deserted by his clerical friends even by those who benefitted by his political overtures to the settle the Jesuits' Estates Question. The political battles that took place in the riding of Saint-Maurice left Héroux with a distaste for partisan politics that lasted all his life.²⁵⁸

As Omer Héroux's father was also a liberal Catholic in the ultramontane Catholic bastion of the intransigent and even fanatic ultramontane Mgr. Louis-François Lallèche, Dolor was refused the sacraments from the local priest. Omer Héroux learned very early the price to pay for challenging the authority of the Church.

When Héroux left his paternal home which was Liberal in politics and liberal in

²⁵⁸ Nadine -Josette-Chaline, René Hardy, Jean Roy, La Normandie et le Québec vus du presbytère. Rouen: L'Université de Rouen, 1987. See pp. 141-143 for elections in the County of Saint Maurice c.1891. See p.150 for the local curé's interpretation of Mercier and the Jesuits.

Catholicism to attend first the school run by the ultramontane Frères des Écoles chrétiennes ²⁵⁹ and then the Séminaire Saint-Joseph de Trois-Rivières, he was entering institutions that reflected the Conservative and ultramontane ideology of Mgr. Lafèche. The educational system also reflected the nationalism of the Bishop of Trois-Rivières. Mgr. Lafèche's nationalism called for a return to an old conservative, traditional society. The fact that his nationalism linked the French language with the Roman Catholic religion presented a problem for the Vatican that maintains that it is above nationalism.

Héroux's stay at the Christian Brother's School took place shortly after the visit from Frère Réticius,²⁶⁰ who had reinforced the ultramontanism of his Canadian Brothers. He warned them of the dangers of liberalism, which he had experienced first hand in France.

Omer Héroux's years at Le Séminaire coincided with the time that Mgr. Lafèche's credibility in the Diocese of Trois-Rivières was being challenged. All controversies between liberal and ultramontane Catholics, that had been referred to Rome for a decision, had gone against the Bishop and in favour of liberal Catholicism. Mgr. Lafèche would have exploited any opportunity to extoll the virtues of ultramontanism and emphasized the dangers of liberalism. Héroux would have had to face another dilemma that while liberal Catholicism was not acceptable in the ultramontane Trois-Rivières Diocese, the ultramontanism of Mgr. Lafèche was no longer acceptable to Rome.

Omer Héroux's journalistic career began in 1896, at Le Trifluvien and Le Mouvement

²⁵⁹ Nive Voisine, Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada. T.I: La conquête de l'Amérique (1837-1880). Québec: Anne Sigier, 1987.

²⁶⁰ François de Lagrave, 'Le mandat tumultueux d'un visiteur provincial: le frère Réticius, f.c.c. (1880-1886)', in Nive Voisine, Jean Hamelin, Les Ultramontains Canadiens-Français. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985. Chapt. X.

catholique. Both newspapers were run by Pierre McLeod, a Conservative and ultramontane.²⁶¹ With the election of federal and provincial Liberal governments, the newspapers lost their political patronage. With the death of Mgr. Lafleche, they lost their ultramontane mentor. Héroux once more found himself associated with people whose power and prestige were on the wane, threatened by the rise of new authorities.

The invitation to come to Montreal to join Le Journal, that had been founded on December 16 1899, was opportune. However, Héroux who had left the protective atmosphere of ultramontanism in Trois-Rivières had to adapt to an environment that encompassed a broad spectrum of ideologies. Héroux also came face to face with every type of French-Canadian nationalist. The goals of the nationalists never wavered only their method of attaining them varied. The different approaches to nationalism were also compounded by the many interpretations of Roman Catholicism, from the intransigent and even fanatic ultramontane to the most liberal Catholic. Omer Héroux's move to Montreal in 1900 would have introduced him to all the combinations and permutations possible between French-Canadian nationalism and Roman Catholicism. He would have been reintroduced to the Liberal political and liberal Catholic world of his father, Dolor.

