

développée et la plus sûre dans le détail sur la période. Ferland déclare avoir traité l'histoire du Canada « comme Canadien et comme catholique » (p. XI). L'histoire de Ferland et les écrits de Faillon corrigent les vues de Garneau et instaurent une tradition solide d'historiographie marquée au coin de la religion. Il faut relire des pages comme son tableau de la colonie en 1663 (tome I, p. 501-502) pour constater que l'écrivain, dans son style sobre, ne manque pas de tirer les « belles leçons » qui se dégagent de l'histoire de « la petite population française que Dieu avait conduite aux bords du Saint-Laurent ». Toutefois l'essentiel du travail de Ferland est présenté sous les traits d'une narration précise, détaillée et un peu sèche.

Pierre SAVARD,
Institut d'histoire, Université Laval.

* * *

LIONEL GROULX. — *Mes Mémoires*, Montréal, Fides, tome I, 1970, 437 pp.

Abbé Lionel Groulx was French Canada's second and undoubtedly last "national" historian. Expansion of professional training in Quebec's universities, new techniques employed in historical research, and increased use of varied archival materials suggest that his career in French Canada will never be matched again by any one individual. For half a century, Groulx occupied the premier rank among French Canada's nationalists and historians. The publication of his memoirs is a significant event to students of both, but will appeal also to anyone who is interested in personality and in Canada. Groulx's own statement of his career will aid any future inquiry into his life, letters, and thought, which even before his death had become the subject of study and debate. Before too much is said, and in this volume we are left with little doubt concerning the matter, Groulx was above all a priest and educator. It is against this background that his nationalism (patriotism might be a better word) and historical writing must be viewed.

The contents of this volume were written in 1954, thirteen years before the author's death, when the completed work was left to his niece, M^{me} Juliette Lalonde-Rémillard, to publish, or to sell for publication according to her inclination. The two conditions set by Groulx apparently have been met: first, that his niece consult with "discreet, well-informed individuals" concerning the advisability of publication and, second, that the *Mémoires* be published *in toto* as the author wrote them. The present volume, which contains two of eight books, covers the first forty-two years of Groulx's life to 1920. Its contents deal with his childhood, intellectual formation, involvement in education, and the beginning of his public career. The work is well indexed and M^{me} Rémillard has provided brief notices at the bottom of each page of all the individuals mentioned in the text.

When Groulx was born near Vaudreuil, on 13 January 1878, he entered French Canada on the eve of an era of rural stability and self-sufficiency where order and structure seemed secure, but also at the dawn of a new period marked by movement and change in which French Canadians increasingly were drawn into North America's capitalist economy as producers and consumers. Ignace Bourget had only recently resigned from his Montreal diocese and Louis-François Lafêche was still bishop of Trois-Rivières; but the same year that Groulx was born Leo XIII acceded to his pontificate. Henri Bourassa was ten years old. Wilfrid Laurier had just clarified his position on political liberalism and Sir John A. Macdonald was shortly to announce his National Policy. All of these developments were far removed from Lionel, the son of poor but hardy and ambitious habitant stock; yet, in one way or another Groulx was affected by the changes these developments represented.

The contrast between the material poverty and the happy memories of Groulx's childhood provide material for any student of human personality. Six weeks after Lionel's birth, his father died of smallpox. His mother, left with four young children, remarried within a year of her husband's death and life took up its accustomed pace, with an ambitious, land-acquisitive, progressive farmer as the new head of the house. During subsequent years she bore her second husband ten children. The remembrance of his family and the virtues instilled by the example of his parents' conduct left a lasting mark on Groulx.

Nos parents nous enseignaient la loi du travail, la solidarité familiale. Nous étions élevés dans le culte du courage, de l'endurance quotidienne silencieuse. [...] Nos parents étaient de nerfs solides. Je ne les ai jamais vus abattus, découragés devant l'épreuve, la tâche trop lourde.

This moral and physical courage in the face of odds, sustained by a simple yet living faith, remained for Groulx the basis of the eternal values, which he wished to see inculcated and preserved in French Canadian society. Little wonder that throughout his life Groulx despised politicians as weak nerveless men of compromise. To his later regret, this unwillingness to become obligated to a politician once prevented him from applying for a provincial grant to study at Oxford.

Groulx liked school and was an excellent student. At age six, he entered the local academy at Vaudreuil run by the Clerks of Saint Viateur where he encountered books and began to develop his love of reading. Fortunately his step-father, though almost illiterate, had a deep respect for education and both parents recognized the increased social status associated with having a son in the priesthood. In 1891, Groulx entered the seminary at Sainte-Thérèse where he received a classical education. Considering his background, Groulx's rise in public life well illustrates the role of the Roman Catholic Church in French Canada in providing careers open to talent.

