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CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

FOUNDED BY SAUL HAYES, O.C., Q.C., LL.D., F.R.S.A.
FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R. Econ.S., F.S.S.

Nous nous souvenons

Forgetfulness leads to Holocaust;
Remembering is the root of redemption.
(Baal Shem Tov)

NEW SERIES
Number thirty-one

ANTI-SEMITISM III

EARLY ANTI-SEMITISM: THREATS TO EQUALITY

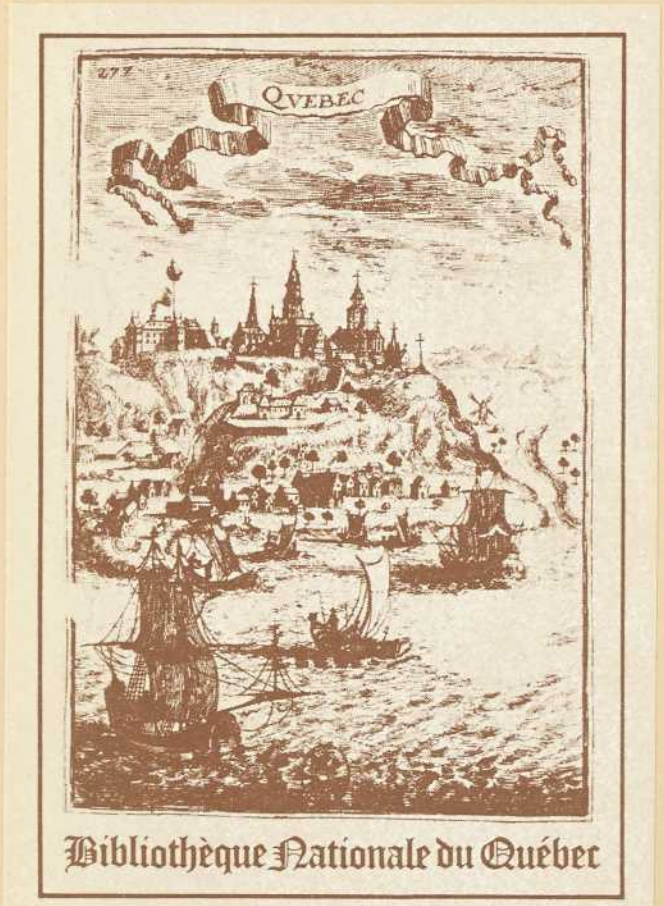
Part 1

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A CENTURY WITHOUT ANTI-SEMITISM

When we glance at the broad lines of the condition of Jews, ever since the arrival of the first of them in each of the colonies which later constituted the nation, we note a remarkable fact -- the veritable absence of anti-Jewish feeling of any type until a clear date -- indeed, until the high moment in the nation's history of religious freedom -- the enactment of the Rectories Act. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 25, 1982)

Several early demonstrations which can be read as anti-Jewish may be cited to disprove the generalization of total absence of anti-Semitism in the colony's history.

One of these is the petition of the seigneurs of the Quebec area on the departure of Gov. Murray in 1766, which expressed warm appreciation of the general and profound alarm because of the deterioration of conditions with the establishment of civil government, the birth of trouble and confusion!

"A conspiracy which has come in the train of the army as businessmen and clerks and of London merchants, unworthy of preferment because of their conduct and want of education and being themselves contemptible, have dragged with them some of our compatriots, some of the same character; others, without full reflection gave their votes and signed the blackest calumnies in a language they do not understand; some of the latter admitted they had been deceived, and gentlemen of honour have not stopped disavowing such detestable procedures...

"Most of the new subjects who have joined the conspiracy and whose signatures are accepted are men without birth, without education, incapable of fine feeling, soldiers dismissed from French forces; barbers; household servants; even children, some of whom, in order to become merchants, have become slaves of their creditors; even Jews who, accustomed as they are to respect citizens in other lands where they are tolerated, did not hesitate in this province to rise above the New Subjects of the King; these and their adherents have ruined and reduced to the lowest misery those who attached themselves to them." (Public Archives of Canada, ser. 2, vol. IV, p. 23; cited by Azarie Couillard Despres. La Noblesse de France et du Canada, with preface by Victor Morin. Montreal, Le Pays laurentien, 1916. pp. 46-49)

This outburst by the seigneurs of the French régime deprived of much of their power by the English conquest may be read as the last breath of French colonists on the American continent who, during the full tenure of their power, precluded the arrival of a single Jew.