By the time that Omer Héroux joined the newspaper La Vérité in Quebec City in 1904, he was arriving at one of the remaining pockets of the intransigent ultramontanism. If the sociologist Nicole Gagnon is correct in stating that 'l'Église québécoise de 1898 est sans doute ultramontane; celle de 1910, à mon sens, ne l'est pas,'²⁶² then the ultramontanes were in transition and on the defensive. Héroux would once more be in a position of having

²⁶¹ L'Abbé Henri Vallée, ptre, Les Journaux Trifluviens de 1817-1933. Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien Public, 1933. 'Le Trifluvien,' pp.50-58.

²⁶² Guy Laperrrière, 'Les Ultramontains,' RS, Vol.XXVII, 1, 1986, p.98.

to fight for a cause, that was losing general support.

It would be difficult to define with precision what form Omer Héroux's nationalism took before he joined La Vérité in 1904. He was not a leader in any area. His contribution to French-Canadian nationalism was to support, encourage and publicize the activities of the others. Héroux's ability to remain on good terms with his fellow French-Canadian nationalists might have resulted from the fact that in the past he had become aware that no matter what side he seemed to represent, it fell prey to some circumstance that placed him on the defensive. Perhaps by not identifying with any particular approach, he would not have to defend his position in defiance of another.

Héroux's position within the Roman Catholic Church is easier to define because of his rejection of any approach to French-Canadian nationalism that incorporated the liberal concept of free, compulsory education in the hands of the laity. He advocated an elitist system of education controlled by the clergy. However, his more liberal approach to accepting others who were liberal Catholics would suggest that he was not an intransigent ultramontane.

With Héroux's move to Quebec City in 1904 to work for Jules-Paul Tardivel at La Vérité, he was returning to the ultramontane ideology of the nineteenth century. He soon became aware that even if he had left behind the struggles that existed between the currents of liberal and ultramontane Catholicism in Montreal, he was now forced to cope with a new struggle. Héroux's nationalism and Roman Catholicism were now being subjected to the nuances and tension that existed within the world of ultramontanism, itself.

Héroux was returning to a newspaper and owner, who believed that French-Canadian nationalism could only be preserved by reverting to the traditional, ordered, hierarchal and respectful society that submitted in all areas of life to the Church. Tardivel believed in the

Providential Mission of the French-Canadians to spread christianity in the New World. He also believed in using the parliamentary system to enact legislation favourable to achieving that goal. By the time Héroux joined La Vérité, Tardivel had rejected Confederation in favour of Quebec's separation from Canada. He was anti-semitic, anti-freemasons and anti-English, prepared to tolerate them only as long as no contacts were made between the races. Tardivel, like Héroux, rejected partisan politics that divided the French-Canadians. Even Tardivel was not free from the internecine struggles of the ultramontanes. After devoting his whole life to the cause of French-Canadian nationalism, Tardivel was challenged by one of his close friends, Ernest Gagnon, on the flag issue, claiming that Tardivel could not speak for French-Canada because his mother was English.²⁶³

However, there was no doubt that French-Canadian nationalism would take second place to Catholicism in Tardivel's ideology.²⁶⁴ He was an intransigent, even fanatic, ultramontane. He would obey the directives of the Vatican without question. As the Vatican in this period had declared that English should be the vehicle of Catholicism in North America, it must have presented a dilemma for Tardivel.²⁶⁵

Omer Héroux's ideologies of nationalism and Roman Catholicism would also have come under the influence of Tardivel's old friends, intransigent ultramontanes of the nineteenth century. Men like Père Joseph Grenier, Père Pierre Zacharie Lacasse, the abbé Georges Dugas, Doctor Joseph-Alphonse Couture. Letters between Grenier, Dugas, Couture and Paul Tardivel left no doubt that even intransigent ultramontanes were not free from constant scrutiny for 'les mauvaises idées.'

²⁶³ Jean Tardivel, *op. cit.*, p.55.