His years at Sainte-Thérèse were among the most formative in his life. There he encountered the seventeenth-century French classics, the writings of Joseph de Maistre and Louis Veuillot and, through the latter, the works of the French Catholic thinkers of the 1830's: Charles de Montalembert, Frédéric Ozanam, Garcia Moreno, Pierre-Antoine Berryer and Henri Perreyve. It was not the intellectual content of their works but their spirituality and life styles that attracted Groulx. Encountering little beyond the intellectual impoverishment of his own teachers, poor text-books, and pedagogical incompetence, which reduced most of his education to a sterile experience, Groulx clove to the Catholic masters of half a century earlier. At first lonely, though not timid, Groulx swiftly went to the head of his class and remained there. He was a small, unathletic young man who during his senior years was caught up increasingly with questions of philosophy and whether to enter the Church.

Groulx spent little time at the Grand Seminary at Montreal after donning the soutane in September 1899. Unable to withstand the rigorous discipline of the Sulpicians and mortification that was practised at the time, he was forced to leave four months after his entry. Moreover, Groulx did not like his teachers, "Messieurs" from France who were ignorant of and uninterested in the Canadian milieu in which they lived and taught. Groulx's bishop made a place for him in the diocesan secretariat at Valleyfield, and soon afterwards set him to teaching students in the newly-built college in the town. Two years later, he returned to Montreal for a few months but was called back, ordained (1903), and sent to the college to fill a vacant position on the staff. With the exception of a three-year interval of study in Europe, Groulx remained at Valleyfield until 1915, teaching Literature, Belles Lettres, and Rhetoric.

These were exciting years in French Canada, where a new self-awareness was emerging from the cultural and intellectual stagnation of the nineties. New prosperity, Henri Bourassa, *la ligue nationaliste*, and the Montreal school of writers were all part of the atmosphere in which Groulx began to teach. While at Valleyfield, and reflecting this new development, Groulx made his first effort to assemble a small text on Canadian history, which was not taught in the colleges, for his students. He devoted himself, as a priest-teacher, to directing this growing self-awareness among his students into a Christian mold. His students' self-consciousness was another influence on Groulx's life for he devoted himself to French Canada's elite of tomorrow. Basing himself on models taken from the mid-nineteenth century, Groulx desired to inculcate in his students a spirituality and desire to involve themselves as Christian apostles in their secular careers. His activities in Catholic Action and the *Association catholique de la Jeunesse canadienne* reflected this desire to involve the laity more fully in the apostolic mission of the Church. But here Groulx encountered opposition, for his activism ran counter to the views of his bishop,

Médard Émard, who stood for everything that Groulx disliked in the hierarchy and the Church of his day.

Favourable to political liberalism, Émard had been among the first of Quebec's bishops to accept Laurier's "sunny ways". More important in Groulx's circumstances, Bishop Émard had no desire to see the laity involved in the Church at all. He despised Veillot, had no use for the catholic press or Jules-Paul Tardivel, the "hibou des Plaines d'Abraham", as he called him, and went so far as to object to such lay-church organizations as the League of the Sacred Heart and Saint Vincent de Paul Society. Groulx's concept of his role as a teacher made his task difficult. Clashes with his bishop mounted as time went on, especially following his return from Europe when, without relaxing his teaching responsibilities, Groulx took on an increasing amount of writing and public speaking.

Groulx always was conscious of his pedagogical deficiencies as well as the general low level of competence in French Canadian classical colleges. At one time he dreamed that an *École normale supérieure* might be established in Quebec in order to prepare better the youth of the "nation" for their role as leaders. Blessed by providential good fortune in the generosity of his friends, he obtained sufficient funds and his bishop's permission to undertake three years of study abroad. At Rome, he obtained his doctorate in philosophy and theology from the Dominicans, but he lamented the general poor quality of teaching and was inspired to go elsewhere. The culmination of the modernist crisis and extreme anti-clericalism in France prevented him from studying in Paris. Instead he went to Fribourg, Switzerland, a bastion of conservatism and orthodoxy, "well immunized against the modernist heresy". It was irreligion in France rather than the teaching of obscure racial theories which directed him towards Fribourg where he encountered Church scholars of the quality that he was searching for. Unfortunately, Groulx's studies in modern philosophy were cut short by a serious illness and he returned home in 1909 before completing his degree requirements.

Groulx's contacts with France were unique. Along with his love of literature they probably account for his view that the epitome of French civilization was achieved in the seventeenth century. Groulx has left an account of three months spent during the summer of 1908 in Brittany as chaplain to an elderly aristocrat, former admiral, and senator for Finistère. There Groulx encountered the only France that he held in any regard, traditionally hierarchical, profoundly catholic, and solidly monarchical. But Groulx was no monarchist. A North American to the core, he viewed French Canada's middle-class as the source of the "nation's" vitality and dynamism. But the old admiral had known Veillot, met Ozanam, and heard Lacordaire and Montalembert. Groulx was regaled with stories of his heroes and came away with a view that godless, modern France was not French at all.