The revival of this document, in 1916, by Couillard Despres dates from another period. The author of the defence of the old nobility is an anti-Semite from the blackest corner of Quebec history, from the Plamondon era. His volume is a response to "the erroneous accusation lodged against the Canadian nobility." He seeks to prove that these seigneurs did all they could to defend their interests and the interests of all Canadiens, to conserve the liberties granted them by treaties; and all this in spite of the clique of English and Jews then in the colony -- three hundred at the most -- who sought to become the masters of more than 60,000 men, and keep them in most vile slavery."

As an example the priest recalls that Gov. Murray had invited the Canadiens in 1765 to elect an Assembly. They met on May 26, and were to meet again on Feb. 21, 1766, but the fanaticism of the handful of English and Jews in the colony prevented this assembly." (pp. 66-67)

The records of the lives of the first Jewish settlers in the British colonies in northern North America show (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 15-25) that during the first century of Jewish settlement, in the climate of frontier and in an Empire that controlled its distant subjects less tightly than other colonial European powers, there was barely a single anti-Semitic act or word. Not even during the election campaigns of the Harts and the Judahs, not even while Jewish matters were being legislated, not during the first movements of Jewish immigration, not during the period of synagogue development.

We have not the slightest indication that Jews in office suffered the slightest embarrassment on account of their origin or felt in the least inhibited. Hyman as municipal head in the Gaspé, S.B. Hart as justice of the peace in Three Rivers, Benjamin Hart aggressive in his similar duties during the 1837 disturbances in Montreal, Samuel Hart as legislator in Nova Scotia -- all were at ease in their duties.

The 1838 experience of Benjamin Hart remains a mystery.

The diary of Abraham Joseph of Quebec reflects the daily life of a merchant citizen, an undifferentiated member of his class. His role of city councillor -- and mayor but for a handful of votes -- as founder of Banque Nationale, and later as president of the Stadacona Bank, was accepted without particular comment.

David David, one of the founders and until his death director of the Bank of Montreal, was as comfortable with his associates.

This was as true of his brother Aaron Hart David, one of the early doctors in Canada, medical chief during the cholera epidemic in Montreal, and founder of the medical training facilities in Lower Canada, was as prominent and equally at ease with his peers, receiving scientific and social honours.

The young Jews' participation in military activities is striking in the annals of New World communities. Even after separating out army supply and mercantile services, which in that century were part of the commission structure of army, the participation of the few Lower Canada Jews in the life of the uniform and in field action is extraordinary.

In times of crisis since the Seven Years' War Jews rallied to the colors in remarkable numbers. In 1760, in 1812, as in 1837 nearly every Jewish family had officer sons. There are no Canadian Jewish names absent from the rolls of army commissions.

The case of Ezekiel Hart, 1807-9 is often cited as an exception to this generalization. It is not necessary to argue here that it is not a case in point, for it is not by argument in debate that the reader will form a true picture of the historic reality. Reference is more germane to the documents and discussion of the case whence the reader will form his own perception of the events of that period. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 16-19)

In the words of Jacques I. Kantrowitz,

"In the absence of deeply-rooted traditions and social structure, North American society was more free and encouraged contacts between its diverse elements. Because of its judicial system and democratic ideology, North American society did not face the Jews with state or legal ineligibilities such as the Jews had known in most parts of Europe during the nineteenth century.

"This is not to say that anti-Semitism had disappeared completely or was not part of the North American culture. As a Christian society North America retained some stereotypical attitudes in regard to Jews, and North Americans could be as discriminatory as others. However, racism came in conflict with basic democratic ideology. Its impact was therefore never as strong, as universal or as extremist in its manifestations as in the worst European examples.