²⁶⁴ Réal Bélanger, 'Le Ultramontanisme de Jules-Paul Tardivel, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁵ Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada, *op. cit.*

After Tardivel died, the ideology of the other members of the Tardivel family would be an influencing factor in the life of Omer Héroux. Charles-Joseph Magnan, married to Isabella daughter of Jules-Paul, was an important and respected member of the family. He had replaced Jules-Paul as the head of the family in the eyes of Madame Tardivel. Magnan advanced the cause of French-Canadian nationalism by improving the educational standard in the province of Quebec. Because he was accepted both by the laity and the clergy, he bridged the gap between the ultramontane concept of control by the clergy over education and the concept of the government assuming the responsibility for funding without the clergy losing control. He, like Omer Héroux, was one of the new breed of lay persons who answered the call of Leo XIII to approach their profession as a priestly duty. Even though Magnan had been accepted by the clergy, he was still carefully scrutinized by the intransigent ultramontanes, such as Père Grenier. Even though Mon Premier Livre had been authorized by the clergy when it was first published, both he and Omer Héroux, who had reviewed it favourably, were chasticized for condoning its liberal content.

The correspondence between the ultramontanes showed that neither Omer Héroux nor Magnan would ever be allowed to live down their past association with the liberals. In the case of Omer Héroux, it was his liberal father Dolor, in the case of Magnan, he had started his career as the editor of La Paix, an organ of the Liberal Mercier.

While Magnan considered himself to be a liberal Catholic,²⁶⁶ the ultramontanes were criticising him for being too liberal. At the same time, liberal Catholics, like Godfroy Langlois and Olivar Asselin were not sympathetic to Magnan's concept of liberal Catholicism, as they viewed Magnan as 'le grand pontife de l'ignorance' et "l'apôtre de

²⁶⁶ 'Letter from Grenier to Paul Tardivel, April 23, 1907.' op. cit.

'obscurantisme."²⁶⁷

To a much lesser degree, Omer Héroux would have come in contact with Joseph Bégin, who was married to Albertine Tardivel. There was no problem in determining where he stood either as a nationalist or a Roman Catholic. Bégin used his newspaper La Croix, to violently attack any element that he perceived to be a threat to French-Canadian nationalism. These elements included the Jews, the Protestants and the freemasons. Bégin's attacks against the English were condemned by Mgr. Bruchési, when the Irish Catholics were included in the tirade.²⁶⁸ Omer Héroux would be forced to recognize that the position of the Irish Catholics, who used English, was defended by the hierarchy of the Church. It would once more make him aware that the Vatican was supporting English as the vehicle of Catholicism in North America. This presented a threat to the concept that it was the French-Canadians who had the mandate to spread Catholicism across North America.

Mgr. Bruchési may have been concerned about the extreme positions taken by Joseph Bégin because Bégin was an intransigent ultramontane and fanatic. However, the correspondence revealed that even ultramontanes like Père Grenier did not support Bégin. It would appear that it was impossible to achieve a level of credibility and trust within the ultramontane group. One could be accused of being too liberal or too ultramontane if opinions that were expressed did not conform to the group that still existed at La Vérité.

However, it was Paul Tardivel, who played the major role in Héroux's life while he was at La Vérité from 1904-1908. While Paul and Omer were both working for the cause of French-Canadian nationalism, through the usual nationalist organizations, through colonization and through better control of the financial institutions, Paul was also a cultural

²⁶⁷ Rumilly, Histoire de la Province, op.cit., Vol. XVI, p.15, Vol.XIII,p.12.

²⁶⁸ Correspondence at ACAM, op. cit.

and social French-Canadian nationalist. He supported penal reform, set up camps for children and took an interest in setting up Caisses populaires to serve the need of small depositors. Paul and Omer's mutual interests should have created a strong bond between them, however their relationship was strained because Paul wanted to take over the direction of La Vérité after the death of his father. Paul was an ultramontane Catholic but whether he was an intransigent ultramontane is not clear. He was prepared to publish the biography of his father by the intransigent Mgr. Justin Fevre against the wishes of Héroux and the more liberal Messieurs de Laval. Paul was also ready to point out the liberal tendencies of Héroux. However, both these acts could be interpreted as a method of discrediting Héroux, rather than establishing Paul's ideological position within ultramontanism.