Following his return and growing involvement in French Canada's crises, Groulx encountered resistance among his colleagues at Valleyfield. Memories may have been painful. Groulx does not reveal much concerning the issues involved, but by 1915 he had decided to leave the college and, if possible, the diocese. Fortunately, he had friends in high places who undertook to rescue him. Before the year was out, Groulx was transferred to Montreal under Archbishop Bruchési who was much more sympathetic to Groulx's views, and engaged in reorganizing the University of Montreal to include among other new elements the teaching of Canadian history.

The second book of the *Mémoires*, about forty per cent of the first volume, covers a much shorter period than the first. Beginning with Groulx's arrival in Montreal, it concludes five years later on the eve of his assuming direction of *L'Action française*. During this period, Groulx began to emerge as an important public figure in French Canada. As an historian, Groulx ought to be conscious of the perspective of the past, which time provides to permit new evaluations, but one is not aware of this in the *Mémoires*. Much that can be found elsewhere in Groulx's works is repeated. One encounters lists of reviews in praise of historical works and polemics written during these years, and is forced to assume that their author considered that no re-assessment of content was necessary. Recollections of events, which have little significance, are included often with no explanation of why they are present. Groulx tells us why he chose the Union and Confederation periods as subjects for his early historical investigations, but little about his growing commitment to French Canadian nationalism and his own brand of patriotism.

Eighteen months after arriving in Montreal, Groulx moved to the presbytery in the parish of Mile End where he remained for ten years. There he threw himself into the nationalist movement, gradually becoming its leading light. Groulx admired Henri Bourassa very much and during these years obtained most of his ideas from him. But beyond recording the exchange of a few letters with *Le Devoir* and its editor, Omer Héroux, Groulx gives no notice of a single personal encounter with Bourassa. Also, he does not discuss the decline of Bourassa's pan-Canadianism or the growing favour which his own pessimistic view of Confederation found in French Canada. Although he was attached to the *École des Hautes Études commerciales* during this period and claimed that the economic inferiority of French Canadians obsessed him, Groulx does not reflect upon the relation in his own thinking between his desire to improve the economic, and the spiritual and moral qualities of French Canadian life. For Groulx, there appears to be no inconsistencies in means. The *Mémoires* contain no reflections after the heat of battle. In short, this most detailed portion of his memoirs is disappointing. It contains unnecessary baggage; a reprinted obituary of a dear friend, sketchy memories of Laurier and activities connected with the Ottawa Separate Schools question, snippets

from his writings of the period, and records of summer vacations. The chronological order of the first book is not continued in the second. Events which occurred later during the twenties and a description of a year spent in Paris in 1921 and 1922 are described. The inclusion of this material suggests that Groulx wanted to clear away the trivia before discussing his activities as director of *L'Action française* in the next volume.

The *Mémoires* are unsatisfying in several respects. Much is simply a reiteration of positions fifty years old and can be found elsewhere. Chiefly, one is disappointed in not finding here more frankness concerning his views and those who opposed him. Also, one searches in vain for a sense of humour concerning himself. Was he envied at school for his intellectual superiority and the favours shown to him by his teachers at Sainte-Thérèse? Whatever physiological or psychological crisis of adolescence that he may have experienced is only alluded to in references to his writing of poetry and love of historical romances while yet a youth. Any difficulties appear to have been overcome through the influence of his spiritual heroes and his love of philosophy. A certain disingenuousness concerning his life at Valleyfield makes the reader wonder about Groulx's relations with his colleagues. Were they, as Groulx suggests, only the toadys of Bishop Émard and the superiors at the college? Even in the later period covered by this volume, those individuals beyond Groulx, especially his critics, appear two-dimensional. Nevertheless, the *Mémoires* are worth reading. Any future inquiry into Groulx's ideas will have to resolve the apparent paradox between the influence of the social activism and ideas of French liberal and conservative Catholics, respectively, on his intellectual formation rather than chase after Gobineau's racism, or Charles Maurras' agnostic positivism. Groulx's *Mémoires* reveal little that is not already known about his ideas, attitudes and values. They do, however, assist the student in placing emphasis where it is due; above all, Groulx was a priest and apparently a romantic idealist. Groulx's deep Christian faith and moral sense affected all of his writing and profoundly influenced French Canadian nationalism. His disregard for the material world appears obvious. Throughout this first volume, it is made clear that in Groulx's view the social and economic betterment of French Canada could only follow the moral regeneration of individuals in the collectivity. Groulx's *Mémoires* reveal him in his old age unchanged concerning his views shaped during the period covered by this volume. One really wonders if anything untoward will appear in volume two.

James PRITCHARD,
Queen's University.

* * *