"The freedom to secure a secular education for the children in the public schools, the right to vote and to be elected, the right to organize and to militate openly for political, social and economic justice were enormous and positive differences. They transformed the European Jew who had been scarcely tolerated and often persecuted into a citizen enjoying the rights and responsibilities of other members of society. Being a member of the Jewish community has become a matter of choice rather than a status imposed upon a stranger barred from citizenship." ("Les Relations de la communauté juive de Montréal avec la majorité franco-québécoise." MS.)

CANADIAN BEGINNINGS

Arthur Brodey has noted, in a discussion of the foundation of political rights of Jews in Canada, that "it is generally considered that the Jews of Canada were granted their full political and civil equality by the so-called 'Emancipation Act' or 'Bill of Rights,' passed by the Quebec Legislature and assented to June 5, 1832.

"Actually, however, the Jews of Canada had in law full, equal rights from almost the very beginning of the British Occupation of Canada in 1759. We are discussing here the political rights of Jews in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario only, though the rights in these provinces would be applicable in principle to the other provinces.

"Before the British conquest, Canada was subject to French law and aliens had no political rights. By a royal decree, Jews were forbidden to settle in the French Colonies.

"The equal political rights of the Jews of Canada are founded on the British Naturalization Act of 1740, which, as will be shown, was in force in Canada soon after the conquest. This act known as 13 George II, Ch. 7, was passed by the British Parliament to encourage trade and to bring capital and men into the American colonies.

"It was not technically till 1881 that this Act was repealed in Canada, though it had fallen into disuse long before as a practical means of a foreigner obtaining naturalization.

"What was this Naturalization Act? It provided for the naturalization of foreign Protestants and others, including Quakers and Jews, who had resided or should reside seven years or more in any of the British colonies in America.

"Certain oaths were required before receiving naturalization. Jews taking the oaths might omit the expression in the oath of abjuration forbidden to Jews, 'on the true faith of a Christian' and they were exempt from taking the sacrament. Otherwise, Jews could take the usual oaths.

"Those naturalized were deemed to be natives, that is, <u>His Majesty's natural born subjects</u> as if they and everyone of them had been born within this Kingdom.

"It was provided that no one so naturalized was to be a member of the Privy Council or of either House of Parliament or enjoy any office or place of trust <u>within</u> the Kingdom of Great Britain or Ireland, either civil or military, or of taking grants from the Crown of any lands within the Kingdom of Great Britain or Ireland.

"In order to clarify this Act, the Naturalization Act of 1773 (Imperial) known as 13 Geo. III, Ch. 25 was passed merely to remove any doubts as to interpretation. It was merely declaratory of rights held under the early Act. It made clear beyond any doubt that the clause in the Act of 1740 regarding holding office meant that everyone naturalized under the Act of 1740 shall be deemed capable of taking and holding any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or of taking and holding any grants of land from the Crown except within Great Britain and Ireland, any law or act of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding.

"As the preamble to the Naturalization Act of 1740 stated that one of the reasons for the Act was to give the naturalized citizen privileges which the natural-born subjects of the realm enjoyed, such rights of a naturalized citizen could certainly not be more than those which a natural-born subject possessed.

"This Act on the face of it clearly intended that both naturalized and natural-born in the colonies should be able to hold office and sit in Parliament in the colonies. Otherwise there was no purpose to the proviso clause at all.

"There was nothing in that Act which distinguished between a Jew and non-Jew. All came with term natural-born subject.

"Furthermore, it would have been useless to provide for a Jew to hold office in the colonies if the clause regarding oaths for naturalization did not apply also to oaths necessary in taking offices. That would have made the statute inoperative as to Jews as to taking offices.

"When did this Act and this principle of colonial legislation become part of the Law of Canada?

"It is well to keep in mind that, when English Law is introduced into a conquered (or ceded) colony, the English Common Law, including the statutes altering the law up to the time of introduction, is in force unless it is specifically not applicable. Imperial Statutes, expressed to apply to the colonies generally whenever passed, become part of the laws of the colony. This latter was true up to 1931.