Having identified the Nationalism and Roman Catholicism of the people who were in a position to influence Omer Héroux, it is now important to identify what effect, if any, these influences had on Omer Héroux, whose French-Canadian nationalism had already been molded by circumstances that had taken place before he joined La Vérité. He was familiar with every brand of French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec. Not only did he witness the rise of the phenomenon but he was in a position after 1896 to report on it. He knew the architects of the movement, such as Honoré Mercier, Mgr. Louis-François Laffèche, Joseph Royal, Israël Tarte, J.P. Tardivel, Aegidius Fauteux, Olivar Asselin, Amédée Denault, Armand Lavergne, Abbé Lionel Groulx, Henri Bourassa and others.

He also took an active part in the national associations that already existed like La Société -Saint-Jean-Baptiste and la Caisse nationale d'Économie. He played a major role in the ones that were founded after 1900, like the A.C.J.C, la Ligue Nationaliste, la Société de Colonisation de Montréal, L'Association des Journalistes canadiens-français and la Société du Parler Français and the formation of les Caisses populaires.

Héroux was in a position to recognize that the term 'French-Canadian nationalism' meant different things to different people, involving a great diversity of opinion. There were nationalists in language, who fought not only to uphold the legal right to use French in Canada but also to protect it against anglicisms that could pollute it. There were economic nationalists who wanted French-Canadians to have more control over financial institutions. There were social, cultural, and political nationalists, as well as the traditional nationalists, who longed for a return to past values.

When Omer Héroux joined La Vérité, his approach to French-Canadian nationalism is best identified as being one of a reflection of all other approaches to nationalism, except the educational one that was suggested by La Ligue d'Enseignement. While at La Vérité, under the influence of Magnan, he would have been able to adapt a little to the new reforms proposed by the French-Canadian nationalists that recognized some changes were inevitable. Magnan's concept of the State supporting education, while the clergy maintained control, would have allowed Héroux to moderate his position.

At La Vérité, Omer Héroux would have become more conscious of the necessity of preserving the French language not only from the English-Protestants but also from the Irish-Catholics. He would have been aware that the hierarchy of the Church, by supporting the Irish Catholics, was supporting the English language. Mgr. Bruchési condemned Bégin for making public the controversies that existed between Irish Catholics and French-Canadian Catholics over language. Héroux had also received a letter of condemnation from the apostolic delegate because Héroux had published an article by Jean Sauvageau, 'Un Argument,' that exposed the threat of the Irish Catholics to the Providential Mission of the French-Canadians. Omer Héroux was made aware of the religio-political conflict that could arise when the national doctrine of the vigorous defence of French-Canadian rights was

challenged by the ultramontane supremacy of the Church over State.

Héroux's approach to French-Canadian nationalism was not drastically changed by the influences at La Vérité, nor was his Roman Catholicism. Before 1904, Omer Héroux had already encountered the two currents of ideas, liberal and ultramontane Catholicism, that flowed through Roman Catholicism in the first decade of the twentieth century. His four years at La Vérité from 1904-1908 would have exposed him to one of the remaining pockets of intransigent ultramontanism in Quebec. Although Héroux would have had to be ultramontane for Jules-Paul to entrust his newspaper to him, he was beginning to appreciate that even ultramontanism had its nuances. His rejection by the intransigent ultramontane element of La Vérité would have indicated to him that at least by some, he was regarded as a liberal ultramontane, (modéré) This fact would be reinforced when Mgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin invited Héroux to join l'Action sociale, that 'prendrait ses directives à l'Archévêché, dont elle serait l'organe officieux, non pas officiel.'²⁶⁹ The Quebec hierarchy, due to the influence of Cardinal Elzéar Taschereau, was always considered more liberal than the Montreal hierarchy under Mgr. Ignace Bourget, or the Trois-Rivières hierarchy under Mgr. Louis-François Lafèche. Although these clerics had died before 1900, their influence continued to be felt for sometime.

