

Quality Journalism:
How Montreal's Quality Dailies Presented the News During the First World War

by

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Abstract

A careful examination of reporting during the First World War by Montreal's two most respected daily newspapers shows that these newspapers articulated divergent messages about the war and domestic events. Each newspaper had its own political affiliations, and even though they were not always apparent, they were always present, influencing the ways in which each paper approached the war. Each paper's editorial staff had previously tailored their output to what they perceived to be the tastes and interests of their middle class and elite readerships. This thesis argues that during the First World War, *Le Devoir* refused to be limited by the traditional impassive reporting style of Montreal's managerial class newspapers, but the Montreal *Gazette* did not. Where *Le Devoir* became more defiant and aggressive in its defence of Francophone rights, the *Gazette* managed to appear more detached even as it reported the same events. This divergence is important because it represents a larger pattern of wartime change taking place as quality dailies gambled their reputations on the ideals of their owners and editors. Each newspaper carefully constructed their attempts to influence public opinion, but where *Le Devoir* was responding to what it considered a crisis, the *Gazette*'s interests and alliances mandated loyalty and a calmer tone. Even though the media are now more concentrated in fewer hands and known for this sort of bias, it was also clearly apparent nearly 100 years ago.

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Introduction

“But down in the angle at Montreal, on the island about which the two rivers join, there is little of this sense of new and endless space. Two old races and religions meet here and live their separate legends, side by side. If this sprawling half-continent has a heart, here it is. Its pulse throbs out along the rivers and railroads; slow, reluctant and rarely simple, a double-beat, self-moved reciprocation.”

*Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes.*¹

This thesis seeks to answer the question: how did quality dailies, the most respected and reliable level of daily newspapers, react to the pressures of the First World War in Montreal? Montreal was Canada's most populous city, one of the most important cities for shipping and trade, and one of the most divided cities along both socioeconomic and ethnic lines. The First World War has become vital in the narrative of Canadian history. It is often considered to be an event that acted as a proving ground for the Dominion of Canada, and some have gone as far as arguing that Canada earned its nationhood on Vimy Ridge. This thesis, however, is not about the battlefields of Europe. It's about the war at home. More specifically, it is about the war going on in daily newspapers, which were the main medium for information available to the general public. Newspapers were the eyes and ears for Canadians, and the most reliable source of news was the quality daily. This reputation left quality dailies with an immense responsibility to their readers to report the news with integrity, but despite this responsibility many quality dailies strayed from their task. This responsibility was not to maintain a completely objective newspaper, but rather to limit the over encroachment of ideology and private interests to prevent the distortion of events. Quality dailies were under pressure to conform to public patriotism, and private interests just like every other news source, which meant that the newspaper's reputation could stand or fall based on the character of its owners and editors. The paths that they chose

¹ Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (Don Mills, Ontario: William Collins Sons and Co. Canada Ltd, 1945), 2.

were impacted by their political affiliations, which were exacerbated by the war. To fully explore these paths this thesis breaks down the strategies and tactics that were adopted by each newspaper in their coverage of various issues and events to show how their style was modified. The pressures faced by these stewards of the printed word are very similar to the ones faced by the media today, and by understanding the methods used by newspapers to craft their responses to events in times of turmoil like the First World War we can better understand the pressures that shape the news in every medium tasked with informing the public today. These newspapers did not exist in a vacuum, and thus it is important to first examine the environment in which they were based.

The two newspapers examined here were both founded in Montreal. The city's proximity to the St. Lawrence River ensured its position as a strategic port, and it featured a strong Anglophone financial presence in the majority Francophone area. The masses of unskilled French Canadians and Irish immigrants made Montreal into one of the cheapest sources of reliable labour in North America. The city was an ideal location for entrepreneurs looking to operate factories close to major shipping routes, while harnessing Quebec's rivers. Montreal led urban industrialization in the country, and contended with the congestion and squalor it brought. Low pay and insufficient municipal efforts to improve public health combined to create terrible living conditions for the working class.² This separation between the primarily French Canadian and Irish Catholic workers, and the primarily English Canadian Protestant owners, was a constant source of tension, and a frequent reminder of the barriers to upward mobility that

² Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 26.

affected Montreal, Quebec, and Canada in the early twentieth century.³ The economic divisions were not absolute. There were also French Canadian business owners, yet the presence and influence of French Canadian business owners, politicians, and clerical leaders could not compete with the sheer financial strength of English speaking interests in the city.⁴

As early as the 1760s, the Anglophone presence had made English the language of business in the city, meaning Francophones had to learn English to participate.⁵ The Anglophone dominance of business in Montreal was one of the issues that concerned Canadian nationalist, politician, and journalist Henri Bourassa, a devoted Catholic and a champion of the rights of French Canadians. He was wary of the rapid industrialization of Quebec, which threatened to pull people from the land that his ancestors had worked for generations. Bourassa reluctantly accepted that industrialization was inevitable, but wished to maintain as much of French Canada's cultural history as possible.⁶ He accepted the Anglophone presence, but wished for a more equitable relationship between Francophones and Anglophones on all levels of Canadian society.⁷

Bourassa, along with fellow French Canadian journalists Olivar Asselin, Jules Fournier, Omer Héroux, and lawyer Armand Lavergne represented Canadian nationalism in pre-First World War Quebec. As part of the Canadian nationalist movement that began in 1900, they also believed that Canada must do what was in the best interests of Canadians internationally, while protecting a separate French Canadian culture centered on language, religion, and history at

³ Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf: the Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec (1900-1914)* (Ottawa: Les Éditions De L'Université D'Ottawa, 1972), 23.

⁴ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 23.

⁵ William H. Atherton, *Montreal, 1535-1914 Vol. II* (Montreal: S.J. Clarke, 1914; Our Roots, 2006), 45, accessed September 23, 2013, <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/page.aspx?id=4004624>.

⁶ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, VII.

⁷ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians: 1760-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), 635.

home. Therefore, this group believed in Canadian nationalism through autonomy, as well as defending French Canadian cultural *nationalisme*.⁸ This ideology ran counter to imperialism, the prevailing ideology in areas dominated by British antecedents. Imperialists believed that Canada, as part of the British Empire, must serve Britain without question, putting the interests of the Empire as a whole ahead of those of Canada. Imperialism also represented the superiority of Anglo-Saxons above all other ethnicities, leaving little room for French Canadians or other minority groups in Canada.⁹ D'Alton McCarthy, a Conservative Member of Parliament from Ontario, summed up this ideology by explaining that "a Canadian nation could only develop if it cleansed itself of French culture." He went on to express the superiority of Canada as an English Protestant nation by denouncing French Canadians as "a bastard nationality."¹⁰ A subtler form of this divide could also be found in Montreal's newspapers.

One of the most important voices for Bourassa's nationalist ideas was his own daily newspaper, *Le Devoir*. *Le Devoir*, and its Anglophone counterpart, the Conservative-aligned Montreal *Gazette*, were Montreal's 'quality dailies'. Quality dailies existed alongside 'popular dailies', which often contained more sensational news geared towards the general public and enjoyed higher circulation rates. The quality dailies, in contrast, were written for the middle and managerial class, and elite audiences. They featured a calmer tone, more complex language, and higher prices. The calmer tone of quality dailies was apparent in their aversion to combative and emotional discourse, and a reputation for rational discussion. Montreal's quality dailies are the subject of this study.

⁸ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 2-3.

⁹ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 6.

¹⁰ O.D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.129. Quoted in Levitt, 5.

Bourassa established and became editor of *Le Devoir* in 1910.¹¹ As a French Canadian Catholic, he believed it was his moral obligation to protect his people, and also his homeland. He aimed to do this through *Le Devoir*. *Le Devoir* was not the only source of nationalist thought or opinion in Montreal. In 1904, Olivar Asselin began a weekly paper called *The Nationaliste*, which aimed to compel the federal government to adopt its version of Canadian nationalism. *The Nationaliste* was the product of the Nationalist League, which was established the previous year. The League's president and founder was also Asselin, with fellow nationalist Héroux as the secretary. Bourassa maintained a close relationship with the league in its first year of operation, but was shunned by them when he ran as a Liberal in the 1904 federal election.¹² Similarly, Bourassa had no connection with *L'Action Française*, which was a monthly nationalist magazine created in 1917.¹³ Bourassa had a deep devotion to the Catholic Church, but believed the nationalist movement should avoid clerical influence, which set him in opposition to the views of *L'Action*.¹⁴ After the war, Bourassa publicly denounced *L'Action*, rejecting Mgr. Pâquet's arguments for separatism, religious control of government, and its increasingly anti-Semitic and anti-industrial rhetoric.¹⁵ He further accused them of being "fomenters of race hatred," and of losing touch with the values of Catholicism.¹⁶

¹¹ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 137.

¹² Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 20.

¹³ Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 9-12.

¹⁴ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 24.

¹⁵ Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française*, 9. Réal Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 18, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 24, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourassa_henri_18E.html.

¹⁶ Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Bourassa was also opposed to women's suffrage, which stemmed from his traditional Catholic beliefs regarding family. It was one area where he was far from progressive.

Nationalism in Quebec took many forms, but *Le Devoir* was used to inform the public of subjects its editors deemed important to safeguarding the nation. Bourassa ran *Le Devoir* with the help of his assistant editors and political allies, Georges Pelletier and Omer Héroux, who he also trusted with occasional temporary control of the newspaper.¹⁷ These journalists, along with Lavergne, Asselin, and Jules Fournier, represented the experienced core of *Le Devoir*, though Asselin and Fournier were limited in their role in *Le Devoir*. Asselin and Fournier only joined *Le Devoir* after *Le Nationaliste* went bankrupt from repeated libel suits, and their time at *Le Devoir* ended after less than a year.¹⁸ Even though these two figures were not part of *Le Devoir* during the war years, they remained important to the nationalist movement in Quebec. The remaining group sought to leverage Bourassa's mass appeal in a daily newspaper, and thus carve out a mainstream place for the nationalist voice.¹⁹ For Bourassa and his team, this included denouncing government legislation that entangled Canadian men and resources in wars overseas. They had no desire to become involved in foreign conflicts, and would do everything in their power to avoid the unnecessary loss of Canadian lives. It was this attitude that led Bourassa to question the leadership of Liberal Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1910, after Laurier proposed creating a Canadian Navy. Seeing a Canadian Navy as a potential tool of British imperialists, Bourassa instead supported Laurier's Conservative rival Robert Borden, who won the next federal election in 1911, and was, ironically, far more imperialistic and militaristic than his predecessor. Regardless, Borden and Laurier each enthusiastically supported the declaration

¹⁷ Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

¹⁸ Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon, "Asselin, Olivar," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 16, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 12, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/asselin_olivar_16E.html.

¹⁹ Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

of the First World War in 1914 that brought with it a tide of imperialistic jingoism that swept the country.²⁰

The Montreal *Gazette*, on the other hand, was a Conservative-aligned paper with family ties to the Conservative Party. The *Gazette* began as a French language paper in 1778, shifted to a bilingual format in 1785, and became an Anglophone newspaper in 1826.²¹ This allowed the Montreal *Gazette* to become the city's source of English language news to accommodate the growing Anglophone presence. In 1870, Richard and Thomas White, from a middle class English speaking Montreal family, purchased the *Gazette* with the help of family and business loans.²² Their father was a leatherworker in Montreal, which Thomas also apprenticed as before moving on to the printing press, journalism, and later, politics.²³ The purchase of the *Gazette* was made possible partially through a loan from shipping and railway magnate Hugh Allan. In exchange for this loan, Thomas White, the *Gazette*'s editor, frequently worked to improve Allan's reputation through flattering biographical articles.²⁴ For nearly a century following the purchase, the Whites and their relatives owned and operated the *Gazette*. After Thomas died in 1888, his son Robert Smeaton White – also a Conservative Member of Parliament – took control of the newspaper.²⁵ The Whites enjoyed keeping the *Gazette* in the family and passed editorship

²⁰ Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 137.

²¹ Glen Allen, "Following...The Followers," in *Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story*, ed. Walter Stewart (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1980), 74.

²² Andrew Ross and Andrew Smith, ed., *Canada's Entrepreneurs: From the Fur Trade to the 1929 Stock Market Crash* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 321-322.

²³ P. B. Waite, "White, Thomas (1830-88)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 22, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/white_thomas_1830_88_11E.html.

²⁴ Ross and Smith, ed., *Canada's Entrepreneurs*, 321-322.

²⁵ "Senator Richard Smeaton White, President of the Gazette, Dies," Montreal: *The Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1936, accessed: March 22, 2014, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1946&dat=19361218&id=0r0tAAAIBAJ&sjid=oZgFAAAAIBAJ&pg=4623,2224352>.

of the newspaper between family members, including Richard Smeaton White, cousin of Robert Smeaton White and son of Richard White. Robert S. White served as editor until 1917, when Richard took over as editor-in-chief. That same year Prime Minister Borden appointed Richard S. White Senator for the Division of Alma and Inkerman, Quebec, further strengthening ties between the *Gazette* and the Conservative Party.²⁶

During the First World War, the popular dailies of Montreal supplemented their usual sensational journalism with rabid enthusiasm for the war.²⁷ This enthusiasm was born out of the passionate support for the British Empire that swept across the country, and affected the majority of newspapers in one way or another. Much of this came in the form of intense focus on the war, and all things war-related that dominated every major daily in the country.²⁸ This was the result of editors' tailoring their style to their beliefs about the war. This type of tailoring was present in all newspapers, such as the Montreal *Gazette*'s calmer conservative reporting style and *Le Devoir*'s increasing antipathy towards the war effort. In this way, these newspapers represent the different paths taken by newspapers during the war. On each path, however, newspapers crafted their content based on each paper's ideology and investments. This self-serving bias represents the greatest and most frequent factor in shaping their reporting style. It is a problem that only becomes more relevant with the growth of contemporary media giants. The *Gazette* and *Le Devoir* were chosen for this study because they were the only two quality dailies in Montreal.

²⁶ "Senator Richard Smeaton White, President of the Gazette, Dies," Montreal: *The Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1936. Identifying the editor of *The Gazette* is as close to putting a name to individual journalists as possible since the *Gazette* did not publish any names of journalists for their articles, nor did they publish editorials. The only time a journalist's name appeared was when the article came from an external news source.

²⁷ Jeffery A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 4.

²⁸ Robert S. Prince, "The Mythology of War: How Canadian Daily Periodicals Depicted the Great War," (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 527.

The two newspapers were accessed locally through microfilm. The articles that appear here were chosen because they reflect the changes in journalistic practice that were taking place during the First World War.

The history of Montreal is rich, but there has been little nuanced study of its journalistic history. During the First World War, *Le Devoir* chose to move away from the calmer reporting style favoured by most quality dailies, but the Montreal *Gazette* tone remained unaffected by the political and social pressures of the war. This divergence represents a larger pattern of change in quality dailies affected by the war as a result of the opinions of owners and editors. Historian Paul Rutherford has argued that articles in newspapers reflected the opinions of the public, and that “the press was a social authority working on behalf of consensus.”²⁹ Yet, during the First World War this pattern did not seem to hold, as owners and editors increasingly let their personal motivations dictate the reporting style in their newspapers.

This study examines First World War quality dailies in Montreal, and thus enters into a dialogue with previous work in this field. Robert S. Prince’s PhD dissertation “The Mythology of War: How the Canadian Daily Newspaper Depicted the Great War,”³⁰ is one of the most complete studies of First World War Canadian newspapers. Prince is concerned with the “mythology of war,” meaning the language used to create propaganda to describe the war and carry on pre-war myths. He does this by examining a great variety of newspapers and analysing their content over the course of the war.³¹ Not all of the newspapers he examines mythologized war, and some that did seemed to struggle with that fiction attempting to balance government pressure with their own consciences. For example, the Toronto *Globe* initially condemned war as

²⁹ Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 230.

³⁰ Prince, “The Mythology of War.”

³¹ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 85.

horror, but later began to treat it as a mystical or honourable experience.³² It is these shifts in tone and reactions to environmental and government pressure that are of greatest use for this study. Where Prince consulted a wide sample of newspapers, this study will use a much smaller one to uncover patterns of wartime change in individual newspapers, and explore some other details he did not cover.

Paul Rutherford's work furthers this picture and helps to better define the difference between quality journalism and popular journalism. He links the high-toned Canadian quality dailies to their stylistic origins in papers like the London *Times*.³³ Rutherford's central claim rests on the nature of newspapers as a force of modernization, while simultaneously supporting Victorian ideals. He explains that only the press "commanded the power to transmit facts, ideas, and fantasy to so much of the citizenry."³⁴ In that way the press was entrusted with a great responsibility to inform the public about politics, life, and morality. Though Rutherford's area of focus ends before the twentieth century, it is possible to test and compare his ideas about the social and political role of newspapers to newspapers in the war years. During the war, newspaper editors took it upon themselves to educate their readership, subsequently transforming newspapers into a podium for their 'just cause'.