"English Law was introduced into Canada by the Proclamation of 1763, although this was disputed by the French.

"If that was so, the Naturalization Act of 1740 which provided for the granting of citizenship and civil rights to Jews in British colonies, was in force here from 1763 under the general rule of law above stated.

"In any case the Quebec Act 14, George II, Ch. 83, made it part of the Laws of Canada and recognized its validity from the beginning.

"Section 18 of that Act reads as follows:

> "'Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to repeal or make void, within the said Province of Quebec, any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain heretofore made for prohibiting, restraining or regulating the Trade or Commerce of His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America but that all and every the said Acts, and also all Acts of Parliament heretofore made concerning or respecting the said colonies, shall be, and hereby is declared to be, in Force within the said Province of Quebec and every Part thereof.'

"Canada was divided into separate provinces by the Constitutional Act of 1791. These provinces were Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario).

"Aside even from the Naturalization Act of 1740, it was provided in this Constitutional Act that, to be capable of voting at any election of a member to serve in an assembly in either of the said provinces or of being elected at any such election, it was necessary to be 21 years of age, a natural-born subject of His Majesty or a subject of His Majesty naturalized by act of the British Parliament or a subject of His Majesty having become such by the conquest and cession of the Province of Canada.

"The only oath required to qualify and sit in the assembly was provided for in Section 29:

> "'I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to His Majesty, King George,***, etc. so help me God.'

which any Jew could take.

"Section 42 of the Act provides that any act passed by either of the two assemblies which affects the enjoyment or exercise of any religious forms or mode of worship or which shall impose any penalties, burthens, or disqualifications in respect to them must be laid before both Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain before the King's assent can be obtained.

"In 1792, a group of foreigners petitioned to become naturalized citizens under the Act of 1740. The group included a Jew, Elias Solomon, who had been living in the city of Quebec at least since 1775, since there exists a record of his having applied for a liquor license at that time.

"The petitioners evidently went through the required regulations for naturalization.

"The opinion of the English Law Officers, given in a letter on July 6, 1792, at the request of Dundas, Colonial Secretary, was that a natural-born subject and those naturalized under Act of 1740 could vote and be elected as member of the assembly of Lower Canada.

"This view was confirmed by J. Monk, Attorney General of Lower Canada, in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor Clark, dated November 9, 1792.

"The Proclamation of 1763 confirmed by the Quebec Act, brought into Quebec the Common and Statute Law of England in regard to criminal matters. This included the qualification of Justices of the Peace (after taking the necessary oaths).

"The Naturalization Act of 1740 would have been applicable to Canada in this respect. Under the law regarding the applicability of English Statutes and Common Law, the Jew would have been relieved of the taking of the forbidden parts of the oath necessary for this office.

"By 1792, a Jew naturalized under the Act of 1740 had full political rights if not from 1763, then at least from 1774.

"That is, a Jew could hold any office, civil or military, vote or sit in Parliament, and take Crown grants of Land.

"Moreover, in regard to sitting in Parliament and taking the oaths of that office, the Constitutional Act reinforced the Act of 1740 and beyond doubt permitted a Jew who was a natural-born or a naturalized subject to take his seat in Parliament.

"Nor could any Act of any of the colonial legislatures take away any rights of the Jew because of his religion unless it had been previously brought before England's parliament.

"This refers mostly to naturalized British subjects under the Act of 1740 which gave them equal rights before the law.

"Yet it is clear that natural-born subjects could have no less rights than naturalized citizens and that this was the intention of the Act of 1740 itself!

"After the cession of Canada in 1763, the inhabitants by the fact of conquest became British subjects and were subjected in that respect to the Common Law of England. By this law which every person born under the Crown, no matter whether of English or foreign parents, was a British subject (with certain exceptions).

"In Common Law, therefore, a Jew born let us say in Canada, or for that matter anywhere in British territory, was a natural-born British subject. This rule applied up to 1870.

"There was much discussion as to whether a Jew who was a natural-born subject could obtain the rights granted a naturalized one under the Act of 1740.