Omer Héroux was well aware of the seeds of religio-political conflict that could result when French-Canadian nationalism and Roman Catholicism were forced to co-exist. He had witnessed the lonely demise of Honoré Mercier, who had attempted to rally the French-Canadians around the cry 'Cessons nos luttes fratricides;' he was at Le Séminaire when Mgr Lafèche, who had put forth the concept of a French-Canadian nation, was passed over for promotion by the Church, to whom he had dedicated his life; at La Vérité, he saw how

²⁶⁹ Rumilly, Histoire de la province de Québec, op.cit. Vol XIII. p.119.

Tardivel, who proposed a separate nation for French Canada, was being deserted not only by his lifelong friends but by the Jesuits, who had sponsored him.

Héroux on a personal level was chastised by the ultramontane hierarchy of the Church for positions that he had taken on issues that primarily were supporting French-Canadian nationalism - issues like supporting Magnan's desire for more French in the school books, or the Irish-French-Canadian controversy over the right to fulfill the Providential Mission in America.

By studying the ideological positions taken by Omer Héroux as a French-Canadian nationalist and as a Roman Catholic during the period 1904-1908 it would be safe to say that he not only was able to establish a balance within each ideology but because of his non-confrontational personality, he was able to act as a bridge between them. Not only was Omer Héroux a bridge between French-Canadian nationalism and Roman Catholicism but he also provided the liason within each group, when differences occurred.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY

- 1851 Birth of Jules -Paul Tardivel, September 2, Covington, Kentucky.
- 1875 November 16, marriage of Louis Daular (Dolor) Héroux and Adélaïde Nault in the paroisse de Saint-Maurice de Champlain.
- 1876 September 18, birth of Joseph Louis Omer Héroux in Saint-Maurice de Champlain.
- 1878 Death of Pic IX. (1846-1878)
- 1879 Mgr. George Conroy, apostolic delegate, sent to Canada to settle internecine battles between liberal and ultramontane Catholics.
Ferry Laws in France, excluding religious orders from teaching.
Birth of Paul- Ernest Tardivel, September 13 to Jules-Paul Tardivel and Henriette Brunelle in the paroisse de Notre-Dame de Québec.
- 1880 Visit from France of Frère Réticius, a Frère des Écoles chrétiennes and militant ultramontane.
- 1881 La Vérité is founded by Jules-Paul Tardivel.
- 1883 Don Henri Smeulders, apostolic commissioner, arrives to settle the division of the Diocese of Trois-Rivières and the University Question between Montreal and Quebec.
Omer Héroux enrolls with the Frères des Écoles chrétiennes at Yamachiche.
- 1885 Pope Leo XIII's refusal to allow Albert de Mun to found a Catholic Party in France.
Hanging of Riel, November 16.
First disappointment for Mgr. Louis-François Lafèche, - the division of the Diocese of Trois-Rivières.
- 1886 Albert de Mun establishes the Association catholique de jeunesse française. (A.C.J.F.).
- 1887 Honoré Mercier, elected Premier of Quebec.
Omer Héroux enrolls at Le Séminaire de Saint Joseph at Trois Rivières.
- 1889 Rome issues Jam dudum, modifying relations between University Laval and the branch in Montreal, favouring the latter.
Fall of Ludwig von Bismarck, end of Kulturkampf.
Le Journal de Québec stops publication after forty-eight years.
- 1891 Encyclical Rerum novarum (on social questions).