Another quality of the Victorian press was partisanship, though it was downplayed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century period by the higher quality dailies that saw expansion and advertising revenues as a greater priority. Both Wilfred Kesterton and Mary Vipond have explored this shift away from overt political bias.³⁵ Vipond shows that in the early

³² Prince, "The Mythology of War," 123.

³³ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 57.

³⁴ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 232.

³⁵ W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967). Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1992).

twentieth century, some newspaper owners, “faced with vicious competition, had begun to [break] free of traditional partisan ties.”³⁶ These changes also resulted in the creation, or change in emphasis of quality dailies like the Anglophone Montreal *Gazette* and Francophone *Le Devoir*, which aimed to provide a product for the educated managerial class. Vipond and Kesterton do not specifically focus on *Le Devoir* or the Montreal *Gazette*, but this study intends to make use of their findings to better understand the partisan aspects of these newspapers.

No study of Montreal would be complete without discussing the socio-economic conditions in the city. Montreal was one of the worst urban environments for the working poor with the highest infant mortality rate in North America at the turn of the century.³⁷ This study makes use of Terry Copp’s *The Anatomy of Poverty*, Herbert Brown Ames’ *The City Below the Hill*, and Bettina Bradbury’s *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* to help establish the magnitude of the divisions that existed in the city, and why the editors of quality dailies wrote for the managerial class rather than the working class.³⁸ By establishing that the working class – defined here by occupation and level of income³⁹ – was rarely able to achieve a level of financial stability above subsistence, it becomes clear why quality dailies, which were increasingly reliant on advertising revenues, paid them little

³⁶ Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 10-11.

³⁷ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 26.

³⁸ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*. Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: University of Oxford Press, 1993). Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, “Introduction” in *Negotiating Identities in 19th- and 20th-Century Montreal* ed. Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2005).

³⁹ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 30. Copp’s use of the Statistics Canada definition of bare subsistence living as 70 percent or more of total income going to food, shelter, and clothing is used here to define the working poor.

attention.⁴⁰ This prioritization reappears in the elite voice that helped to define the tone of quality dailies and create a greater separation between them and the popular press.

Moving beyond newspaper history, the greatest conflict – apart from economic divisions in Montreal – can be boiled down to ethnic tension and language rights. These tensions frequently appeared in Montreal’s newspapers, especially the nationalist *Le Devoir*. *Le Devoir*’s origins and motivations are well outlined in Joseph Levitt’s *Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf*, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff’s *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties*, and Réal Bélanger’s biographical article on Bourassa in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.⁴¹ Together these sources flesh out the man, his fellow nationalists, and the movement that was so critical to the establishment of *Le Devoir*. Bourassa was one of the most influential and recognized leaders of the French Canadian nationalist movement in Quebec, and it cannot be understood without attention to his complex life and work.

Jeffery Keshen, a Canadian war historian, identifies broader trends in the outlook and mood of newspapers in Canada, and his work is helpful for understanding how Montreal fits into the bigger picture. His work moves beyond the immediate impact of war to look at the more specific history of propaganda and censorship at home. For example, he argues that “writing anti-war pamphlets was akin to lunacy amidst the tide of jubilation” of going to war, a tide which emerged out of “an imperialist ethos born of Canada’s British heritage.”⁴² This thesis takes this idea a step further by explaining the strategies quality dailies like the Montreal *Gazette* employed to maintain their integrity without succumbing to the tide. Keshen also provides a relatively detailed overview of the Dominion’s press. While his investigation does not focus exclusively on

⁴⁰ Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 18.

⁴¹ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*. Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française*. Bélanger, “Bourassa, Henri,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

⁴² Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 4.

the situation in Montreal, it is surprisingly useful, particularly when it shows the ‘jingoistic’ conditions in the rest of the country. The clash between the war’s opponents and proponents turned Montreal, along with other Canadian cities, into a powder keg.⁴³ This perspective is invaluable in establishing how intense environmental pressures were on the quality dailies.

The war also represented a victory for the “brash elements of modernization,” which agrarian workers, especially those in Quebec, distrusted.⁴⁴ Robert Rutherford argues that rural inhabitants frequently became dissenters against the war. Even though Montreal itself was an urban environment, the majority of Quebecers still lived rurally, and thus their discontent affected the overall mood in the province. This dissatisfaction was compounded by the feelings of persecution felt by French Canadians during wartime. These feelings even predated the conflict, with the introduction of Military Ordinance Regulation 156 in June 1914, which banned religious symbols in military parades, and continued, with the assignment of French Canadian soldiers to Anglophone regiments. Tensions were further exacerbated by the prominence of sectarian Protestant Orangemen in government.⁴⁵ Working class Francophones in Montreal shared the concerns of their rural friends and families, contributing to the mistrust that fuelled the anti-conscription riots in 1918. Art also imitated life. The profound ethnic and religious divisions that pervaded Canada during the First World War are further illuminated in Hugh MacLennan’s fictional work *Two Solitudes*. The novel is set primarily in Montreal and rural Quebec, and dramatizes the conflicts between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians that MacLennan observed in the period. First published in 1945, it is considered to be an honest representation of

⁴³ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 125.

⁴⁴ Robert Allen Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada’s Great War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 2.

⁴⁵ Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 12, 68.

the feelings of the First World War period. To give some sense of the issues discussed here, each chapter is prefaced with a brief relevant quotation from the novel.

The analytical framework discussed above will be useful in understanding the contrasts between Anglophones and Francophones, and the working and managerial classes of Montreal. Through the newspapers, editors reacted to pressures of the wartime environment, and displayed their inclinations, as well as their sense of what the public needed to hear. The theme of passion versus impassivity in the language of quality dailies is one that runs through most of the chapters here. To examine the division between the two dailies, different aspects of this opposition will be discussed. Chapter One examines the newspapers themselves, arguing that editors of the quality dailies wrote for the managerial class because of their value to advertisers, and greater social influence. It also argues that the emotive style of *Le Devoir* stood out most prominently, by examining the roles of emotion, tradition, and controversy in *Le Devoir's* wartime persona. Moreover, these factors were not found in the *Montreal Gazette*, despite the emotional nature of the war. Chapter Two turns to the newspapers' coverage of ethnic strife, a major source of controversy in Montreal, especially during the First World War. The prejudice that led to ethnic conflict was a highly charged topic, and thus is essential to understanding how reporting styles changed in these two dailies during the war. Montreal was made up of a majority Francophone and a minority Anglophone population, but it was the treatment of the Francophone minority in Ontario that inspired the greatest tension. Ontario was pursuing an aggressive policy of assimilation against French speaking people within its borders in an attempt to eliminate French

as a spoken language in the province.⁴⁶ This perceived ethnic persecution was a source of outrage and controversy. Despite this, the *Gazette* chose to down play it.

Chapter Two also examines the newspapers' coverage of the war and the federal government, along with the dishonesty, graft, and jingoism so frequently associated with the wartime administration. It was here that the two papers maintained their greatest difference from one another, but also from the majority of the Canadian press. Where the majority was fanatically supportive of Canada's war effort, *Le Devoir* abhorred it, and the *Gazette* remained only moderately supportive.⁴⁷ This chapter also explores the most emotionally loaded and explosive issue of the war: conscription. As recruiting numbers continued to dwindle, fear of conscription mounted among all those who rejected compulsory military service. This group included farmers, nationalists, and pacifists, some of whom were promised exemptions. These promises, however, were short lived, and as casualties mounted, exemptions were quickly cancelled.⁴⁸ In response to these conditions, Montreal's quality dailies reacted in markedly different ways, and used different methods to disguise their goals through their reporting styles. *Le Devoir's* reporting style was so emotive that it was later blamed for the Easter Riots of 1918, while the *Gazette*, by comparison, appeared unaffected.

⁴⁶ Béatrice Richard, "Henri Bourassa and Conscription: Traitor or Saviour?" *Canadian Military Journal* 7 no. 4 (2007): 76.

⁴⁷ Prince, "The Mythology of War," 526-528

⁴⁸ J. L. Granatstein and J. Mackay Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 90.

Chapter One

Quality Dailies, Audiences, and Context

“He saw chimneys spilling black smoke over the fields, the village cluttered with new, raw cheap houses and cheap people imported for labour. The row of freshly-painted cottages where the English managers lived like lords of creation would be set apart from the rest of the village. A second conquest! First the English took over the government of your own country. Then they used you for cheap labour in their factories.”

*Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes.*⁴⁹

During the early twentieth century, Montreal was two cities. One city was composed of the elites, the captains of industry, and the larger managerial class. The other city was made up of the working class, who toiled with their hands and struggled to survive on starvation wages.⁵⁰ Class divided everything, including newspapers. Montreal’s two ‘quality dailies’, the francophone *Devoir*, and the anglophone *Gazette*, served the managerial class. The number of readers of quality dailies was smaller than the readership of popular dailies, but these newspapers earned additional revenues through luxury advertising. Upscale advertisers were eager to reach audiences who could afford their products, and were willing to pay higher advertising rates.⁵¹ Even though it was possible for readers in the working class to subscribe to quality dailies, the editors of *Le Devoir* and the *Gazette* did not seek them because the working class were not part of their preferred business model. Understanding for whom the editors wrote will help us understand why they changed their reporting styles during the First World War. Quality dailies – domestically and internationally – had a reputation for appearing emotionally detached to appeal to their elite audiences, yet the war disrupted this pattern. *Le Devoir* could not continue to abide

⁴⁹ Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (Don Mills, Ontario: William Collins Sons and Co. Canada Ltd, 1945), 44.

⁵⁰ Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: University of Oxford Press, 1993), 93.

⁵¹ Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 57.

by the normative standard of quality dailies while remaining nationalist. In Montreal, jingoism, ethnic conflict, and the threat of conscription for military service combined to create an emotional environment. The public pressure to support the war effort, combined with strong opinions about the war, changed the reporting style of respected newspapers like the *Toronto Globe*, the *London Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, and *Le Devoir*. The *Montreal Gazette*, however, like *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The New York Times*, did not noticeably change its reporting style. The owners and editors of these papers attempted to maintain the traditions of their pre-war quality dailies, yet each had their own motivations for sidestepping the emotional atmosphere of the war that consumed so many newspapers.⁵² Understanding the changes that took place in these newspapers starts with understanding their voice and their audiences, and understanding these aspects requires a discussion of socio-economic class.

Defining class is one of the most difficult aspects of any historical investigation. Class is relative to the society in which the classes interact. Income, assets, jobs, and family resources all play a part in considering who falls into each category.⁵³ The categories themselves also obscure more subtle social distinctions. Defining class through occupation allows education to be factored in, since most white-collar jobs required a higher level of formal education than blue-collar jobs.⁵⁴ Working class people in Montreal were those who performed manual labour for hourly wages. This included day labourers, trades people, construction workers, the service industry (non-management), and the lower levels of transportation and trade. According to data

⁵² Jeffery A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 4.

⁵³ "Class," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Ed. William A. Darity, Jr. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008. 561-565. *Gale Virtual Reference Library*. Web. 28 Mar. 2014, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX3045300351&v=2.1&u=univmanitoba&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=d027f986c18d8a9961c310c7fa98bbbf>

⁵⁴ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 56.

collected by economists Alan and David Green, based on government censuses, the working class would comprise over eighty percent of the urban population of all the major cities in Canada between 1911 and 1921.⁵⁵ The remaining population of Montreal fell into the middle and managerial classes, and the elites. These were the white-collar employees, clerks, accountants, engineers, financial managers, upper level government employees, service managers, entrepreneurs, and executives and represented the leaders of Montreal.

As the largest city in British North America, Montreal suffered from the problem of urban squalor more than most.⁵⁶ Between 1899 and 1901, Montreal had the highest infant mortality rate of any city in North America. This was largely the result of unreliable water, milk, and inadequate vaccination levels for children against smallpox and diphtheria for working class families.⁵⁷ A study done by Terry Copp based on reasonably accurate cost of living estimates suggests that the vast majority of Montreal's working class would today be classified as "poor." Copp's estimate is based on the Statistics Canada definition of poor; where more than seventy percent of total family income goes towards the most basic level of food, clothing, and shelter.⁵⁸ Working class families usually tried to find work for every man, woman, and child. Women and children were paid considerably less than men, but the additional money often meant the

⁵⁵ Alan G. Green and David A. Green, "Canada's Wage Structure in the First half of the Twentieth Century (with comparisons to the United States and Great Britain)" (unpublished manuscript, February 2008), Portable Document Format file, 40-47, accessed January 27, 2013, <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/dgreen/documents/waghis.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 14.

⁵⁷ Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 26.

⁵⁸ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 30-34. After consulting various sources, and surveys Copp estimates that the most accurate poverty line would be a total family income of roughly \$952 a year. The average male income for a labourer was \$405 and year, and the average female made \$190 a year, with children earning even less. These numbers were further limited by heavy seasonal unemployment common in Montreal during this this period.

difference to a family's survival.⁵⁹ There was no government-funded social welfare system, no safety net for families in need when illness struck, or inconsistent work dried up.⁶⁰ To make matters worse, the high volume of desperately working poor drove down the average daily wage. These low wages managed to attract new bottom-feeding enterprises to the Montreal area, but there were always more workers than available work.⁶¹ Despite attempts to unionize by groups like the Knights of Labour, the supply of desperately poor French Canadians and Irish immigrants allowed employers like the Grand Trunk rail yard to quickly replace dissatisfied workers.⁶² The only place people could turn were church-run charities, but their ability to help was limited.⁶³ Thus, despite twelve-hour days, sixty-hour weeks, and starvation wages, the working class continued to fuel Montreal's industries without interruption.⁶⁴ This Dickensian state of affairs left an effectively impenetrable barrier between the working and managerial classes.

The First World War brought Montreal higher levels of employment, but an unchanged or worse standard of living for the working class. During the First World War, many war-related jobs were created in munitions factories that were quickly established in the city to take advantage of the conditions entrepreneurs had been capitalizing on for decades. Unfortunately, the surge in employment was accompanied by a surge in inflation. Even the higher wages in these new jobs could not compete with rising prices. Twenty percent wage increases for common labour in factories from 1915-1918 were neutralized by cost of living increases of nearly forty

⁵⁹ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 32-35.

⁶⁰ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 14

⁶¹ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 32.

⁶² Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 27.

⁶³ Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, "Introduction" in *Negotiating Identities in 19th and 20th-Century Montreal* ed. Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 11.

⁶⁴ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 37-40.

percent during the same period.⁶⁵ More reliable levels of employment helped to mitigate the disparity between level of income and cost of living, since non-war industries commonly laid off many workers during slow periods, but families were no better off than before the war.⁶⁶

The middle class did not face the same struggles as the working class. Even entry-level white-collar workers had financial stability rarely possible for manual labourers.⁶⁷ White-collar workers were salaried employees, and not threatened by constant layoffs faced by the working class. This financial security meant the difference between entire families seeking work, and fathers as sole providers for families.⁶⁸ The wage difference can be attributed to the possession of education among white-collar workers. Since the majority of the population had little – if any – education, those who were educated were less easily replaced. Evidence suggests that all ethnic groups were represented among the working class, but French speakers dominated that group. French Canadians were also under represented among the middle class occupations, a situation partly caused by the prevalence of British born ‘skilled’ immigrants. The dominance of English as a language of business may have also been a factor.⁶⁹

Montreal’s managerial class made up less than one third of the overall population, yet that minority was the primary target audience of the quality dailies.⁷⁰ The quality dailies were

⁶⁵ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 34-35.

⁶⁶ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 29.

⁶⁷ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 36. The average yearly wage for basic male clerical workers was \$1,200 a year; foremen averaged \$1,563, while managers earned \$2,640. Therefore even the lowest level of white-collar workers earned approximately sixty-six percent more than their working class counterpart. This is before taking into account the lay-offs frequent for working class jobs.

⁶⁸ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 36.

⁶⁹ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 43.