"The Act of 1832 seemed to be concerned with removing doubts only in the cases of natural born Jews, it evidently having been taken for granted that naturalized Jews had these rights.

"There certainly could not have been any doubt as to right to vote and to sit in Parliament which was clearly set out in the Constitutional Act for natural born and naturalized alike." ("150 Years ago a Quebec City Jew became a Citizen," in Daily Hebrew Journal, Aug. 31, 1942, and his M.H.L. thesis on Political and Civil Status of the Jews in Canada, Jewish Institute of Religion, 1933; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 16, pp. 127-33)

This legal position was argued during the Ezekiel Hart case in the Lower Canada legislature by John Richardson and his colleagues on Feb. 22, 1808. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 16, pp. 132-33; no. 17, pp. 283-87)

As early as 1767, when the British Royal Dominion of Canada was but four years old, the seigneurs of the lands and properties of the fiefs of the District of Montreal in the Province of Quebec petitioned the king that all subjects of this province be admitted to all charges with no other consideration except their talents and personal merit, without any distinction by religion.

Whatever they may have intended by the phrase "without distinction by religion" in this context of time and occasion, it was a clear indication of their social and legal philosophy. (Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty, eds., Documents concernant l'histoire constitutionnelle du Canada, 1759-91. Ottawa, Kings Printer, 1911. Sessional Documents, House of Commons, 6-7 Ed. VII, 1907, no. 18, pp. 162-63)

In this sense the royal instructions sent in 1787 to Lord Dorchester, when Dr. Charles Inglis was named Bishop of Nova Scotia, contained clear orders that the governor was to accord freedom of conscience and to permit the practice of all religions not forbidden by law to all who inhabit or frequent the provinces under his government, provided that they are content with the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of this liberty without being cause of scandal to the government. (Ibid., pp. 544-45)

Such thinking and the formulation in regard to equality and freedom of religion underlying early Canadian constitutional thinking is also evidenced in the surviving texts of Attorney-General Alexander Wedderborn, who was later raised to the peerage with the title of Laughboro. Later he was named Count of Roslyn. In 1771 and 1772 he was authorized to study and to advise on the laws of the province.

In his view: "Only the security of the state can justify limitations imposed on persons because of their religious beliefs. This principle is just, but it has seldom been judiciously applied; for experience has shown that public safety has often been endangered by such limitations and that, on the contrary, religious tolerance has never overturned a state. An enlightened policy, therefore, demands that the inhabitants of Canada should enjoy the full privileges of practicing their religion, and it follows that the ministers of this faith be protected and that the means of their subsistence be guaranteed.

"In this regard, the people of Canada have no reason to complain of the spirit of justice and humanity of the crown in regard to religion."

He recommended that "all regulations regarding religion in this country be made with a view to assuring the people the free exercise of religion and to guarantee the crown an appropriate control of the clergy. To meet the first objective a declaration should be published in which the freedom to practice their religion without interference and without risk of penalty would be accorded to all subjects in Canada."

His text formulated a clause he recommended to the House of Commons which would assure that "all subjects of His Majesty of the Province of Quebec may freely practice their religion in the said province without incurring penalties or prosecution." (Ibid., pp.273-80)

Canadian constitutional documents, including the form of the Quebec Act adopted by Parliament in 1774 and the final act, the drafts of the Constitutional Act of 1790 dealing with the governance of the legislative council and assembly, the 1791 text of the act touching declarations by voters -- none of them invoke the phrase "the true faith of a Christian." (Documents, French version, 1-372, 381, 641-42, 651-52 and 670-71)

It is interesting to note that the royal instructions to Lord Dorchester, governor of the colony in 1787, expressly reserve to him the granting of licences for marriages and refer to no restrictions or credal authority on this matter.