- Visit of the Comte de Paris and his son the duc d'Orléans to Montreal, Trois-Rivières (where Omer Héroux saw him) and Quebec City.
 Death of John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada.
 Death of Calixa Lavallé, author of the Canadian national anthem and music teacher of Bernadette Dufresne, (1873-1923) the second wife of Omer Héroux.
Le Canadien folds. (Hector Langevin director since 1872).
 L.O. Taillon is elected Premier of Quebec.
- 1894 Death of Honoré Mercier, in Quebec.
- 1895 Founding of l'École littéraire de Montréal, including names like E. Nelligan, Charles Gill, Albert Lozeau, (who was close friend of Omer Héroux), A. Ferland, J. Charbonneau.
- 1896 Bull Apostolicae curae declaring Anglican orders invalid.
 Henri Bourassa is elected deputy to Ottawa from Labelle.
 Wilfrid Laurier becomes Prime Minister of Canada.
 Death of Mgr. Charles-Edouard Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal.
 Omer Héroux joins the staff of the ultramontane newspapers Le Trifluvien and Le Mouvement catholique in Trois-Rivières.
- 1897 Mgr Merry del Val, apostolic delegate, comes to regulate internecine battles in Canada.
 Encyclical Affari Vos to regulate the Laurier-Greenway Manitoba School Question in such a way as not to jeopardize the good relations between Church and State.
 Dreyfus Affair in France.
 Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
 Félix-Gabriel Marchand, is elected leader of the Liberal Party May 11, in Quebec.
- 1898 Spanish-American War.
 Formation of Comité de l'Action Française in France under the direction of Charles Maurras, model for Omer Héroux.
 Mgr. Paul Bruchési becomes Archbishop of Montreal.
 Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau dies.
 Mgr. Louis-François Lafleche dies.
- 1899 Leo XIII issues Encyclical Annum sacrum, (devotion to the Sacred Heart).
 Diomède Falconio is named first permanent apostolic delegate to Canada.
 Boer War begins.
 Marc Sangnier (1873-1950) and Le Sillon, a French movement of laymen supporting the Church begins.
 Founding of Revue de l'Action Française in Paris.
Les Débats, Liberal, nationalistic and anglophobic, is founded by Paul de Martigny and Louvigny de Montigny in Montreal.
 Henri Bourassa resigns as Liberal and is reelected as an independent.
- 1900 Second electoral victory for Laurier.
 Félix-Gabriel Marchand, Premier of Quebec, dies.

- S.N.Parent (Liberal) named Premier of Quebec.
Henri Bourassa and Jules-Paul Tardivel go to Winnipeg to celebrate Saint Jean-Baptiste holiday.
Omer Héroux joins the staff of the Le Journal in Montreal, a Conservative newspaper under the aegis of Jean Dumont, Joseph Royal, Arthur Beauchesne and the entrepreneur, Louis Forget.
- 1901 Queen Victoria dies January 22, is succeeded by Edward VII.
In France: Law of Associations against the Congregationists is passed.
Omer Héroux has first major interview with Henri Bourassa for Amédée Denault's and J.A.Chicoyne's Le Pionnier, of Sherbrooke and Montreal, June 16, 'EN PRESENCE D'UN HOMME.'
- 1902 Bishop Donato Sbarretti is named apostolic delegate to Canada to replace Falconio.
End of the Boer War.
Fourth Colonial Conference in London.
Founding of La Société du Parler français au Canada in Quebec City, with its publication Le Bulletin du Parler français.
Omer Héroux joins the staff of La Patrie, directed by Israël Tarte, Conservative, Liberal, Conservative.
Omer Héroux collaborates with Le Rappel, founded on September 14 by Aegidius Fauteux with the logo, 'Le Canada aux Canadiens.' Héroux uses the pseudonym 'Jacques Blonville.' Other pseudonyms include Prosper Bellehumeur, Jean Beauchemin, Humanitarius, Rodolphe Ladouceur, Prosper Lapatrie, Charles Lefranc, J.Mondou, Alex Masson and Jean Richard.
Collaborates with Le Pionnier.
Collaborates with La Revue canadienne.
Jules-Paul Tardivel went to Europe with daughter Marie-Anne Clara Alice Tardivel, future wife of Omer Héroux, October 26, 1904.
Andrew Carnegie-philanthropist proposed library grants for Montreal- ultimately refused. (Omer Héroux fought against public libraries).
Formation of La Ligue de l'Enseignement with Olivier Faucher, Godfroy Langlois, Arthur Beauchesne. (Omer Héroux fought against the Movement).
- 1903 Léo XIII dies July 26. Election of Pius X, August 3.
Abbé Alfred Loisy (1857-1940) was put on the Index for his rewriting of historical data on the Bible.
Les Débats is censured by Mgr. Bruchési, ceases publication October 4.
Founding of La Ligue Nationaliste with Olivar Asselin as president and Omer Héroux, as secretary and Armand La Vergne as Quebec City animator.
Founding of l'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française, (A.C.J.C.) under the aegis of the Jesuits. Omer Héroux is vice-president of the Central Committee. (June 25).
Founding of Le Canada, a Liberal newspaper by Godfroy Langlois (April 4).
Founding of l'Association des journalistes canadiens-français. Omer Héroux is first president and liaison with La Revue Canadienne. (June 3)
Paul Tardivel marries Gratia Pageau July 7 and starts to work in Chicoutimi for Le Défense, 'un journal de combat.'