⁷⁰ Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 9. At least two-thirds of Montreal’s population was considered working class. Thus the remaining third comprised the managerial class, as well as others not considered ‘working class’. This included the elites, but also those who were retired, or not working.

willing to sacrifice circulation in order to reach wealthier, and potentially more influential readers. Both *Le Devoir* and the *Montreal Gazette* had an interest in influencing the wealthy and powerful of Montreal to gain a greater influence in society. *Le Devoir* was established in 1910 by Henri Bourassa to give a daily voice to the nationalist movement.⁷¹ Bourassa edited the paper along with assistant editors and fellow nationalists Omer Héroux and Georges Pelletier.⁷² Similarly, the *Gazette's* editorial staff was populated largely by the Whites and their relatives, who maintained strong ties with the Conservative party of Canada.⁷³ The White family contained several elected Conservative Members of Parliament including Thomas White, the former editor of the *Gazette*, and father to wartime editor, and another Conservative Member of Parliament, Robert Smeaton White.⁷⁴ This gave each owner and editor direct control of their quality daily, allowing them to prioritize the stories that appeared in their newspapers, and how those stories were covered.

By targeting the managerial class, quality dailies could maintain high revenues despite comparatively low readership figures. Paul Rutherford refers to this strategy as going 'up-market'. The process of winning over a sophisticated audience involved providing a more extensive collection of the latest news, "high toned comment, and a wealth of special features."⁷⁵ Naturally, these improvements – such as a leased wire connection from the *New York Times* and their own correspondents in London and Paris – represented a considerable cost to newspapers

⁷¹ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 137.

⁷² Réal Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 18, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 24, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourassa_henri_18E.html.

⁷³ Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997), 138.

⁷⁴ "Senator Richard Smeaton White, President of the *Gazette*, Dies," Montreal: *The Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1936.

⁷⁵ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 57.

like the Montreal *Gazette*.⁷⁶ To offset these costs, quality dailies sold for about three times the price of their competitors in the popular press, a factor that would have further discouraged potential working class readers.⁷⁷

Targeting a managerial class audience allowed quality dailies to market themselves more effectively to selected advertisers. This advantage was showcased to advertisers with simple claims like, “The readers of the *Gazette* have more than average purchasing power. The results to its advertisers prove this.”⁷⁸ *Le Devoir*’s advertisements presented a similar and yet more frank explanation, “Advertising, to be productive, must reach and impress people who can purchase the article advertised. *Le Devoir* has a larger percentage of readers who...have...money to buy all kinds of goods of quality and luxury.”⁷⁹ This strategy allowed quality dailies to demand higher fees from advertisers than their circulation rates would otherwise have warranted.⁸⁰ Thus, the recruitment and maintenance of a readership with more disposable income was more important to quality dailies than overall high circulation rates, since by the early twentieth century revenues from circulation accounted for less than advertising revenue.⁸¹

The ‘up-market’ strategy, however, did not mean that advertising space in quality dailies was reserved exclusively for luxury items. Several items regularly advertised in The Montreal *Gazette* and *Le Devoir* were inexpensive and could have been purchased by most of the general public. These items included Wrigley’s Spearmint, and Doublemint chewing gum, Triscuit

⁷⁶ “The Canadian Newspaper Directory,” *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications*, 12th ed. (Montreal: A. McKim Ltd., 1919), 6-7, accessed January 25, 2013, <http://archive.org/details/mckimdirector1919montuoft>. These two excerpts are from *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications* where the two newspapers – and many other publications – advertised themselves to advertisers.

⁷⁷ “The Canadian Newspaper Directory,” 6-7.

⁷⁸ “The Canadian Newspaper Directory,” 6-7.

⁷⁹ “The Canadian Newspaper Directory,” 70.

⁸⁰ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 57.

⁸¹ Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1992), 18.

shredded whole-wheat wafers, and Molson's India Pale Ale.⁸² Nevertheless, these products made up a minority of advertisements that appeared in Montreal's quality newspapers. The majority of advertisements were for upper class fashion shops like Fashion-Craft, Holt, Renfrew & Co., Chas Desjardins & Co. Ltd., and Goodwins, and for expensive alcohol, furniture, automobiles, and electricity.⁸³ Indeed, the vast majority of the advertisements in Montreal's quality dailies during the war years were aimed at the managerial class, yet even the more mundane items could be presented in a genteel way. For example, an advertisement for Triscuit displayed their crackers on top of a delicate plate with gilt edging and a floral design. The image was topped off with an inviting ornate-handled soft cheese knife next to the wafers. This dainty and upper class scene has many similarities with a Wrigley's advertisement from *Le Devoir*. The Wrigley's Spearmint mascot has its elbows locked with two pretty young ladies adorned in the latest fashionable dresses and hats. It appears that the ladies are in high spirits and ready to go out on the town. A noticeable exception to this practice was Molson's India Pale Ale, yet this advertisement also displayed strong hints of being aimed at the managerial class in its text. It alerts its potential customers that Dominion Day is approaching, so they should stock up for the sake of their guests at their 'country home'. Even their slogan "The Ale Your Great-Grandfather Drank," excludes any recent immigrants.⁸⁴ In the case of Molson, it seems to have also been a beer more geared towards Anglophones, since no advertisements for it appeared in *Le Devoir* in the entire period examined here. Instead the most frequent beer advertised was Frontenac from

⁸² "Try Triscuit To-day," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 19, 1914. "Wrigley's: Avez Vous Soif?" *Le Devoir*, April 28, 1916. "Molson's Ale: Order Now For Dominion Day," *The Montreal Gazette*, June 28, 1915.

⁸³ "Fashion-Craft: The Brummel," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 19, 1914. "Holt, Renfrew & Co. Ltd.: Display of Easter Millinery," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 16, 1914. "Goodwins: Men's and Youth's Spring Overcoat," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 31, 1914. "Les Fourrures Desjardins," *Le Devoir*, December 20, 1917.

⁸⁴ "Molson's Ale: Order Now For Dominion Day," *The Montreal Gazette*, June 28, 1915.

“Brasserie Frontenac Limitée, Montréal.”⁸⁵ The atmosphere created by these advertisements would likely have further alienated potential working class readers by emphasizing class differences. Thus further entrenching it as a newspaper created for the elites.

Try Triscuit To-day



Food science has taught us that there is much body-building nutriment in the whole wheat grain which we do not get in white flour. The only question is how to make the whole wheat grain digestible. That problem has been solved in the making of

TRISCUIT

The Shredded Whole Wheat Wafer

It is the whole wheat, steam-cooked, shredded, compressed into a wafer and baked—the maximum of nutriment in smallest bulk. Many people prefer it to ordinary bread toast. Heated in the oven to restore its crispness, it is delicious for luncheon, or for any meal, with butter, potted cheese or marmalades.

“THE TOAST OF THE TOWN”

Made of the Choicest Selected Canadian Wheat
A Canadian Food for Canadians

Made by
THE CANADIAN SHREDDED WHEAT COMPANY, LIMITED
Niagara Falls, Ont.

Toronto Office: 49 Wellington Street East

(Figure 1.1: From “Try Triscuit To-day,” *The Gazette*, March 19, 1914)

⁸⁵ “Frontenac Bock,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 24, 1914.

Moi, j'aime
WRIGLEYS SPEARMINT

Moi, j'aime
WRIGLEYS DOUBLEMINT

Avez-vous soif?

Votre compagnon de chaque instant, le WRIGLEY'S SPEARMINT ou le WRIGLEY'S DOUBLEMINT, la gomme à mâcher la plus parfaite qui soit connue, vous rafraichira immédiatement. Elle calme la soif, procure une fraîcheur incomparable à la bouche et à la gorge, active l'appétit et facilite la digestion.

Elle dure longtemps, coûte peu et joint le plaisir au bien-être.

Demandez le petit livre "WRIGLEY'S MOTHER GOOSE", unique et amusant, illustré en couleurs à Wm. Wrigley Jr. Co., Ltd., Wrigley Building, Toronto.

WRIGLEYS SPEARMINT
The Flavor
THE PERFECT GUM
MINT FLAVOR

WRIGLEYS DOUBLEMINT
CHEWING GUM
PEPPERMINT

Empaquetage hermétique

Mâchez-en après chaque repas

FAITE AU CANADA

Conservation parfaite

C-30

(Figure 1.2: From "Wrigley's: Avez Vous Soif?" *Le Devoir*, April 28, 1916)

MOLSON'S ALE

ORDER NOW FOR
DOMINION
DAY

Get your order in early for a goodly supply of Molson's Ale. A big holiday, like Dominion Day, always increases the demand for this famous old brew. If you are having guests at your country home, of course you will wish to serve their favorite ale.

Or—if you are staying quietly at home, there's nothing else quite so satisfying for luncheon and dinner.

So—order today, so that your dealer will be sure to deliver all the ale you wish.

The Ale Your Great-Grandfather Drank

(Figure 1.3: From “Molson’s Ale ...” *The Gazette*, June 28, 1915)

Quality dailies also filled their pages with discussions of politics, world events, and local news, which may have been dry for the average reader. The complex and educated writing style of quality dailies made them somewhat of an acquired taste because it did not have the immediate appeal of popular dailies.⁸⁶ Since the primary audience of quality dailies were educated members of the managerial class, reading one of these papers became a status symbol. The newspapers were known for their erudite reporting style and a sense of what was important to high society. A city that could sustain a quality daily was one that maintained a substantial wealthy population. In contrast, almost any town or city could sustain a popular daily since its simple writing style and flashy headlines were accessible to most people with even a basic literacy level. Thus it was a conscious decision by the owners and editors of quality dailies to create something beyond a successful newspaper. The mission of quality dailies was not to capture the attention of average readers, but rather to inform a select group with education and influence.⁸⁷ By establishing that Montreal's quality dailies were marketed to the managerial class, and that these managerial class readers were 'sold' to advertisers, we can single out the section of society the editors targeted. This discovery allows further conclusions to be drawn about the changes that owners and editors made to their newspapers' reporting style during the First World War.

Prior to the First World War, quality dailies were defined by their lack of sensationalism, educated writing style, and thorough reporting. The First World War, however, represented a break from this pattern for many of them. An emotional public, patriotic pressures, and censorship all played a role in diminishing the reputations that quality dailies spent decades building. In Canada, state censorship functioned through the 1914 War Measures Act. The

⁸⁶ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 57.

⁸⁷ Prince, "The Mythology of War," 48.

Conservative government of Prime Minister Robert Borden gave sweeping powers to the Chief Press Censor to remove any material that was deemed objectionable to the war effort, or the federal government.⁸⁸ The man in charge of censorship in Canada was Ernest Chambers, who worked tirelessly so that the reputation of Canadian soldiers was always presented in a positive light, and their enemies always in a negative one.⁸⁹ Chambers was a former officer in the 6th Infantry Battalion, and later went on to become a journalist. He served as the managing editor for the *Calgary Herald* between 1888-1889, and was joint editor of the *Canadian Military Gazette* from 1893-1896.⁹⁰ As Chief Press Censor, he was given significant leeway in defining seditious material, and he would suppress any material that could be interpreted as pro-German or anti-Canadian policy. Anything that could negatively impact morale was considered seditious.⁹¹ Publishers who did not comply with Chambers' policies could have their periodicals banned, face fines, or be imprisoned. The pressures and constraints imposed by the censor were not unique to Canada.⁹² Countries that entered the war were often subjected to a national censor empowered by the state.

Naturally, the censor was not the only force upholding imperialism and supporting the war effort. Most of the Canadian press enthusiastically supported Canada's place in the war and were willing to do what they could to further that end. This support ranged from self-censorship, to unwavering enthusiasm, to the presentation of war as a fantastical adventure. Newspapers were the most effective medium for wartime propaganda, and through them the romanticized

⁸⁸ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 65.

⁸⁹ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 98, 77.

⁹⁰ Keshen, "Chambers, Ernest John." Jeffrey A. Keshen, "Chambers, Ernest John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003—, accessed March 26, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chambers_ernest_john_15E.html.

⁹¹ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 65-66.

⁹² Keshen, "Chambers, Ernest John."

ideas of war continued to dominate the lives of Canadians.⁹³ As Robert Prince argued, these propagandistic myths were part of the emphatic support for the war that was present in newspapers of all kinds across the country.⁹⁴ This support sometimes came from papers that had a reputation for opposing all wars.

Before the First World War, the Toronto *Globe* had maintained a reputation as a Liberal-pacifist quality daily.⁹⁵ After the news of Canada's entrance into the war broke – when Torontonians were celebrating in the street – the *Globe* cautioned its readers that war was not to be welcomed so lightly, and that “war is tragedy, no vaudeville.”⁹⁶ The *Globe*'s criticisms of the war reached great heights under the editorship of James Alexander Macdonald, an ordained Presbyterian minister. Macdonald's efforts to make the *Globe* a pacifist periodical attracted substantial negative attention from newspapers, advertisers, and the *Globe*'s own staff.⁹⁷ During the war, Macdonald frequently spoke at public peace rallies south of the border that were organized by people such as automobile manufacturer Henry Ford, who opposed any involvement in the war effort.⁹⁸ By 1915, growing pressure on the *Globe*'s ownership, and Macdonald's interest in pursuing a career as a private writer, led to his resignation, ending his twelve year term as editor. Thomas Stewart Lyon – previously in charge of day-to-day operations – replaced Macdonald as editor, and subsequently, the *Globe* was more supportive of

⁹³ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” iii.

⁹⁴ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 18. Prince argues “it would be foolish to suggest that all newspapers in Canada shared a common perspective on absolutely every aspect of the war, certain dominant myths were consistently supported in a wide variety of newspaper texts in dailies all across the nation.”

⁹⁵ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 248.

⁹⁶ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 69.

⁹⁷ Brian J. Fraser, “Macdonald, James Alexander,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 24, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macdonald_james_alexander_15E.html.

⁹⁸ Fraser, “Macdonald, James Alexander,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

the war effort.⁹⁹ Under new editorship, the *Globe* lost much of its former calm demeanour and became known for its sensationalized front-page material including the use of lowbrow popular daily tactics like banner headlines.¹⁰⁰ It provided justifications and encouragements such as “we want war for the sake of peace,” and concluded that the war was overall virtuous because of its good intentions.¹⁰¹

American quality dailies were in a slightly different position, since America did not enter the war until 1917. Many American newspapers attempted to avoid support for the war until America entered it, while others attempted to encourage American involvement earlier. *The New York Times* and *The Chicago Tribune* represent these two paths through the independent *Times*' steadfast reporting integrity, and the conservative-aligned *Tribune*'s sense of moral superiority. These differences stemmed from their ownership, as well as their prewar reporting style. *The Chicago Tribune* was co-owned and edited by cousins R.R. McCormick and J.M. Patterson.¹⁰² In their absence, William Field was given editorship of the *Tribune*, and maintained emphatic support for the war effort from 1915 onward.¹⁰³ The *Tribune* had a pro-German reputation at the start of the war, which it received after debunking atrocity propaganda against Germany. As the war raged on, however, McCormick established closer ties with British, French, and Russian dignitaries through his military observer position in the Illinois National Guard, and his sympathies became entrenched with the Triple Entente.¹⁰⁴ *The New York Times*, on the other

⁹⁹ Fraser, “Macdonald, James Alexander,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

¹⁰⁰ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 526-527.

¹⁰¹ Prince, “The Mythology of War,” 143, 123.

¹⁰² Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1979), 397.

¹⁰³ The W. G. N.: *A Handbook of Newspaper Administration, Editorial, Advertising, Production, Circulation, Minutely Depicting in Word And Picture How it's Done by the World's Greatest Newspaper* (Chicago: The Tribune Company, 1922), 84.

¹⁰⁴ Wendt, *Chicago Tribune*, 409-411.

hand, was led by editor in chief and owner Adolph Ochs, a small town newspaper man from Chattanooga, Tennessee, who believed that integrity and independent journalism were paramount.¹⁰⁵

In 1896, when Ochs took control of *The New York Times*, it was in a desperate state. The newspaper had a circulation dropping below 25,000, and was near financial ruin, but under Ochs' leadership it managed to become one of the most read quality dailies in the world.¹⁰⁶ He accomplished this by re-inventing the *Times* as the newspaper that provided "all the news that's fit to print." This phrase, which became synonymous with *The New York Times*, referred obliquely to the sensational and lurid 'unfit' news that filled the popular press.¹⁰⁷ Ochs renewed the newspaper's devotion to "excellence in news service, avoidance of fantastic extremes in editorial opinion, and a general sobriety in manner,"¹⁰⁸ for which it had been known. As a result, its circulation tripled within a year of his arrival.¹⁰⁹ During the war, *The New York Times* continued its thorough reporting and an independent journalistic style.¹¹⁰

Not all American newspapers were so steadfast in maintaining the expected style of quality dailies. By early 1917, the *Tribune* was fiercely supportive of American intervention in the war, and announced that they would exert "every ounce of strength to insure [a] swift and decisive victory."¹¹¹ By sensationalizing its content, the *Tribune* sacrificed its reputation as a quality daily in the name of jingoistic patriotism during the First World War. This, along with

¹⁰⁵ Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times 1851-1921* (New York: The New York Times, 1921), 202-203, 171-172.