Furthermore, he is commanded "to permit Liberty of Conscience and the free Exercise of all such Modes of Religious Worship, as are not prohibited by Law, to all Persons who inhabit and frequent the Provinces under your Government, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, without giving Offence or Scandal to Government." (P. 839)

In view of the problems raised by the forms of oaths to be administered to Jews throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, we may note that the oath for voters at elections as proposed in the first draft of the constitutional act (ca. 1790) and enacted in the law of 1791 for members of the Legislative Council or Assembly as they prepare to sit or vote contain no reference to the Christian faith. (pp. 997-1013, 1039 and 1040)

To be precise, it was only when political developments placed the rights of Jews and of other non-Anglicans at issue that the question was raised, and we came to be reminded that the law limited freedom of worship and the privileges of communicants not of the state religion.

It was only because a majority of the 1808 assembly of Lower Canada had a political interest in unseating Ezekiel Hart that they argued their rights, as a legislative body, to determine who may sit with them.

When the Jews in the colony petitioned for permission to organize a synagogue and to maintain a register of births, marriages and deaths , they found themselves in the midst of the Christian struggle for the equality of denominations and faiths. Indeed, the representations by the Jews, who were not the first petitioners, led to a speedy victory for the Protestant dissidents, in spite of opposition by the Anglicans.

Significantly, it was the colonial legislature dominated by French Canadians that accorded this victory to liberty of conscience and equality of faiths in the spirit of the revolution of 1789. As long as this philosophy was so pervasive among anglophone and francophone Canadians legislation in this spirit continued, with the granting of political equality in 1832 and other measures in the enlarged colony of the United Canada, in the face of traditional opposition from the established church.

RESPONSIBILITY IN TROIS-RIVIERES

This relaxed and generous climate is indicated in the history and in the biographies of the Jewish pioneers in the country during this century. As we follow their careers we note their ease in private and public life, their bearing as they formulated their views and opinions on a variety of matters, often controversial and political. These activities included the journalistic, professional, official -- even in the realms of police and military -- with few to question them and none effectively.

It is not surprising that Gerard Malchelosse says of Aaron Hart,

"He must have been an extraordinary man, if not a genius, at a time when Canada was born to English mercantilism. His career can be appreciated in various ways. But seen from any perspective it remains true that he was needed during his lifetime.

"If he had not existed we may question whether the city of Laviolette would have taken the direction which he more than anyone else gave it during the thirty years of his life." ("Les Premiers juifs aux Trois-Rivières," in Le Bien public, Feb. 23, 1939, pp.1, 16)

The Canadian patriarch is not to be confused with Aaron Hart (1724-1762) whose testament is dealt with by Leo Hershkowitz. ("Wills of New York Jews, 1743-74," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 56, no. 1, Sept. 1966. p. 95)

His participation as a Jewish resident of the colony in governmental shaping of policy -- as distinct from joining hundreds of citizens in signing petitions which were vox populi, or at least of a large segment of the populi -- was probably not to recur for a century.

On Nov. 13, 1786 a committee of five members of the Legislative Council, together with Aaron Hart and four other Trifluvians addressed a letter,

"His Excellency Lord Dorchester in Council having been pleased to appoint Us to be a Committee to take into consideration and to report to His Lordship (preparatory to the meeting of the Legislative Council, which will be on the fifteenth day of January next) the State of the Police of the Province with such improvements as may be necessary to make therein."

The governor wrote five residents of Three Rivers for their advice. Together with Aaron Hart, the Mauricien recipients of this letter were Tonnancour, Samuel Sills, Bellefeuille, and Malcolm Fraser.

A similar request was sent by the Council committee to a group of Quebec City merchants.

Four trifluvian merchants responded on Dec. 28, 1786; not the four who had been addressed but Hart, Sills, Fraser and J.-B. Laframboise,

"In consequence of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Quebec Merchants. We the Subscribers at a late meeting have considered of the following objects, on those subjects of the internal and external Commerce and Police of the Province in general, and Three Rivers in particular,and which are universally necessary.

"We have therefore to request your Sentiments with all convenient speed, on objects so interesting to the Province at large, and to Quebec in particular.

"1st -- That foreign Molasses should not be imported unless subject to such duty as will bring it to an equal value of Molasses imported from the British Islands.

"2nd -- That importation of Wine and Fruit directly from Spain and Portugal under credit Restrictions and Rules.