- Omer Héroux collaborates with La Nouvelle France. 'A propos de l'Oblat de M.Joris-Karl Huysmans,'(July).
- 1904 Combes Law in France passes prohibiting religious orders from teaching.
Third electoral victory for Laurier.
Omer Héroux is director of La Société de Colonisation de Montréal.
La Ligue Nationaliste founds the newspaper Le Nationaliste, March 6.
Le Rappel ceases publication June 19.
Omer Héroux joins La Vérité in Quebec City. (October)
Omer Héroux marries Alice Tardivel October 26.
- 1905 Pope Pius X issues Encyclical Il firmo proposito, first official charter of Catholic action.
Alberta and Saskatchewan enters Confederation.
Lomer Gouin becomes Premier of Quebec.
Paul Tardivel joins La Vérité as publicity agent.
Le Journal in Montreal ceases publication March 3
Jules-Paul Tardivel dies April 24.
Daughter, Lucie,(1905-1922) is born to Omer Héroux and Alice Tardivel.
A.C.J.C. breaks with Ligue Nationaliste.
- 1906 Encyclical Vehementer nos, against separation of Church and State.
Lord's Day Act.
- 1907 Pope Pius X issues Decree Lamentabili sane exitu and the encyclical Pascendi condemning Le Modernism.
Bourassa resigns his Ottawa seat to run provincially in Bellechasse where he is defeated.
Omer Héroux joins the staff of l'Action sociale in Quebec City with Doctor Jules Dorion, J.L.K. Laflamme, under the aegis of Mgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, archbishop of Quebec.
- 1908 Pope Pius X issues Decree Ne Temere proclaiming that only Roman Catholic marriages are valid.
International Eucharistic Congress in London, where Omer Héroux attends on his way to the A.C.J.F. meeting in France.
Abbé Loisy is excommunicated.
First edition of l'Action Française in Paris, monarchist, anti-semitic newspaper, distributed by young activists, Les Camelots du Roi.
Fourth victory for Laurier.
Tricentenary of Quebec City.
Bourassa enters provincial politics.
Death of Omer Héroux's first wife Alice (Tardivel), June 11, at the birth of their second child, Marie.
- 1909 L'Almanach de l'Action Française appears in France.
Omer Héroux collaborates with Revue franco-américaine, August 1, 'En terre franco-américaine.'