¹⁰⁶ Meyer Berger, *The Story of the New York Times 1851-1951* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), 112.

¹⁰⁷ Davis, *History of the New York Times*, 118, 107.

¹⁰⁸ Davis, *History of the New York Times*, 6.

¹⁰⁹ Berger, *The Story of the New York Times*, 569.

¹¹⁰ Berger, *The Story of the New York Times*, 570.

¹¹¹ The WGN, *A Handbook of Newspaper Administration*, 78-85.

The Chicago Tribune's position as the least expensive daily newspaper in Chicago, established it as a member of the popular press. Perhaps its greatest error was its personal attack on Americans who would not support the war effort. One of the *Tribune's* most notable attacks was against entrepreneur Henry Ford, of the Ford Motor Company. According to the *Tribune*, Ford was an outspoken "pacifist," and believed any American involvement in the war to be a mistake. In response, the *Tribune* frequently labelled him an "ignorant idealist" and an "anarchistic enemy" of the United States.¹¹² This type of attack was common in the popular press during the war, but because they were potentially libellous, such denunciations were avoided by quality dailies. The *Tribune's* newfound place as a popular daily is important because it represents a war related change in their reporting style. *The Chicago Tribune's* editorializing differed from *Le Devoir's*, because unlike *Le Devoir*, the *Tribune* abandoned the principles of the quality daily, and thus abandoned its status. *Le Devoir*, in contrast, became emotional in tone but maintained its journalistic integrity by not stooping to personal attacks.

Quality dailies in England also changed their reporting style during the First World War. There, the analogous quality dailies to the Montreal *Gazette* and *Le Devoir* were the London *Times* and *The Manchester Guardian*. The *Guardian* was not a London-based newspaper, but it had a strong following there, and throughout the country. *The Manchester Guardian* was a Liberal-aligned quality daily owned and edited by former Liberal Member of Parliament C.P. Scott.¹¹³ Scott had been the editor since 1867, and became owner with the help of his family in

¹¹² The WGN, *A Handbook of Newspaper Administration*, 94-95, 97-98.

¹¹³ John M. McEwen, "The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 3 (1982): 476, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260556>.

1906.¹¹⁴ In contrast, Lord Northcliffe purchased the Unionist (Conservative)-aligned London *Times* in 1908.¹¹⁵ Before the war, each newspaper had maintained a reputation for respectable level-headed reporting, but like Montreal, England's quality dailies were not immune to wartime pressures.

The Manchester Guardian and the *Times* each adapted to the First World War based on the consciences of their owners. For the *Times* owner Lord Northcliffe, this meant changing the once reliable newspaper into a voice fiercely supportive of the war effort, and regularly distorting information to vilify Germany. For instance, on August 29, 1914, the *Times* claimed that the Belgian city of Louvain "cease[d] to exist" after ruthless German shelling, despite a lack of witnesses. In reality, only one-eighth of the city suffered any damage.¹¹⁶ Scott's *Manchester Guardian* did not sacrifice his newspaper's reputation to such an extent, but like the Montreal *Gazette*, the *Guardian* omitted many controversial stories. In a letter dated October 12, 1915, Scott describes correspondence he received that was "too damaging for publication." It was written by a British corporal serving in France and describes an incident involving friendly fire, where the British shelled their own troops and caused heavy casualties.¹¹⁷ These omissions, however, were relatively minor in comparison to the *Times*' lack of caution, and by avoiding extensive exaggerations did not compromise the reputation of the newspaper to the same extent.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ David Ayerst, *The Manchester Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 165, 318-319.

¹¹⁵ McEwen, "The National Press during the First World War," 463.

¹¹⁶ Alice Goldfarb Marquis, "Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 3 (1978): 487, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260205>.

¹¹⁷ Marquis, "Words as Weapons," 477.

¹¹⁸ Marquis, "Words as Weapons," 476.

Le Devoir's transgressions against the established style of quality dailies were unlike the exaggerations of the *Times*. *Le Devoir*'s most common rejection of quality daily etiquette came from its emotionally critical journalism. The emotional language found in *Le Devoir* was most often directed toward what its editors thought was unjust, or illogical. The two most significant examples of this were the Ontario Schools Question, and government policy related to the war effort.¹¹⁹ For example, in an article published on December 14, 1914 in *Le Devoir*, Ontario's lawmakers are referred to as "Les Prussiens d'Amérique."¹²⁰ The article makes a comparison between the situation in Alsace where Germans – often derogatorily called Prussians – were being accused of suppressing Alsatian culture, and the situation in Ontario, where Francophone culture was being suppressed. The comparison was particularly controversial since war propaganda in Canada frequently accused Germans of barbarity.¹²¹ The anger of the editorial staff of *Le Devoir* led them to strike out against the more unemotional reporting style that had made their quality daily an influential newspaper in Montreal like the *Gazette*.

In the case of objectionable government policies, *Le Devoir* was incensed and bold enough to begin printing controversial caricatures. In October 1916, *Le Devoir* printed a series of political cartoons, one of which entitled "Ce Fut Une Grande Victoire!" which demonstrated *Le Devoir*'s belief that Canada would only achieve a pyrrhic victory. In the image, a mutilated male beggar sitting on the sidewalk under a tree and hoping for charity represents Canada. In the distance a bourgeois couple stare at him. In *Le Devoir*'s view they represented the war profiteers for whom the war was fought.¹²² Thus *Le Devoir*'s editors were arguing that Canada would be

¹¹⁹ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians: 1760-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), 657, 737.

¹²⁰ "Pour Les "Alsaciens" de L'Ontario" Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 14, 1915.

¹²¹ "Pour Les "Alsaciens" de L'Ontario" Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 14, 1915.

¹²² "Ce Fut Une Grande Victoire!" Montreal: *Le Devoir*, October 3, 1916.

bankrupted in the pursuit of the ‘great victory’, while profiteers lined their pockets. The editors were suggesting that there was another reason for the war. It insinuated that the war may have had financial motives rather than moral, or patriotic ones. In contrast, the *Gazette* did not publish any political cartoons during the war years. The only exception being its advertisers selling Victory Bonds, and other products that used emotion-laden imagery. Staff members from the *Gazette* did not create these advertisements, but the editors’ decision to accept them for publication may shed light on their feelings towards the war effort, and Canada’s part in it. By adopting this style of support the *Gazette* remained a third person presence. They published articles about what pro-war sources said, thereby giving that perspective attention, and creating a platform for their cause. On the surface the *Gazette* remained an observer rather than making moral judgements. The bonds represented passionate support for the war, while transforming the *Gazette* into a medium for a pro-war and war effort message. In one such Victory Bond advertisement titled “The Victory Loan 1918 Opens Monday,” the “Torch of Freedom” is used to signify passing responsibility for maintaining that freedom. It argues this responsibility has been carried by Canadian soldiers, and needs to be further carried by Canadian citizens in the form of Victory Bond purchases.¹²³ These types of advertisements are given further weight by their absence from *Le Devoir*, which was likely from the objections of its editors.

¹²³ “Victory Loan 1918 Opens Monday,” Montreal: *Gazette*, October 26, 1918.



(Figure 1.4: "Ce Fut Une Grande Victoire!" Montreal: *Le Devoir*, October 3, 1916)



*To you from falling hands we throw
 The Torch—in yours to hold it high!
 If ye break faith with us who die,
 We shall not sleep though peace give
 In Freedom's name.*

Through all these dark, uncertain days, our soldiers have held aloft and brightly burning, the sacred torch of freedom.

On Monday, for a space, it passes to our hands. Does it pass to hands less eager—hands less worthy?

The world shall know our answer!

<p>On Monday we will be asked to buy Victory Bonds—the sinews of war.</p>	<p>town; from every county, township and farm of our country will come forth a mighty flood of money. The word will ring around the world that Canada's gold, no less than Canada's soldiers, is Germany's uncompromising enemy.</p>
<p>Our obligation is clear. Our duty is unmistakable. Victory Bonds are the weapons with which we at home can strike and strive for freedom.</p>	<p>This surely will be our message to our sons:—Carry on, brave souls! Canada's treasure is not a laggard in the fight. Eager hands are stretched to catch and hold aloft forever the Flaming Torch of Freedom!</p>
<p><u>This solemn thought shall possess us:—Until the Victory Loan, 1918 is assured our duty is not accomplished—our task is incomplete.</u></p>	
<p>From every province, city and</p>	

**The Victory Loan 1918
 Opens Monday**

Issued by Canada's Victory Loan Committee
 in co-operation with the Minister of Finance
 of the Dominion of Canada.

(Figure 1.5: “Victory Loan 1918 Opens Monday,” Montreal: *Gazette*, October 26, 1918)

It was this emotional tone that represented the most significant difference between the Montreal *Gazette*'s indirect support through external sources and *Le Devoir*'s more direct style, yet a close second was *Le Devoir*'s opposition to Canada's role in the war. During the war, the *Gazette* maintained willing support for the war effort, yet from late 1914 onward, *Le Devoir* began seriously questioning Canada's role in the war. The newspaper's editor, Bourassa, believed that Canada had to put its own interests ahead of those of the British Empire.¹²⁴ For Bourassa, this meant only contributing what Canada could afford, and he believed that this amount was being greatly exceeded by the second year of the war. He openly described it as "la désastreuse situation financière du pays," and described the war as "la partie coûteuse et sanglante qui se joue en Europe."¹²⁵ These criticisms became increasingly heated as the war progressed and brought *Le Devoir* substantial negative publicity from the imperialist and Conservative-aligned popular press in Montreal, Toronto, and throughout Canada.¹²⁶

Le Devoir criticized several elements of the war, but most often it criticized the cost Canada paid, in terms of money and men, for what it saw as only an indirect threat, since Canada was not being attacked at home. Despite Bourassa's fear of Canadian bankruptcy and collapse, he never argued for surrender or complete withdrawal from the war. It was always a matter of what could be afforded in materials, money, and men.¹²⁷ For instance, Bourassa argued that Canada was doing far more than its fair share in the war saying: "Proportionnellement, le participation à la guerre va coûter trois fois plus au Canada qu'à l'Angleterre, quatre ou cinq fois

¹²⁴ Béatrice Richard, "Henri Bourassa and Conscription: Traitor or Saviour?" *Canadian Military Journal* 7 no. 4 (2007): 79.

¹²⁵ "Les Impôts De Guerre," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 15, 1915.

¹²⁶ Patrice A. Dutil, "Against Isolationism: Napoléon Belcourt, French Canada, and La Grande Guerre," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, 96-137, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 102-103.

¹²⁷ Henri Bourassa, "La Conscription II," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 29, 1917.

plus qu'à la France ou à l'Allemagne."¹²⁸ This position was part of *Le Devoir*'s long-standing reputation as a nationalist newspaper. Bourassa and his staff's idea of Canadian nationalism in this period was centred on the belief that Canada deserved to be autonomous within the British Empire, not necessarily independent of it. This meant that Canada would remain close with England, yet make military, political, and economic decisions that benefitted Canada and its people most.¹²⁹

Bourassa's take on the future of Canada, as a bi-cultural and autonomous part of the British Empire, was not the only interpretation of nationalism circulating. Nationalists in Quebec were motivated to build a Canadian nation through their love of French Canada, and their desire to preserve their culture and religion.¹³⁰ French Canadian culture was under direct threat of forced assimilation through legislative acts across Canada. It started with the 1871 abolition of separate schools in New Brunswick, followed by Manitoba removing their separate schools and invalidating French as an official language in 1890. By 1905, both Alberta and Saskatchewan had refused separate schools for Catholics, and in 1912 Ontario made it illegal to use French as a language of instruction, while severely limiting it as a course of study.¹³¹ Faced with this state of affairs, not all French Canadian nationalists were as optimistic as Bourassa. Jules-Paul Tardivel – a journalist from Quebec City, and early member of *L'Action Française* – believed that the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada as a French Catholic state was the only solution.¹³²

¹²⁸ Henri Bourassa, "Les Consequences De La Guerre," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 20, 1915.

¹²⁹ Casey Murrow, *Henri Bourassa and French-Canadian Nationalism: Opposition to Empire* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1968), 63.

¹³⁰ Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf: the Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec (1900-1914)* (Ottawa: Les Éditions De L'Université D'Ottawa, 1972), 1.

¹³¹ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 8.

¹³² Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 8.

Bourassa rejected this idea, and although he was a deeply devoted Catholic, he believed that the clergy should have no influence in the nationalist movement.¹³³ He believed that French Canadian problems could be solved constitutionally through the protections guaranteed in the British North America Act of 1867.¹³⁴

Bourassa and *Le Devoir* also had an established reputation for opposing Canadian involvement in imperial wars and imperial war related spending. He opposed sending Canadian troops into South Africa in 1899 to protect British interests against Dutch settlers.¹³⁵ This opposition came despite a close relationship with Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier, with whom he had worked as a Liberal Member of Parliament. Laurier had been under great pressure from the imperialist elements in Anglophone Canada to send troops, and he only agreed on the condition that it would not set a precedent, and anyone sent would have to volunteer.¹³⁶ Bourassa was unwilling to accept Canadian participation in imperial conflicts of no consequence to Canada, and resigned his seat to force a by-election. The election went in his favour, and he was elected as an independent in 1900.¹³⁷ This pattern continued when Bourassa used the newly founded newspaper to help defeat Laurier in the 1911 federal election after Laurier introduced the Naval Bill that sought to create a small Canadian Navy. It was Bourassa's belief that a Canadian Navy would be used for the benefit of the British Empire while Canada supplied the

¹³³ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 24.

¹³⁴ Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française*, 9.

¹³⁵ Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 127. French Canadians had little interest in being entangled in wars for the sake of an English speaking empire, for which they felt little connection. Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 15.

¹³⁶ Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf*, 15. Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 6-7.

¹³⁷ Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

funds and crew.¹³⁸ Bourassa's greatest complaint over Laurier's naval bill was that it should not have been decided without consulting the people of Canada through a plebiscite, since it represented a major change for Canada.¹³⁹ Bourassa made the issue a point of focus in his efforts to defeat the Liberals in favour of the Conservatives under Robert Borden. For Bourassa, the limited navy proposed by Laurier was one more step towards automatic involvement of Canadians in imperial conflicts. Bourassa threw the full force of *Le Devoir* into a campaign to attack Laurier for his latest infraction.¹⁴⁰ In Quebec, Bourassa was able to achieve support for Borden, while in the rest of Canada Borden's negative portrayal of Laurier's trade reciprocity agreement with the United States allowed Borden to take advantage of anti-American feelings.¹⁴¹

Bourassa broke ties with Borden following the election since their partnership had served its purpose, and the two factions went back to rejecting each other's views. In the war years, these disputes led to intimidation tactics from imperialists who considered Bourassa a traitor. As early as fall 1914, Bourassa was making scathing condemnations of the corruption in Borden's Conservative government. *Le Devoir* also accused Canadian military authorities of letting soldiers run wild in Ottawa, drinking heavily and harassing citizens, and further used "Les Boches D'Ottawa" to describe Canadian soldiers.¹⁴² 'Boches' was a derogatory term used by the French to describe Germans during the war, and by using this term *Le Devoir* was saying that the Canadian military was no better than the 'barbarous' German army. In response, Bourassa was quickly labelled a traitor by the Conservative press, who repeatedly called for him to be treated

¹³⁸ J. L. Granatstein and J. Mackay Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 17.

¹³⁹ Murrow, *Henri Bourassa and French-Canadian Nationalism*, 65-66.

¹⁴⁰ Bélanger, "Bourassa, Henri," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

¹⁴¹ Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 182.

¹⁴² "Les Boches D'Ottawa-Saverne," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 18, 1914.

as one.¹⁴³ In May 1915, Bourassa told his readers in *Le Devoir* that, “Au début de la guerre, les journaux jingos ont tout fait pour inciter la foute à saccager nos ateliers et à ma maison.”¹⁴⁴

Despite these threats, however, he firmly stated that he would not be intimidated. This was a bold stance considering soldiers had threatened him previously while speaking publicly in Ottawa.¹⁴⁵

Controversial and emotive content during the First World War represented *Le Devoir*'s greatest change in reporting. Bourassa and his editorial staff decided to break free from some of the etiquette expected from quality dailies in response to domestic factors and the wartime situation. Now that these changes from traditional quality reporting have been identified, and the target readership has been defined, it will be possible to demonstrate them by analyzing particularly tense issues in the two quality dailies. The following chapter will explore two of the most contentious problems that faced Montreal during the First World War: ethnic strife and conscription.