- 1910 Le Sillon is condemned by the Vatican.
Laurier Naval Act.
Edward VII dies.
Bourassa's delivers famous speech in Notre Dame Cathedral during the International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal defending the French language as a vehicle of Catholicism in America.
Founding of l'Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario, in which Omer Héroux plays a major role as a propagandist and a constant supporter.
Founding of Le Devoir, by Henri Bourassa with Omer Héroux one of the first editors.
Héroux marries second wife Bernadette Dufresne, (1873 - 1923) professional musician and daughter of Ephrem-R Dufresne, ultramontane journalist and co-founder of Le Journal de Trois- Rivières. They move into a prestigious home at 229 McDougall Avenue in Outremont, Quebec.
- 1911 Formation of l'École sociale populaire in Montreal. The logo is 'Pour l'Église et pour le peuple.'
- 1912 Congrès du Parler Français at Quebec City. Omer Héroux is president of the Comité d'études de Montréal.
- 1913 Founding of Ligue des Droits du français by Père Joseph-Papin Archambault, Omer Héroux, Doctor Joseph Gauvreau and others. Purpose is to promote the use of French in all signs, catalogues, advertising and business. Omer Héroux becomes disciple of l'Action Française of France.
- 1914 Pope Pius X privately condemns Action Française in France.
World War I begins.
Birth of son Jean, to Omer Héroux and Bernadette Dufresne.
- 1915 Formation of l'Almanach de la langue française in Quebec.
Regulation XVII is adopted in Ontario, regulating the use of French. Omer Héroux fights against the law with all his resources. During the struggle, he meets Marie-Louise Rocque, (1888-1976), who became his third wife after the death of Bernadette Dufresne, 1923.
- 1917 Formation of l'Action Française in Montreal, which publishes l'Action Française.
- 1920 Ligue d'Action Française evolves from la Ligue des Droits du français in Quebec.
Beginning of Semaines Sociales in Quebec.
- 1922 Death of Omer Héroux's father-in-law Ephrem Dufresne, June 24.
Death of daughter Lucie of tuberculosis of the bone, October 18.
- 1921 Bourassa breaks with 'l'Action Française,' undermining 'le réveil nationaliste,' and demoralising the membership.
- 1923 Death of second wife Bernadette Dufresne of tuberculosis, April 18.

- 1924 In July, Omer Héroux marries third wife Marie-Louise Rocque of Orleans, Ontario.
- 1926 L'Action Française and Charles Maurras in France are condemned publically by Pope Pius XI.
- 1928 Vatican refuses religious rites to members of Action Français in France.
Pope condemns the Sentinelle of Woonsocket, Rhode Island and the editor Elphrège Daignault.
Creation of Opus Dei by Mgr. Josemaria Escrivà de Balaguer, a secret society of lay persons, who approach their profession as a ministry and answer to God and to Rome.
L'Action Française in Quebec changes name to Action Canadienne-française.
Abbé Lionel Groulx resigns from Action Canadienne-française at the same time stabilizing his teaching position at the University of Montreal.
- 1929 Last edition of l'Action Française in Quebec.
- 1932 First time Omer Héroux is actually acknowledged as editor-in-chief of Le Devoir.
- 1934 The A.C.J.C. evolved into Jeunes Canada, Jeunesse Ouvrière catholique, (J.O.C.), Jeunesse étudiante catholique, (J.E.C.), Jeunesse indépendante, (J.I.C.) and Jeunesse Agricole catholique, (J.A.C.). Omer Héroux acts as publicist for the group.
- 1937 Omer Héroux receives an Honorary degree from University Laval in recognition of forty years of journalism.
- 1946 L'Oeuvres des Tracts issues special edition on Omer Héroux, celebrating fifty years of journalism.
- 1947 Omer Héroux receives the Order of Merit from the Association scolaire franco-Ontarienne.
- 1948 Omer Héroux is honoured by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Montreal.
- 1957 Omer Héroux is honoured by l'Université Saint-Joseph de Memramcook, Moncton, with an honorary Ph.D.
Omer Héroux retires from Le Devoir, but continued to write under the heading 'Souvenirs,' from his home.
- 1960 Omer Héroux receives the Grand Prix du journalisme canadien-français at the Congrès de la fédération montréalaise de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste.
- 1963 Death of Omer Héroux, May 3.