¹⁴³ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 658.

¹⁴⁴ “La Sac Du “Devoir,” May 29, 1915, Montreal: *Le Devoir*.

¹⁴⁵ “Les Boches D’Ottawa-Saverne,” December 18, 1914, Montreal: *Le Devoir*. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians*, 658.

Chapter 2

Ethnic Strife and Conscription

“The constant tug of war between races and creeds in the country itself would hardly miss him, for people seemed so constructed that they were unable to use ideas as instruments to discover truth, but waved them instead like flags.”

*Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes.*¹⁴⁶

Since the English took control after the Seven Years’ War in 1763, Quebec has been the site of ethnic tension between Anglophones and Francophones. This tension, although not always dominant, has seen several peaks since then. One of these peaks came during the First World War. Yet the war itself was not the only source of ethnic tension; there were also forces at work outside Quebec. In 1913, the Ontario Legislature’s Regulation 17 emerged as a force of assimilation against Ontario’s Francophone population. It outlawed the teaching of French in all Ontario schools past the second year of primary education.¹⁴⁷ The ethnically charged issues, however, went beyond the Anglophone-Francophone divide, and xenophobia led to mob violence against ‘enemy aliens’ and those who attempted to defend them. One issue surpassed ethnic tension and greatly intensified existing conflicts: conscription. By 1915, *Le Devoir* was becoming increasingly vocal about the level of commitment Canada was making to the war effort, which Bourassa believed would bankrupt the nation.¹⁴⁸ The *Montreal Gazette*, in contrast, supported the war effort, but avoided the enthusiastically emotive language that flowed in the popular press. The possibility of conscription represented a major threat to peace in the province, and each newspaper had to negotiate its own path when deciding how to present it. Exploring these issues is important to understanding why newspapers rejected the traditional calm reporting

¹⁴⁶ Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (Don Mills, Ontario: William Collins Sons and Co. Canada Ltd, 1945), 69.

¹⁴⁷ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians: 1760-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), 634.

¹⁴⁸ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 648.

style of quality dailies during the First World War. It was these kinds of issues that tested the resolve of the owners and editors.

The British North America (BNA) Act of 1867 was the legislation that established the Dominion of Canada, and acted as its constitution. The Act protected the rights of Catholic Francophones to ensure they were not subjected to forced assimilation on linguistic or religious grounds.¹⁴⁹ Many of the laws that protected Francophones were continuations of those set out in the Quebec Act of 1774, which had incensed Protestant settlers in North America. For many Protestants, especially radical groups like the Orange Order, Catholicism and ‘Popery’ represented a source of foreign subversion.¹⁵⁰ The Orange Order was a sectarian Protestant group dedicated to subjugating Catholics, and mitigating their influence in society.¹⁵¹ The group believed in the superiority of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants over all other races and religions, and was frequently linked to acts of corruption to benefit their fellow Orangemen.¹⁵² This mentality led to clashes between Francophone Catholics and Anglophone Protestants in Montreal, and throughout Canada.

In Canada, several prominent members of the federal Conservative government elected in 1911 were Orangemen, including Minister of Militia Sam Hughes.¹⁵³ Orangemen in government, however, were commonplace and hardly controversial compared to the Military Service Act. The Military Service Act established conscription in 1917 after Canadian regiments suffered heavy

¹⁴⁹ The National Archives, “British North America Act,” *Legislation.Gov.Uk*, accessed September 30, 2013, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/30-31/3/enacted>.

¹⁵⁰ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 63-67.

¹⁵¹ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 671.

¹⁵² Wade, *The French Canadians*, 726.

¹⁵³ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 641. Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), Endnotes, 209-210. The Conservative government of Robert Borden contained a number of Orangemen including Minister of Militia Sam Hughes, and Speaker of the House T.S. Sproule, who was a former Grand Master.

casualties overseas, and repeated attempts to shore up recruiting numbers failed. The Military Service Act was largely passed thanks to the Wartime Elections Act of 1917, which selectively enfranchised female relatives of active soldiers, while disenfranchising groups likely to vote Liberal. Despite the additional seats that the Conservative party gained by adding pro-conscription Liberal Members of Parliament to their government and renaming the alliance the Unionists, they remained unpopular. Without the additional votes for the Unionist government through the Wartime Elections Act, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals were favoured to win, and conscription would not have been enacted.¹⁵⁴ Conscription was not the only issue over which Laurier clashed with Conservatives. He also opposed the forceful assimilation of Franco-Ontarians through Regulation 17, and described it as “absolutely tyrannical.”¹⁵⁵

Regulation 17, though receiving some attention in *Le Devoir* in early 1914, became a central focus in November of the same year.¹⁵⁶ The tide of unity that swept the nation when the British Empire declared war against Germany in August 1914 served to suppress the issue in *Le Devoir*. This unity, however, did not last and as the scale of the war dawned on Henri Bourassa, it became clear that he and his colleagues could not wait for it to end to fight their battles. To make matters worse, the constant wartime rhetoric of justice and rights became a great hypocrisy in the eyes of him and his fellow nationalists, since the rights of French Canadians in Ontario were being trampled by what they saw as a severe injustice.¹⁵⁷ Through *Le Devoir*, the group

¹⁵⁴ J. L. Granatstein and J. Mackay Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 65-67, 68-72.

¹⁵⁵ Patrice A. Dutil, “Against Isolationism: Napoléon Belcourt, French Canada, and La Grande Guerre,” in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, 96-137, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 111.

¹⁵⁶ Henri Bourassa, “The French Language: The French Canadian, a ‘Nuisance’,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 13, 1914.

¹⁵⁷ Omer Héroux, “La Minorité Ontarienne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, November 12, 1914. Henri Bourassa, “Le Resistance Ontarienne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 16, 1914. “Les Droits de

remarked, “Tous les groupes français sont solidaires dans cette bataille, La Lutte de la minorité ontarienne est notre propre lutte.”¹⁵⁸

Regulation 17, to many French Canadians, represented an effort by Anglophones to eliminate French as a viable language in Ontario. To Bourassa, this message was made appallingly clear when arguments about its “violation of the spirit of Confederation,” and its inability to be justified “upon educational grounds” fell on deaf ears.¹⁵⁹ To add insult to injury, those attempting to establish the right of Francophone students to attend bilingual schools were frequently met with dismissive responses from Ontario officials. After a group of Francophones attempted to have the law repealed, Judge Lennox of Toronto reasoned, “Speak French in the streets, in your homes, if you want. We only say that you can’t speak French at school. The French don’t have a right to school.”¹⁶⁰ It was this judge’s belief that the Canadian constitution did not guarantee a right to education for French speaking peoples, despite contrary constitutional evidence. Since French language schools were available at the time of Confederation, Francophones argued they were protected by the constitution.¹⁶¹ Decisions like these on Regulation 17 that appeared to reject the rights of French Canadians without consideration, seemed to be part of an organized effort against Francophones. The ethnocentric push by Ontario legislators to end French as a spoken language was made more offensive

la Langue Française: Conference de M. Armand Lavergne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 19, 1914.

¹⁵⁸ “Pour Les “Blessés” De L’Ontario,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 4, 1915.

¹⁵⁹ Henri Bourassa, “The French in English Canada: Comparison and Contrast,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 14, 1914.

¹⁶⁰ Omer Héroux, “La Minorité Ontarienne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, November 12, 1914.

¹⁶¹ The National Archives, “British North America Act,” *Legislation.Gov.Uk*, accessed September 30, 2013, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/30-31/3/enacted>. The Canadian constitution, created through the BNA Act of 1867, states in section 93, subsection 1: “Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union.”

because of the ties between the French language and Catholicism in Canada. French language schools were usually also Catholic schools. This made an attack against French appear to be an attack against the Catholic Church.

The religious element of the Ontario Schools Question made the issue more volatile in the eyes of both French and English-speaking Canadians. This interpretation partially stemmed from the belief of clerics like Quebec clergy member Abbé Gascon, who believed that the conservation of the French language was a crucial barrier against Protestantism.¹⁶² Ultra-Protestant groups, such as the Orangemen, gave those claims legitimacy through their crusading support of Regulation 17. One of only a handful of articles on religious division that appeared in the Montreal *Gazette* described the July 12, 1915 yearly Orange Order parade where Orange Brother A.W.M. Ingram spoke on the schools question in Ontario and Manitoba. He “declared that Orangemen would stand by public schools in the face of any Government that sought to force sectarian schools upon any one of the provinces.”¹⁶³ By framing the issue in this way, the Orangemen were ignoring the history of protected schools, and attempting to portray bilingual school as a new threat to the traditional school system. In response to comments like these, politician, nationalist, and right-hand-man to Bourassa Armand Lavergne, accused Anglican Bishop Fallon of London, Ontario, of being a voice of the Orangemen. He discussed the recent attacks against the rights of French speakers in the province and attributed “this agitation to two causes: the Orange element and the preachings of Bishop Fallon, whose tyrannical spirit” he said, “spoiled everything and set fire to the powder.”¹⁶⁴ Lavergne went on to describe the on going conflict as “a merciless war against the French language and the Catholic religion,” and

¹⁶² “Le Resistance Ontarienne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 16, 1914.

¹⁶³ “Orangemen Have 16,000 at Front,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, July 12, 1915.

¹⁶⁴ “Lavergne Blames Bishop Fallon and Orangemen,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, January 14, 1915.

described it as, “this infamous system which the Prussians never even dared to apply in Alsace-Lorraine.”¹⁶⁵ Lavergne was quoted in the *Gazette* to highlight his temper and present his speech as an unfair attack on Bishop Fallon. Lavergne raged at the Bishop during the debate and by bringing attention to his behaviour the *Gazette* was able to discredit him as an emotional and thus illogical person. The article described the rest of the speakers as “fair.” This may have represented an effort to partially discredit the Francophone and his cause, thus lessening the importance of his claims.¹⁶⁶ The *Gazette*, however, did not distort the facts. Lavergne made personal attacks against the Bishop, thus weakening his own legitimacy in the debate. Once more the *Gazette* merely acted as an observer of this information, and so was able to avoid direct moral judgements. Despite attempts to downplay the issue, the two factions remained at each other’s throats.

However much tempers raged on the issue of Regulation 17, it is possible that the Montreal *Gazette*’s limited attention was a result of the disinterest of its readers. The *Gazette* was an entirely English language newspaper, and catered to the interests of an Anglophone audience unlikely to be overly concerned with the fight to protect French language rights in another province, especially while there was a war going on in Europe. This reasoning, though, cannot explain the stark contrast in the amount of coverage of Regulation 17 between the Montreal *Gazette* and *Le Devoir*. Even if the Montreal *Gazette* did not consider the issue to be an important one, it would likely have given the issue periodic attention for the sake of commenting on *Le Devoir*’s overemphasis. The attention that Regulation 17 did receive came from peripheral articles through coverage of speeches made by Orangemen on the issue, as well as other public

¹⁶⁵ “Lavergne Blames Bishop Fallon and Orangemen,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, January 14, 1915.

¹⁶⁶ “Lavergne Blames Bishop Fallon and Orangemen,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, January 14, 1915.

speakers.¹⁶⁷ *Le Devoir* was their primary competitor in the field of quality dailies in Montreal, and the *Gazette* often commented on *Le Devoir*'s coverage of subjects, and vice versa. Thus, an issue of clear importance to *Le Devoir* should have warranted at least some direct attention, or explanation from the *Gazette*.

The Montreal *Gazette* also downplayed the French Canadian experience in Canada's military. The presence of French Canadians in the military was not in itself a controversial issue, but their treatment was another matter. Military Ordinance Regulation 156 became effective in June 1914, effectively ending a long-standing partnership between the Catholic Church and French Canadian military regiments.¹⁶⁸ In response, the *Gazette* published an article that calmly described the issue as the correction of an oversight. Describing Order 156, they wrote: "The Militia Order which drew the attention of officers to the already existing regulation was the result of the growing practice of parading Government arms on unnecessary and unauthorized occasions."¹⁶⁹ The article went on to say: "while having the unfortunate results of stopping an old historic custom in the case of the 65th, [it] applies equally to all regiments in Canada."¹⁷⁰ From then on, it was a violation of the military code of conduct for any section of the Canadian military, including volunteer militia, to display any signs of religious allegiance or association.¹⁷¹ Minister of Militia Sam Hughes, who was also a publicly recognized Orangeman, instituted this policy despite widespread condemnation from French Canadians.¹⁷² In response, *Le Devoir* rejected the *Gazette*'s interpretation of Order 156 as applying equally to all regiments, writing,

¹⁶⁷ "Orangemen Have 16,000 at Front," Montreal: *The Gazette*, July 12, 1915. "Montreal Lodges in Orange Parade," Montreal: *The Gazette*, July 13, 1916

¹⁶⁸ Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 12.

¹⁶⁹ "Forbids Guard For Corpus Christi," Montreal: *The Gazette*, June 4, 1914.

¹⁷⁰ "Forbids Guard For Corpus Christi," Montreal: *The Gazette*, June 4, 1914.

¹⁷¹ Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 12-13.

¹⁷² Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 68.

“en réalité n'en affecte qu'un seul, le 65ième, composé d'officiers et de soldats canadiens-français et catholiques.”¹⁷³ Apart from the yearly Corpus Christi parade, it was perhaps most noteworthy when the 65th Regiment was prohibited from marching in a welcome parade for Cardinal Vannutelli in Montreal in 1914.¹⁷⁴ In response, large segments of the French Canadian public were outraged, and openly protested, but to no avail. This issue is also an example of *Le Devoir*'s pre-war government criticisms. The Order represented a direct attack on the cultural traditions of French Canadian military regiments, yet *Le Devoir* remained relatively reserved in its discussion. It pointed out that French Canadian soldiers were the only ones affected by the Order, but avoided the emotional extremes that they became known for during the war years.

The Montreal *Gazette* quickly dismissed the issue as unimportant, despite French Canadian indignation. It downplayed the French Canadian outrage as the words of a “few fanatics.”¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, it presented Hughes as unapologetic about the incident, since he took the opportunity to promote the Orange Order as “the best yet promulgated for upbuilding of humanity,” going on to claim “Orangemen, as a class are unsurpassed by the best of any in the world.”¹⁷⁶ The Montreal *Gazette*'s dismissal of the destruction of a long-standing French Canadian military tradition demonstrated its attempts to downplay a highly emotive and controversial issue.

The efforts to mitigate controversy by the Montreal *Gazette* were not limited to the ethnic tension between Anglophones and Francophones. It also extended to the issue of enemy aliens, and enemy ancestry. The xenophobia that emerged during the First World War was tense and bitter. People who considered themselves naturalized were being blamed for the actions of a

¹⁷³ “L'Incident Du 65ième,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, June 4, 1914.

¹⁷⁴ Omer Héroux, “La Dernière De M. Sam Hughes,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, June 22, 1914.

¹⁷⁵ “Is Facing Wrath of a Few Fanatics.” Montreal: *The Gazette*, July 8, 1914.

¹⁷⁶ “Is Facing Wrath of a Few Fanatics.” Montreal: *The Gazette*, July 8, 1914.

country their ancestors had called home. Some of these people had been in Canada for generations, but thanks to their surnames, they were no safer than recent immigrants.¹⁷⁷ In response to public persecution of such people, *Le Devoir*'s editors scolded anyone who would attack peaceful citizens, regardless of their ancestry.¹⁷⁸ This included an article by parliamentary correspondent Ernest Bildeau, who asked whether his secretary, who arrived in Canada “dans les bras de sa mère” should be considered a German even though he had since lived “la vie canadienne comme tout-bon citoyen.”¹⁷⁹ The Montreal *Gazette* continued its trend, and avoided the emotional issue of citizenship by emphasizing the orderliness of government action against enemy aliens, and the limited impact of public violence.¹⁸⁰ These efforts by the *Gazette* were an attempt to lessen the controversial persecution of immigrants.

The involvement of Canadian civilians and soldiers in xenophobic incidents during the First World War was far from limited. In each case the *Gazette* attempted to downplay such incidents, while *Le Devoir* chastised the aggressors. This notably occurred after a German U-Boat sunk the *Lusitania* – an American cruise liner that also covertly carried war supplies – in May 1915.¹⁸¹ A wave of anti-German hostility swept the country, and resulted in a riot in Victoria, British Columbia. The rioters targeted German neighbourhoods where Canadian

¹⁷⁷ Donald Avery, “Ethnic and Class Relations in Western Canada During the First World War: A Case Study of European Immigrants and Anglo-Canadian Nativism,” in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, 272-299, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 288.

¹⁷⁸ Georges Pelletier, “A Propos D’ Allemagne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 11, 1915. “Allemand Conspue,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 25, 1915. Ernest Bildeau “Les Allemands et Nous,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁷⁹ Ernest Bildeau, “Les Allemands et Nous,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁸⁰ “Alien Enemies in Canada Under U.S. Protection,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, November 27, 1914. “Enemy Aliens Sent to Petewawa,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, December 11, 1914. “Alien Prisoners in Northern Wilds,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, January 15, 1915. “Alien Enemies Sign Petition,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 6, 1915. “Austrian Makes Bid For Liberty,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, March 3, 1915.

¹⁸¹ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 676.

soldiers encouraged the public to pillage and sack German houses and hotels.¹⁸² In response to this wave of violence, the Montreal *Gazette* announced that, “The Dominion does not propose to interfere directly in the matter of dealing with anti-German outbreaks such as that which occurred at Victoria.” Those matters were to be left to the municipal authorities.¹⁸³ The article flatly stated the government’s position that any Germans that “make themselves offensive to the patriotic spirit of the country” will be “liable to instant arrest and internment as prisoners of war.”¹⁸⁴ This style of coverage was in step with government policy, and with the *Gazette*’s general aversion to shrill editorializing.

In contrast, *Le Devoir* displayed shock and offence at what its assistant editor Georges Pelletier interpreted as the unlawful bullying of a minority group. He stood firm and announced, “Il nous faut résister à la vague anti-allemande qui balaie la pays par suite de l'affaire du Lusitania.”¹⁸⁵ He went on to argue against taking revenge against the Germans and Austrians in Canada, whom he noted had done nothing wrong and only wished to live in peace.¹⁸⁶ By defending Germans and Austrians in Canada, *Le Devoir*’s editors were painting the Canadian soldiers and citizens as the aggressors. This position not only created controversy by rebuking Canadians, but also by making Germans and Austrians helpless victims. This representation was similar to the justification for war against Germany. In putting this argument forward, *Le Devoir* generated more emotional and controversial articles than the Montreal *Gazette* did by downplaying it.

¹⁸² Georges Pelletier, “A Propos D’Allemagne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 11, 1915.

¹⁸³ “Peaceful Germans Will Be Protected.” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 11, 1915.

¹⁸⁴ “Peaceful Germans Will Be Protected,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 11, 1915.

¹⁸⁵ Georges Pelletier, “A Propos D’Allemagne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 11, 1915.

¹⁸⁶ Georges Pelletier, “A Propos D’Allemagne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, May 11, 1915.

Soldiers often persecuted ‘enemy aliens’, a point the *Montreal Gazette* attempted to mitigate. *Le Devoir*, on the other hand, frequently blamed the government for filling soldiers with jingoism and liquor, and then letting them run wild. On February 10, 1916, over 500 soldiers stationed in Calgary, Alberta, sacked and looted two restaurants.¹⁸⁷ The damage to the buildings was extensive, “The furniture, fixtures, and cooking apparatus were smashed to fragments... [it] looked as though artillery shells had exploded.”¹⁸⁸ A police constable and a female cashier were also hurt as a result of the attack. These restaurants were targeted when a rumour circulated that the owner had dismissed a former Canadian soldier as a waiter, and replaced him with a German. The rumour was later proved to be unfounded.¹⁸⁹

The *Montreal Gazette* reported the incident, but did not emphasize a recurring pattern of lawlessness among Canadian soldiers. The *Gazette*’s coverage was straightforward, listing facts and indicating that the authorities had attempted to break up the gathering of soldiers peaceably, but had been powerless to stop it.¹⁹⁰ *Le Devoir* – through its assistant editor Omer Héroux – on the other hand, condemned the military establishment for its lack of discipline and superficial punishments in these matters. Héroux went on to say, “En tout cas, le scandale de Calgary est la conséquence fatal de tous les actes précédents apparemment impunis ou insuffisamment punis.”¹⁹¹ He went on to suggest that events like those embarrassed the Canadian military both domestically and internationally, adding examples of Canadian troop behaviour in England.¹⁹² The idea of the Canadian military as a haven for hooliganism was a controversial and scandalous one, and the *Gazette* treated it as an isolated incident.

¹⁸⁷ Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁸⁸ “Soldiers at Calgary Wreck Restaurant,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁸⁹ “Soldiers at Calgary Wreck Restaurant,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁹⁰ “Soldiers at Calgary Wreck Restaurant,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁹¹ Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

¹⁹² Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

The Calgary incident, however, was far from isolated, and the *Montreal Gazette* was forced to shift the blame in order to reduce the severity of the controversy for the Canadian military. On February 11, 1916, another riot broke out in Calgary, this time targeting the Riverside Hotel, Cronn's Rathskeller, and Kolb's restaurant. These places were targeted as a result of their alleged affiliation with Germans and Austrians.¹⁹³ Once more, a building was sacked and destroyed before military officials finally managed to blockade the remaining targets and disperse the crowd of nearly 2,000 people.¹⁹⁴ The *Gazette* followed this story up with another, which announced that, "It is the general belief of the police and military officers that the whole affair was deliberately planned by pro-German agencies, with the intention of getting Canadian troops into trouble."¹⁹⁵ Despite a lack of evidence to support this claim, it was adopted as the official story. The story represented a denial of the violence perpetrated by Canadian troops.

In response, *Le Devoir's* Héroux quoted the *Gazette* article and criticized its transparent attempt to reduce the culpability of the military. Héroux went on to make the controversial claim that military vandalism, outbursts, and attacks were no less than acts of tyranny against Canadian citizens by men in uniform.¹⁹⁶ He further remarked that the incident and cover-up is befitting the "boche et super-boche," using the French slur for Germans to emphasize the similarities between the Canadian and German governments.¹⁹⁷ These different approaches display the *Montreal Gazette's* tendency to avoid controversy, in this case by adopting a dubious official story, while

¹⁹³ "Drunk Orgy Aids Another Calgary Raid," *Montreal: The Gazette*, February 12, 1916.

¹⁹⁴ "Drunk Orgy Aids Another Calgary Raid," *Montreal: The Gazette*, February 12, 1916.

¹⁹⁵ "Calgary Guarded By Armed Troops," *Montreal: The Gazette*, February 14, 1916.

¹⁹⁶ Omer Héroux, "Pro-German Agencies," *Montreal: Le Devoir*, February 14, 1916.

¹⁹⁷ Omer Héroux, "Pro-German Agencies," *Montreal: Le Devoir*, February 14, 1916.

Le Devoir consistently attempted to expose it, regardless of the labels – like traitorous periodical – that it subsequently acquired from the popular press.¹⁹⁸

The Montreal *Gazette* continued to report these acts of vandalism while avoiding the larger question of the war's impact on the homefront. The *Gazette* never held the Canadian military establishment responsible for the actions of soldiers they could not control. This was again demonstrated in an article from February 16, 1916, when another raid by soldiers on a German club in Berlin, Ontario was reported. Men of the machine gun section of the 118th Battalion on night leave sacked the club, known as Concordia Hall, which had been closed since the start of the war.¹⁹⁹ The soldiers were particularly interested in “a small stateroom, where flags and pictures of German heroes had been stored,” and the items were later “trampled upon and torn to shreds.”²⁰⁰ Once more, the military authorities were unable or unwilling to act before or after the damage was done, and the Montreal *Gazette* did not hold the military responsible for the disturbances.²⁰¹

Many popular dailies launched racial attacks against the ethnic groups that had roots in enemy countries, but the Montreal *Gazette* did not take that position.²⁰² Most of those targeted for ethnic persecution were eligible to vote, and controversies related to their treatment could

¹⁹⁸ Dutil, “Against Isolationism,” 102-103.

¹⁹⁹ “Soldiers Raid Hall at Berlin, Ontario,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 16, 1916. Barbara Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 1xxvii. The city of Berlin Ontario later changed its name to Kitchener after prolonged harassment from military and other imperialist elements. The vote to change the name passed by only a slim margin.

²⁰⁰ “Soldiers Raid Hall at Berlin, Ontario,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, February 16, 1916.

²⁰¹ Adam Crerar, “Ontario and the Great War,” in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, 230-271, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 256. Barbara Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 1xxvii.

²⁰² Jeffery A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 5.

have hurt Borden in the next election. By minimizing controversy, the *Gazette* would be aiding the stability of Borden's government. Therefore, the *Gazette's* attempt to sidestep the unjust treatment of enemy aliens appeared to be the result of an aversion to controversy. It is possible that this was related to the *Gazette's* affiliation with the Conservatives through its editor Robert S. White, and after 1917, with Conservative Senator Richard S. White.²⁰³ Domestic controversies related to the government or the military, such as a lack of control over men in uniform, would reflect badly on Borden, and his government.

Borden's image, though, was in far more danger after the Quebec City Easter Riots of 1918. The Quebec City Riots were anti-conscription riots that broke out in Quebec City on March 29, 1918 after federal police arrested a French Canadian named Mercier who was unable to show his conscription exemption papers. After Mercier retrieved and showed his papers he was released. However, by that time a crowd of several thousand had arrived at the federal police station and proceeded to burn it down.²⁰⁴ The crowd then moved on to sack two pro-conscription popular dailies, the *Chronicle* and *L'Événement*, while singing "Ô Canada" and "La Marseillaise."²⁰⁵ The following day Brigadier General Landry asked for reinforcements, and was provided with a regiment from Toronto. After arriving, the troops charged the crowd with fixed bayonets, leading to the unified anger of the rioters on Easter Sunday, March 31, 1918. Between March 31 and April 2, the riots spiralled further out of control, and attempts by military authorities and nationalist leaders in Quebec were equally ineffectual at calming the situation.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ "Senator Richard Smeaton White, President of the Gazette, Dies," Montreal: *The Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1936.

²⁰⁴ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 764. Elizabeth H. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec 1914-1918* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1937), 227.

²⁰⁵ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 764. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 227.

²⁰⁶ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 764-766. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 227-232.

Le Devoir may have compounded the possibility of further public violence. After the Easter Riots were put down, *Le Devoir* articulated their interpretation of the injustice of the situation. It ran a large type front-page story that announced, ‘Le Sang Coule A Quebec—5 Citoyens Paisible Tues: Les Soldats De Toronto Font Feu Sur La Foule’.²⁰⁷ This title made the position of *Le Devoir* and its editors clear. The editors were horrified at the use of violence on ‘peaceful citizens’, and saw it as a more heinous crime since the soldiers who carried it out were Anglophones from Toronto.²⁰⁸ *Le Devoir* frankly described the casualty situation, “Au cours du combat, cinq citoyens qui ne prenaient aucune part à l'émeute, semble-t-il, ont été tués, et au moins six soldats ont été blessés.”²⁰⁹ They further emphasized their belief of the innocence of the victims, and the unjustified nature of the military’s actions by stating, “rien n’y fit et force fut donc de faire feu sur la foule.” This impression did not prevent *Le Devoir* from making a level-headed assessment of the situation in their conclusion:

Jusqu'ici les morts et les blessés semblent être de paisibles citoyens, étranger aux troubles. Les soldats ont pris toutes les précautions pour protéger la vie des citoyens, mais la présence de milliers de personnes sur les lieux les obligeaient, disent-ils, à courir le risque, en faisant feu, d'atteindre des innocents. L'avertissement public par les journaux que des mesures de rigueur allaient être adoptées et que des assemblées dans les rues étaient illégales ne semble par avoir produit une grande impression sur le peuple.²¹⁰

By using English speaking soldiers from Toronto, the federal government was not only showing that they did not consider the local French Canadian militia capable of controlling a riot in their home province, but also potentially laying the groundwork for a civil war along ethnic lines. These two points would have been enough to increase the already tense atmosphere

²⁰⁷ “Le Sang Coule A Quebec—5 Citoyens Paisible Tues,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, April 2, 1918.

²⁰⁸ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 764.

²⁰⁹ “Le Sang Coule A Quebec—5 Citoyens Paisible Tues,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, April 2, 1918.

²¹⁰ “Le Sang Coule A Quebec—5 Citoyens Paisible Tues,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, April 2, 1918.

between Anglophones and Francophones in Canada. The potential backlash of reporting something so volatile was remedied somewhat by describing the efforts the soldiers had taken to limit loss of life. The editors of *Le Devoir* were outraged, and managed to remain relatively level-headed, despite the highly emotional nature of the subject. These articles discouraged public violence, and were thus intended to generate indignation among the managerial class target audience, rather than bloodshed among the primarily working class rioters.²¹¹

In contrast, the *Montreal Gazette* did everything it could to reduce the significance of the event with its much smaller story, “Three Killed By Soldiers in Quebec Riots.”²¹² In the *Gazette*’s version of events, troops fired on rioters after they had been sniped at, and the troops’ origin did not appear in the title, but the article made reference to the “Toronto infantry and dragoons.”²¹³ The article had aspects of Robert S. Prince’s ‘mythology of war’, in that the violence was described more like hijinks than horror. The article even took a relatively cavalier attitude to “machine guns” used on civilians:

The soldiers fired back, and the machine gun section from Toronto opened fire, three machine guns getting into action with a promptness that carried dismay to the houses of the rioters. It was here that most of the rioters were wounded, but the majority were taken by their friends to doctors' offices for treatment.²¹⁴

The *Gazette*’s article was not completely light-hearted, since it also included civilian deaths, such as the first reported death, Arthur Lanailleur, who it reported was “shot through the heart and killed instantly.” The paper also admitted that “The bullet was fired by the military” and “Lapailleur had nothing to do with the rioting” but was “returning home from work when he was

²¹¹ Henri Bourassa, “Stériles Violence,” *Montreal: Le Devoir*, August 11, 1917.

²¹² “Three Killed By Soldiers in Quebec Riots,” *Montreal: The Gazette*, April 2, 1918.

²¹³ “Three Killed By Soldiers in Quebec Riots,” *Montreal: The Gazette*, April 2, 1918.

²¹⁴ “Three Killed By Soldiers in Quebec Riots,” *Montreal: The Gazette*, April 2, 1918.

shot.”²¹⁵ This article represents an attempt by the *Gazette* to sufficiently inform the public, while not offending either group. The article makes no judgements about the potentially excessive force used by the military. Neither does it attempt to label the innocent bystanders that were killed, as guilty aggressors in order to minimize the culpability of the military. The article represents a careful balance to avoid throwing fuel on the Francophone-Anglophone fire.

The Montreal *Gazette*, however, may have been motivated to handle the story in this way by requests made by the Conservative Party.²¹⁶ The Quebec Easter Riots of 1918, were unsettling events made considerably worse by the federal government’s short-sightedness that left several innocent people dead. On this issue, historian Mason Wade argues that it was the decision to charge the crowds with bayonets that led to the use of firearms by rioters on the second day.²¹⁷ In turn, the weapons fired by the rioters caused the military to open fire and kill several innocent bystanders. Therefore, at least some blame could be placed on the federal government for their strategy to end the riots.²¹⁸ Similarly on April 13, 1918 a Quebec jury found the federal government’s mishandling of the situation to be the cause of the eventual tragedy and ordered the government to pay indemnification to the families of the victims and those who had property damaged.²¹⁹ The criticism to follow an error of this magnitude would have been mitigated by newspapers like the Montreal *Gazette* through its depiction of the event as the basic suppression of an excessive riot.

²¹⁵ “Three Killed By Soldiers in Quebec Riots,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, April 2, 1918.

²¹⁶ “The Canadian Newspaper Directory,” *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications*, 12th ed. (Montreal: A. McKim Ltd., 1919), 289, accessed January 25, 2013, <http://archive.org/details/mckimdirector1919montuoft>.

²¹⁷ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 764.

²¹⁸ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 765.

²¹⁹ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 232.

The Montreal *Gazette*'s method of handling ethnically charged issues demonstrates their editors' strategic emotional detachment by using calmer language for the benefit of their political affiliations. This process often avoided placing blame on the federal government, the provincial government of Ontario, and Canadian military authorities for their potentially negligent and unjust actions. Part of their apparent restraint could, however, be attributed to the Canadian Office of the Chief Press Censor, which worked diligently to remove as much negative publicity about the war effort from Canadian publications as possible.²²⁰

In Canada, the Censor's job was made easier by British control of the transatlantic telegraph lines. At the start of the war, the Royal British Navy had used explosives to destroy foreign undersea telegraph lines that connected North America and Europe.²²¹ Combined with this, no press correspondents were allowed to travel to the front until March 1915, and even then they were heavily restricted. Official military eyewitnesses issued all reports up until then. Following 1915, the British government asked each Dominion to appoint a single official war correspondent.²²² The official newspaper correspondents were also subjected to censorship by the British government before they were allowed to send their articles.²²³ This greatly diminished the value of North American newspaper correspondents in Europe.

One of the threats to the Montreal *Gazette*'s integrity was its lack of criticism of the actions of rabble-rousing soldiers who were targeting people of enemy ancestry in Canada. These outbreaks occurred not only in relation to certain ethnic groups, but rather were frequently

²²⁰ Jeffrey A. Keshen, "Chambers, Ernest John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 26, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chambers_ernest_john_15E.html.

²²¹ Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: the Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 192.

²²² Potter, *News and the British World*, 193.

²²³ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 27.

associated with Canadian soldiers wherever they were found.²²⁴ The outbreaks usually resulted in much less damage than the chaos in Calgary and Victoria in early 1916, and consisted of rowdy behaviour and minor vandalism.²²⁵ Despite the proximity of some of these events to Montreal from recruits stationed at Valcartier outside Quebec City, and Ottawa, the *Gazette* chose not to report them. In the field of quality dailies, this news was left to *Le Devoir*. One article by Héroux published in *Le Devoir* pleaded for common sense from the military authorities, and asked that the methods “que l'expérience a démontrées nécessaires au maintien de l'ordre public et de l'honneur militaire” be used.²²⁶ The *Gazette*'s sidestepping of the unruly behaviour of Canadian soldiers indicated its journalistic bias. Yet, the *Gazette* cannot be held completely to blame for its lack of reports on the disorderly conduct of drunken soldiers since the Chief Press Censor attempted to prevent reports that tarnished the reputation of the Canadian military. Chambers believed that if Canadian citizens were under the impression that the army was a source of immorality, this would greatly curtail recruiting and fund raising efforts.²²⁷ For that reason, unflattering reports about the behaviour of Canadian soldiers and the allied war effort were severely restricted.

Le Devoir resisted Chambers' censorship, and managed to publish articles that labelled soldiers as rowdy drunkards. This was a result of its unique position as the main daily venue for Canadian nationalist journalism in Quebec, and the hero status of Henri Bourassa for many French Canadians.²²⁸ On one occasion, Prime Minister Robert Borden received a request from

²²⁴ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians*, 654.

²²⁵ Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916. Robert Allen Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 245.

²²⁶ Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

²²⁷ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 98.

²²⁸ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 206.

the Governor General to shut down *Le Devoir*. Borden refused for fear of public backlash, and remarked: “Bourassa would like nothing better.”²²⁹ Chambers brought similar complaints to Borden, and also pleaded with him to ban *Le Devoir*, but was similarly refused.²³⁰ Bourassa was one of the most well known public speakers in Quebec; his name was enough to draw huge crowds and applause throughout the province.²³¹ If he had been arrested, or had his publication banned, he would have drawn even more attention in Quebec, and the province may have become further alienated from the rest of the country. It was this kind of standing in the community that allowed *Le Devoir* to expose the lawless behaviour of drunken soldiers.²³² The exceptional circumstances that protected *Le Devoir* were not without limitations, and *Le Devoir* frequently walked a line between reporting unpleasant realities and sedition.²³³

Bourassa and *Le Devoir*'s transgressions of Canadian press norms through public dissent led to intimidation tactics against them by imperialists. On December 16, 1914, while speaking at a private venue in Ottawa, Canadian soldiers heckled Bourassa. The soldiers quickly progressed from jeering to threats when a sergeant mounted the stage, “handed Bourassa a Union Jack, and ordered him to wave it.”²³⁴ Bourassa held his ground and refused to obey. In response, the soldiers in the crowd attempted to storm the stage, but were thwarted by a lowered curtain and a rear exit.²³⁵ *Le Devoir* condemned the event as befitting a tyrannical government, saying

²²⁹ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 675.

²³⁰ Jeffery A. Keshen, “All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 73 no. 3 (1993): 323.

²³¹ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 206. Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and The Golden Calf: the Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec (1900-1914)* (Ottawa: Les Éditions De L'Université D'Ottawa, 1972), 16. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 9.

²³² Omer Héroux, “Le Scandale De Calgary,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 11, 1916.

²³³ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 75-77.

²³⁴ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 659.

²³⁵ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 659.

“nous n’étions pas ce soir sous le régime de la liberté et de la justice britanniques.” Going on to say, “Nous avons vécu cette soirée sous le régime prussien et le pire de tous, celui qui entraîne parfois l’envoi en conseil de guerre des soldats par trop brutaux.”²³⁶ *Le Devoir* made further use of the occasion to shed light on a pattern of drunken behaviour by soldiers who harassed citizens regularly across the country.²³⁷

The Montreal *Gazette*’s treatment of the event is an example of its loyalties to the Borden government, and to the war effort. It described the event as “Ottawa [refusing] to hear Bourassa,” and referred to the soldiers as “uniformed volunteers.”²³⁸ The article went on to make assertions that it was unclear whether people who interrupted the speech were actually in a branch of the military or not, and the matter was being investigated. Its editors did not applaud the soldiers for heckling Bourassa, or agree with the methods used against him, despite the things he said. Instead, the *Gazette* attempted to reduce the event’s significance to avoid a contentious issue. This style of reporting, while not excusing the behaviour, cast no judgements. Thus the issue was obfuscated, and the government’s potential blame for not controlling the military was diminished. Reporting like this exposed the *Gazette*’s bias, but their language remained impassive, and they continued to use journalistic methods to maintain a separation that precluded outright support for the Conservative government’s policies.

Le Devoir’s criticisms of the government were not so favourable or emotionless. The more contentious the issue, the more *Le Devoir*’s journalists passionately expressed their anger. The issue that they most consistently came into conflict with the federal government over was the war effort. Bourassa frequently used the newspaper as a venue from which to launch attacks

²³⁶ Omer Héroux, “M. Henri Bourassa Empeche De Parler Au Russel,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 17, 1914.

²³⁷ “Les Boches D’Ottawa-Savergne,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 18, 1914.

²³⁸ “Ottawa Refused to Hear Bourassa,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, December 17, 1914.

on the strategies of Borden's government.²³⁹ Chief among these was Bourassa's belief that the commitments of men and material that Canada was promising were far beyond what the country could afford.²⁴⁰ Bourassa described the situation as "désastreuse" and said that Canada was in that position because of "l'irréflexion et le défaut de patriotisme raisonné."²⁴¹ In his opinion, these expenditures would lead Canada into a state of bankruptcy. Furthermore, his assistant editor, Héroux, argued that the excessive recruiting of Canada's work force for the expeditionary force would cripple "nos industries essentielles et de compromettre notre équilibre économique" which he further argued would be worse for everyone, including "l'Empire."²⁴² Thus, *Le Devoir* rarely tempered its emotive criticism. This scathing editorial style broke with the usual impassivity of quality dailies.

The Montreal *Gazette* chose not to respond to *Le Devoir*'s criticisms. Indeed, despite frequently questioning the validity of the *Gazette*'s coverage of controversial events, the *Gazette* did not answer. From late 1914 to 1918, the Montreal *Gazette* did not publish a single notable article to defend itself against the claims made in *Le Devoir*. This choice to avoid debate left the Montreal *Gazette* with a reputation of indifference toward *Le Devoir* and its criticisms. It is possible that this was done to avoid discussion of the controversial issues that the *Gazette* was already attempting to bury. These would have been centre stage if the *Gazette* engaged in a debate with *Le Devoir*. By 1917, the *Gazette*'s editor, Richard S. White, had been appointed a Conservative Senator by Borden, and would likely have wanted to avoid any negative publicity

²³⁹ Béatrice Richard, "Henri Bourassa and Conscription: Traitor or Saviour?" *Canadian Military Journal* 7 no. 4 (2007): 77.

²⁴⁰ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 196. Henri Bourassa, "Tout Pour L'Empire Rien Pour Le Canada," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 18, 1915.

²⁴¹ Henri Bourassa, "Tout Pour L'Empire Rien Pour Le Canada," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, March 18, 1915.

²⁴² Omer Héroux, "Seront-Ils Fusillés?" Montreal: *Le Devoir*, February 29, 1916.

for his political ally.²⁴³ Thus, to serve the editor's interests as a Conservative figure, it was necessary to avoid casting a bad light on Borden's government.

This pattern of criticism versus impassive support of what continued with the Military Voters Act and the Wartime Elections Act. In 1917, the Borden government announced it would pursue the Military Service Act, which would establish conscription in Canada. Borden attempted to broker a deal with Liberal Leader of the Opposition Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but Laurier was unwilling to force Canadian men into military service, and insisted on an election to settle the matter. Borden had already exceeded the normal period since an election and was forced to call one in 1917.²⁴⁴ The Military Voters Act was instituted mere months before the pivotal election on conscription. The Act allowed soldiers to vote overseas, under the watchful eye of their superiors, and the votes would be counted in the soldiers' home ridings.²⁴⁵ In the event that the soldiers did not know which riding they were from, their vote would be awarded to whichever riding the military officials decided prudent. Historians Desmond Morton and Jack Granatstein argue that without this, and other "acts of gerrymandering" by Borden, he would not have won.²⁴⁶

In addition, the Borden government also introduced the Wartime Elections Act, which was chastised in *Le Devoir*, and downplayed in the *Gazette*. The Wartime Elections Act enfranchised women, but only those who were immediate relatives of men fighting overseas, including wives, mothers, and daughters. For this reason, the Wartime Elections Act, like the Military Voters Act, is often considered to be an act of gerrymandering perpetrated by the

²⁴³ "Senator Richard Smeaton White, President of the Gazette, Dies," Montreal: *The Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1936.

²⁴⁴ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 739.

²⁴⁵ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 49.

²⁴⁶ Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching To Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1989), 145.

Borden government.²⁴⁷ Even the Canadian Suffrage Association denounced the Act as a partisan sham, saying that it would be more truthful if it read “all those who did not pledge themselves to vote Conservative would be disfranchised.”²⁴⁸ It was clear to *Le Devoir*'s editors that changes to the voting regulations were little more than an attempt to force the Military Service Act through Parliament and create conscription in Canada.²⁴⁹ In contrast, the *Montreal Gazette* produced no items on the Act.

Le Devoir received the Military Voters Act with hostility, believing it to be an insult to the democratic traditions of the country. Assistant editor Héroux claimed that it was the result of scheming on the part of Prime Minister Borden and Solicitor General Arthur Meighen, and that it would create “les très lourds fardeaux qu'ils imposent aux contribuables,” since it was the law-abiding citizens who were being punished most.²⁵⁰ On September 20, 1917, *Le Devoir* dedicated its entire front page to coverage of the Act. Once more, the *Montreal Gazette* opted for overseas war news, and insignificant campaign talk rather than commenting on domestic controversies.²⁵¹

The *Montreal Gazette*'s focus on overseas news might have been a reflection of decisions by its editors to attract readers who were eager to know more about the battlefields of Europe. This, however, would likely have been ineffective, since its competitors, like *Le Devoir*, had

²⁴⁷ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 271. J. L. Granatstein and J. Mackay Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 71-73. Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 11.

²⁴⁸ Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 271.

²⁴⁹ “La Loi Des Élection De Guerre,” *Montreal: Le Devoir*, September 20, 1917.

²⁵⁰ Omer Héroux, “L’Envers Du Project Borden-Meighen,” *Montreal: Le Devoir*, September 20, 1917.

²⁵¹ “Ottawa Turns Attention to Campaign: Premier Will Be Away Ten Days and Then Announce His Reconstructed Cabinet,” *Montreal: The Gazette*, September 17, 1917. The article discusses how relatively few changes will be made to Borden's cabinet after the election.

consistent and thorough overseas war coverage as well.²⁵² Furthermore, the *Montreal Gazette*'s war coverage was no more current than *Le Devoir*'s, since they all received their news from the same transatlantic British telegraph lines.²⁵³ Therefore, even though the *Montreal Gazette* published more articles on the war, their quality and content remained roughly equivalent to those in *Le Devoir*. Thus the *Montreal Gazette*'s higher concentration of war related articles are more likely based on their attempts to avoid controversy, while superficially appearing more in touch with what was going on in the war.

The style of war coverage by the two newspapers remained consistent for much of the war, even after major victories for Canadian troops. On April 10, 1917, the *Gazette* proclaimed in a banner headline, "British Strike Hard – Over 6,000 Prisoners – Canadians Capture The Famous Vimy Ridge"²⁵⁴ *Le Devoir* ran a similar article, though on the second page with a substantially smaller headline of "TOUTE LA LIGNE BOCHE CHANCELLE."²⁵⁵ Each article seemed to be little more than a reprinting of the wire story. The *Gazette* opted to use the full article written by the official war correspondent from the Canadian Press, which described the 'heroism' in more dramatic detail. This version included the dubious account of a Canadian soldier whose enthusiasm for battle caused him to lose his rifle, but he was able to kill his armed German counterpart with "the sharp edge" of his steel helmet.²⁵⁶ *Le Devoir* on the other hand, focused more on the strategic reports from overseas that labelled it a great victory, and broke down the gains, and expected gains. This included official estimates that stated, "les troupes ont

²⁵² Robert S. Prince, "The Mythology of War: How Canadian Daily Periodicals Depicted the Great War," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 91.

²⁵³ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 27.

²⁵⁴ Stewart Lyon (Special Correspondent of the Canadian Press), "Canadians Captured 2,000 Prisoners and the Losses were Surprisingly Light," Montreal: *The Gazette*, April 10, 1917.

²⁵⁵ "Toute La Ligne Boche Chancelle," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, April 10, 1917.

²⁵⁶ Lyon, "Canadians Captured 2,000 Prisoners."

pris hier plus de 9,000 hommes et 40 canons” and that there would be “15,000 prisonniers teutons avant ce soir.”²⁵⁷ Each article substantially embellished the prospective gains of Vimy Ridge, as well as underestimating the predicted casualties for Canadians.²⁵⁸ Neither paper provided editorial comment on the battle, which further suggests that they were only reusing officially sanctioned reports.

The Montreal *Gazette*'s pattern of sidestepping objectionable material and *Le Devoir*'s pattern of criticising the government varied slightly during the conscription crisis. It was the most controversial period of the First World War. During the conscription crisis, *Le Devoir* maintained a high level of support among readers province-wide, and drew considerable animosity from the rest of Canada.²⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the *Gazette* attempted to delicately handle a situation that stretched public support for the war to its limits when the government enacted forced military service.

From the start of the First World War in 1914, Prime Minister Robert Borden, and Minister of Militia Sam Hughes, were estimating recruitment numbers that were based on their own enthusiasm rather than reality.²⁶⁰ As a result, recruitment quotas were not met in many provinces, but results were especially poor in Quebec. In Quebec, French Canadians displayed tepid enthusiasm for a British imperial war, and the agrarian lifestyle of many Quebecers meant obligations that could not be abandoned for the sake of military service.²⁶¹ The patriotic press in the rest of Canada saw these recruiting numbers as evidence of cowardly shirkers, and

²⁵⁷ “Toute La Ligne Boche Chancelle,” Montreal: *Le Devoir*, April 10, 1917.

²⁵⁸ Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching To Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1989), 138.

²⁵⁹ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 206.

²⁶⁰ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 667.

²⁶¹ Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 28-29.

subsequently attacked all French Canadians and pacifists.²⁶² These accusations helped to fuel calls for conscription among families of soldiers, and among jingoists.²⁶³ In the end, the federal government proposed conscription after heavy casualties in France had decimated Canadian regiments.²⁶⁴

Conscription was the subject of the most controversial and heated debate in Canada during the First World War. Laurier, a strong supporter of the war, believed conscription would tear the country apart.²⁶⁵ Borden was also reluctant to enact conscription but believed that there was no other way to win the war, and that all sacrifices were justified for that purpose.²⁶⁶ The intensity of this division was apparent in the Montreal dailies. True to form, *Le Devoir* passionately editorialized against what they saw as a thoroughly tyrannical piece of legislation.²⁶⁷ In an article from August 11, 1917, Bourassa isolated the only two factions he believed actually wanted conscription:

Deux catégories d'individus veulent la conscription: ceux qui croient réellement que le Canada doit se saigner à blanc pour la guerre européenne; et ceux qui veulent profiter du prétexte de la guerre pour se ruiner sur la province de Québec. La seule manière de tenir tête à ces deux éléments et de faire échec à la mesure tyrannique, c'est de maintenir l'opposition à la loi sur un terrain où puissent se rencontrer tous les adversaires sincères du projet de loi.²⁶⁸

Yet the Montreal *Gazette* was not so one sided. The *Gazette*'s pattern of avoiding controversy was reduced during the conscription debate, and instead it gave more attention to both sides..

²⁶² Barbara Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), xxix.

²⁶³ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 13.

²⁶⁴ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 733-734.

²⁶⁵ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 743.

²⁶⁶ Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 64, 90.

²⁶⁷ Omer Héroux, "Les Incidents De Winnipeg," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, August 8, 1917. Héroux describes an incident where returned soldiers were using physical violence to intimidate people to vote for conscription.

²⁶⁸ Henri Bourassa, "Stériles Violences," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, August 11, 1917.

Needless to say, their coverage favoured Borden's government, yet they presented some of the opposition's viewpoints as well. This change was likely in reaction to the animosity in response to the conscription debate. Conscription was such a powerful issue that the *Gazette* changed its usual pattern of reporting in order to give some attention to both sides of the debate, while avoiding direct support or advocating for the government.

For Bourassa and *Le Devoir*, the threat of conscription always loomed on the horizon. It was a perpetual fear of isolationist Canadian nationalists, and French Canadians in general, that they would be forcibly dragged into an imperial war in which they wished to have no part.²⁶⁹ As early as December 1914, *Le Devoir* was warning its readers that Borden's commitment to the British Empire would force him to reach his recruiting quotas at any cost, including conscription.²⁷⁰ This marked the beginning of a recurring focus on the subject of compulsory military service, which became increasingly tense as the war progressed.

Conscription seemed inevitable to Bourassa as soon as Borden raised the pledged total of Canadian soldiers to 500,000 in 1916. Recruiting had been steeply dropping everywhere by 1916, and there was a finite number of young men who had responsibilities that could be set aside to go to war. The British-born men old enough to fight had enlisted early on, while native-born Canadians remained more reluctant to join, especially those who lived in rural areas.²⁷¹ *Le Devoir's* editors believed that it would be impossible to raise the additional number of troops

²⁶⁹ Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 18.

²⁷⁰ Henri Bourassa, "Conscription et Banqueroute," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 9, 1914.

²⁷¹ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 668. Wilson, xxi. J. L. Granatstein and J. Mackay Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 26.

Borden had promised without compulsory service.²⁷² Therefore, regardless of the promises made by Borden's government to the contrary, he would need to go back on his word to fulfill the quota. Indeed, Borden privately acknowledged that he hoped conscription would not be necessary, but would not hesitate to invoke it if he believed it was needed.²⁷³ The issue gained momentum as calls from other provinces for Quebec to be forced to do its part became more frequent.

Low recruiting levels in Quebec made its population the target of intense criticism. By 1916, it was clear that recruiting in Quebec had severely lagged behind the other provinces.²⁷⁴ This trend created a substantial degree of animosity from the anglophone Canadian press outside the province and they accused Quebec of not doing its part. The imperialist press used this animosity to help propel the conscription debate in the hopes that through compulsory military service, Quebec would finally have to suffer for the war as the rest of the country had suffered.²⁷⁵ *Le Devoir's* editors confronted these accusations head on, challenging labels like "slackers" directed towards Quebec men.²⁷⁶ In response, assistant editor Héroux showed that Quebec had a higher proportion of farmers than any other province. Since "la grande majorité des cultivateurs anglo-protestants est opposée à la conscription" in all provinces, Héroux asked if they too should be considered slackers for their priorities and beliefs.²⁷⁷ *Le Devoir* editors primarily defended the reputation of Francophones, but not exclusively, since all Quebecers came under attack, without

²⁷² Omer Héroux, "Le Project De Sam Hughes," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, December 26, 1916. Henri Bourassa, "Why Canada Should Not Adopt Conscription," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, July 12, 1917.

²⁷³ Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 264.

²⁷⁴ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 160.

²⁷⁵ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 13.

²⁷⁶ Omer Héroux, "La Protestation Est Generale," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, June 22, 1917.

²⁷⁷ Omer Héroux, "La Conscription Et L'Opinion Anglaise." Montreal: *Le Devoir*, July 5, 1917.

differentiation between English and French speakers.²⁷⁸ This lack of distinction between Anglophones and Francophones by critics of Quebec may have been part of the reason for the high number of critics of conscription among Anglophone Quebecers.²⁷⁹

The presence of Anglophone and Francophone conscription critics in Quebec may have led to a more even representation of pro- and anti-conscription advocates in the *Montreal Gazette*. The *Gazette*'s pattern of avoiding controversial issues applied more to issues affecting Francophones, such as Ontario's bilingual schools bill, than to issues affecting all of Montreal society, like conscription. Where controversial events affected all Canadians, such as the soldier riots and rowdiness, the events were reported, though they were reported in a way that minimized the responsibility of the Conservative government.

The *Gazette*'s attention to conscription did not mean it was willing to take a stand, or list the growing number of factions positioned against conscription, like *Le Devoir*.²⁸⁰ Instead, the *Gazette* included more balanced descriptions of anti-conscription protest rallies made up of "thousands of persons" opposed to conscription.²⁸¹ This coverage included quotations from public speakers, and descriptions of the representative nature of the audiences. More specifically, it explained that both Anglophones and Francophones were incensed over the conscription issue. An article on the Champ De Mars rally explained that "Most of the crowd, which amounted to fully three thousand people was French-speaking, although there was a good sprinkling of

²⁷⁸ Omer Heroux, "La Conscription Et L'Opinion Anglaise." Montreal: *Le Devoir*, July 5, 1917.

²⁷⁹ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 179.

²⁸⁰ Henri Bourassa, "Why Canada Should Not Adopt Conscription," Montreal: *Le Devoir*, July 12, 1917.

²⁸¹ "Conscription Is Condemned By Big Rally of Young Men," Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 24, 1917.

English-speaking people there.”²⁸² In another article, the *Gazette* described legal actions taken by citizens of Montreal against conscription:

In a petition said to have been signed by 10,000 persons, the City Council was requested yesterday to oppose the conscription plan as a whole, of the Prime Minister of Canada. Such a measure was alleged to be contrary to the traditions and interests of the country, and further that the enforcement of the Militia Act for overseas service without a plebiscite is contrary to the constitution.²⁸³

By representing anti-conscription advocates as being orderly and made up of both English and French-speakers, the Montreal *Gazette* weakened claims made by non-Quebec newspapers that Francophones were the only ones against conscription.²⁸⁴ This tactic, however, should not be considered support for the anti-conscription movement.

The Montreal *Gazette* – under the editorship of Richard S. White – was still a Conservative-friendly newspaper, a position that it attempted to maintain without alienating anti-conscription advocates. The *Gazette* acknowledged the necessity behind Borden’s decision to enact conscription through the Military Service Act, or a potential extension to the Militia Act, while barely avoiding overt support for conscription itself.²⁸⁵ This was done by providing coverage of Conservative announcements that included descriptions of the enthusiasm with which they were greeted, as well as optimism for how they would help win the war:

The legislation that will provide the reinforcements to keep the Canadian division in firing line was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Robert Borden this

²⁸² “Interest Will Now Center On Details of Govt.’s Plan,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 19, 1917. “Crowd at Champ De Mars,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 24 1917. “Alderman Were Asked to Oppose Conscription,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 24, 1917. “Against Conscription,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 29, 1917.

²⁸³ “Alderman Were Asked to Oppose Conscription,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 24, 1917.

²⁸⁴ Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 207.

²⁸⁵ “For Compulsory Overseas Service,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 9, 1917. “Canada to Raise 100,000 By Compulsory Military Enlistment On a Selective Basis,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 19, 1917. “Sir Robert Borden Introduces His Selective Conscription Measure,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, June 12, 1917. “Three Classes May Supply All The Men Needed,” Montreal: *The Gazette*, June 12, 1917.

afternoon in an address that will become historic. The Prime Minister, at the end of a masterly review of events that led up to a frank statement of urgent need for men brought the Conservative members of the House to their feet in an outburst of cheering. ... He would not shrink from the determination to support and sustain the Canadian troops at the front.²⁸⁶

Noticeably absent were condemnations of lagging recruiting numbers, or any clear conviction that conscription must happen to win the war. Thus, the *Gazette's* editors were able to appear somewhat balanced to each side of the contentious issue, and subsequently avoid alienating either side. This is what quality dailies were known for before the war. This difference was important in distinguishing the Montreal *Gazette* from fanatical conscription advocates like the Montreal *Star*, which subsequently had their offices dynamited by anti-conscription radicals in August 1917.²⁸⁷

Newspapers in Quebec that were strongly in favour of conscription faced a significant threat of violence from the general public. This threat emerged shortly after Borden's announcement that compulsory military service would be enacted in May 1917. The acts of violence were usually minor, such as when a group of several hundred demonstrators broke the windows of Montreal dailies *La Presse* and *La Patrie*, yet these acts were not isolated events.²⁸⁸ At another anti-conscription rally, the newspaper offices of the Quebec *Chronicle* and *L'Evenement* were also targets of vandalism.²⁸⁹ In light of these circumstances, it is possible that the Montreal *Gazette* gave a more balanced representation to avoid being accused of being proponents of conscription and similarly targeted.

²⁸⁶ "Three Classes May Supply All The Men Needed," Montreal: *The Gazette*, June 12, 1917.

²⁸⁷ Wade, *The French Canadians*, 747.

²⁸⁸ "Conscription Is Condemned By Big Rally of Young Men," Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 24, 1917.

²⁸⁹ "Lavergne Will Be Shot, Hanged, or Go to Jail," Montreal: *The Gazette*, May 25, 1917.

Conscription represented a point of particular tension for Montreal during the First World War, and it was this tension that likely caused the Montreal *Gazette* to treat it with greater care. The Montreal *Gazette* downplayed controversial and heated issues, but with conscription it gave more attention to the opposing side of the issue. This process likely developed from the high level of importance placed on the issue by both Francophones and Anglophones. By delicately handling conscription, the *Gazette* was able to avoid antagonizing either faction, while maintaining the traditional style of a quality daily.

Conclusion

Emotional Times

“On his knees were two newspapers, one French, the other English. . . . Athanase threw both papers on the floor. What place did reasons or intelligence have in politics? The newspapers were like kids picking sides for a fight. The crisis of the war was only making them worse, not better.”

*Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes.*²⁹⁰

Examples from Montreal, London, Chicago, Toronto, and New York showed that there was a significant variance in the reporting styles of quality dailies during the First World War. These differences did not emerge out of a single source, but rather came from forces at work in each country, and the consciences of the newspapers’ editors and owners. Each newspaper was unique, and each one faced its own struggle between maintaining quality and political, social, and economic pressures. The Montreal *Gazette* and *Le Devoir* represented two of the paths for quality dailies. Where the *Gazette* maintained its pre-war style, *Le Devoir* increasingly cast aside quality daily etiquette and reacted boldly to the wartime environment. By studying these quality dailies, and briefly looking at others, it has been possible to challenge the misconception that all newspapers were fervently supportive of the war effort during the First World War. Indeed, a majority of newspapers did take that path, yet the wartime press cannot be understood without looking at individual newspapers to determine how owners and editors reacted to the pressures of the war.²⁹¹

Early twentieth century quality dailies were defined by their contrast to the sensationalism of the popular press. Popular dailies, as part of the popular press, were able to

²⁹⁰ Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (Don Mills, Ontario: William Collins Sons and Co. Canada Ltd, 1945), 86-87.

²⁹¹ Robert S. Prince, “The Mythology of War: How Canadian Daily Periodicals Depicted the Great War,” (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 18.

attract large audiences thanks to their simplistic and eye-catching style that attempted to thrill readers. To the owners of quality dailies, the popular press produced a lurid distortion of the world, one that could be corrected through respectable reporting written for educated readers.²⁹² This commonly held ethos of the quality press was challenged, however, by emotional times like the First World War.

The quality dailies in countries engaged in the First World War were subjected to pressures through state censorship and hawkish public patriotism. These influences, as well as the popular press's emphatic support for the war, contributed to a wave of militaristic fervour, which only the most uncompromising editors and owners could withstand.²⁹³ Quality dailies like the *Montreal Gazette*, *The New York Times*, and *The Manchester Guardian* walked a middle path between opposition and complete submission by reporting on controversial topics in an emotionally detached fashion, yet maintaining a distance from government propaganda. The degree to which each newspaper submitted to censorship varied greatly, as the editors of each newspaper made compromises with their own values.

For the owner/editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, C.P. Scott, the First World War represented an approaching tide of blind patriotism, and a subsequent drop in circulation for liberal newspapers. In response to this prediction, he refused to change the style of his newspaper, and braced himself for the worst. To his surprise, however, *The Guardian's* circulation substantially increased during the war years.²⁹⁴ This steadfastness was also apparent in Montreal, where the *Gazette* refused to change its pre-war style despite the war. It was able to

²⁹² Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times 1851-1921* (New York: The New York Times, 1921), 202-203, 331-332.

²⁹³ Prince, "The Mythology of War," 69.

²⁹⁴ David Ayerst, *The Manchester Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 393.

achieve its goals and maintain political allegiances without resorting to rabble rousing. This came in the form of a paternal voice of calm authority. It was a voice that likely stemmed from the strong position of the *Gazette* as the representative of the Anglophone elites who controlled the financial sector of Montreal, and thus the city. Emotional detachment from the war was not found among all quality dailies, or significantly among the popular press, which on average outnumbered the circulation of quality dailies in Montreal by a ratio of five to one.²⁹⁵

The circulation majority held by popular dailies has overshadowed the few steadfast quality dailies that maintained even-handed reporting practices during the First World War. As a result, newspapers during the war are frequently written off as sources of propaganda. Indeed, more newspapers erupted with enthusiasm for the war than those that remained calm or challenged the war's motives.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, calm or critical newspapers were available, and the First World War's daily press cannot be fully understood without considering them. The newspapers that provided frenzied reporting were more often popular dailies since that style was a consistent part of their reputation.²⁹⁷ The only major aspect that changed was the subject of the popular press's excitement, and the unified nature of their outrage against a common enemy.²⁹⁸

Understanding the dynamic that existed between quality dailies and popular dailies, and the way they reported before, during, and after times of crisis, allows historians to draw much clearer conclusions about the information presented in newspapers. In addition, this study has added to the field by defining the methods used by quality dailies during the First World War to achieve their ends, namely, how they crafted their reporting style to emphasize or minimize the

²⁹⁵ Prince, "The Mythology of War," 49.

²⁹⁶ Jeffery A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 4-5. Prince, "The Mythology of War," 526-527.

²⁹⁷ Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 57.

²⁹⁸ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 4-5.

importance of particular events and issues. They partly did this through tactics like the *Gazette's* use of third person sources to distance themselves from heated issues, and *Le Devoir's* uncompromisingly direct editorial analysis. The methods described here and their uses have not been similarly discussed elsewhere. Through these methods it has been possible to link newspaper owners and editors to their interests and the effect on their published product. These links were essential to understanding why each paper reacted the way they did to a disruptive period like the First World War.

The newspaper industry during the First World War in Canada has yet to be fully explored, or understood. Micro or macro-historical studies of newspapers and their readers in this period would help to assess the importance of news and newsgathering in the lives of average citizens. Understanding how the printed word impacted the day-to-day lives of citizens could be significant in determining the amount of influence this medium wielded in this period, and to what extent the medium was able to manipulate public opinion.

Micro-historical analysis of newspapers, like this one, help to dispel the generalizations that exist concerning newspapers during the First World War. Through this study it has been possible to re-examine the idea that all of the newspapers in Canada were emphatically supportive of the war effort, with the only exceptions being controversial newspapers like Henri Bourassa's *Le Devoir*. The more complicated reality is that members of the quality press like the Montreal *Gazette* did not challenge the war, but did not publish outright propaganda either. These kinds of complexities affected other newspapers, in other cities in Canada, and around the world during times of turmoil. They represent an important part of understanding any medium's presence and the society it informs.

This thesis demonstrates the importance of understanding the influences that affect the media. The sharp contrast between the reporting styles of *Le Devoir* and the *Gazette* during the First World War can be directly attributed to their owners, and the strategies they adopted to achieve their goals. In Montreal, the *Gazette* maintained the style and reputation of a quality daily to a greater degree than *Le Devoir*, but neither paper was free or unbiased. Each one controlled their output, and carefully crafted what the public saw based on their own priorities. For the *Gazette*, these were winning the war and maintaining Conservative connections, for *Le Devoir* it was preventing erosion of Francophone status and Canada's autonomy. The *Gazette* sided with the Conservative government, while *Le Devoir* became anti-authoritarian and chose not to be limited by the traditional style of quality dailies. Now, emergencies feed the 24-hour news cycle, where too often reporting is distorted through the looking glass of political partisanship. It is a time when the ideal quality daily style is even more of an exception.

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