"3d -- Bounty on Exports including Pot and Pearl Ash.

"4th -- The improvement of the Fisheries

"5th -- The improvement of the Wheat and Flower Trade, and establishing Public Markets.

"6th -- The improvement of the Navigation of the River.

"7th -- The recovery of debts on the principles of the English Commercial Laws, speedy processes and Additional Laws for the Recovery of small debts which is much wanted at this place, as well as a better Police; The present system being found no ways beneficial to Trade, here being no means for recovery of small debts, but by waiting the arrival of the Circular Courts twice per Year, which Courts sitting sometimes at Machiche and sometimes here, have often been attended with many abuses as well as total losses: The establishment therefore of a Weekly Court at this place for the recovery of small debts would be of a general benefit.

"8th -- The Establishment of Appeals and a Court of Chancery.

"9th -- Registering of all Deeds and Mortgages, and to prevent frauds on Mortgages, and that the Original Deeds and Mortgages should be left in the hands of the Proprietors, and not left in the possession of the Notaries.

"10th -- Some regulations of Law for Bankrupts, to prevent Frauds.

"11th -- That a Standard should be fixed for Weights and Measures in the Province.

"12th -- Bringing all Gold coins to one certain weight.

"13th -- A tax on all Goods sold at Vendue; Furs and Goods sold by execution excepted.

"14th -- A Charter for incorporating a select number of Citizens to make Bye Laws, authorized to Commit Felons, and decide civil and Criminal causes, under certain Rules and Restrictions (without the trouble of a Journey to Montréal) and whose power should extend, as was formerly done from St. Anne to Berthier on this side, and from St. Pierre to Masqua on the South Shore, also with full power to regulate the Police.

"15th -- The establishment of public Schools. We think highly necessary, and that Three Rivers is a very proper spot for an establishment of that kind." (Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty, eds. Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-91. Pt. 2. Ottawa, Sessional Papers, 1907, 6-7 Edward VII, no. 18, pp. 925, 929-30)

THE EUROPEAN SCENE

The various anti-Semitisms of Canada at the end of the nineteenth century and the next half are a complex syndrome, and to situate the Canadian phenomenon within the setting of world history and of Quebec society is very difficult.

It is not a simple case of the export and import of ideas.

To understand the grand lines of Canadian Jewish history, their relations with their neighbours and the conditions of their freedoms, we need to look at mid-nineteenth century, precisely at 1862, at developments in western Europe which became sensational towards the end of the twentieth century and which swelled to an oceanic flow of blood in a world war and in holocaust; but which also began their evil blossoming about 1862.

In regard to dating it is interesting that the rabid journalist Renault, like Farly and other Quebec anti-Semites, gives the mid-1860's as the date of the new anti-Semitism. He wrote on Jan.8, 1895,

"All who have relevant knowledge of the role which Jewry has played in Europe during the last thirty years, all who have read the works of Edouard Drumont, of Maris, of Jacques de Biez, of Gougemont des Mousseaux, of Jean de Lingneaux, of the German pastor Stocker, of the converted Jew Brafman and of several others, the writings of Paul de Cassagnac, of A. de Boissandre, of Jean Drault, of Gaston Mery and of others will think as I do,and will agree to call so all may hear, 'Watch Out! Be Careful!'" (La Croix du Canada)

Many of these names are familiar to those who followed the Plamondon case (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26, 27) or the history of anti-Semitism in France.

Because of the variety of influences at play -- religious, partisan, economic, political and personal -- the European story is often told in regional and national terms. But history becomes difficult to follow, as the trans-national influences are altered, particularly since these trans-national forces are often shaped and reshaped in national terms.

These settings are varied as to be disparate, yet there are relationships between their angled levels, and we are -- after all -- dealing with one defined phenomenon of universal implications and proportions. In Auschwitz the atom bomb burst upon humanity, and all mankind is still plumbing the depths and breadths of the fatal catastrophe.

Because some procedure must needs be followed, our present glimpse upon the subject, which is limited to the Canadian phenomenon, only notes the worldwide plays of force, and will touch upon the forms this antiquity-rooted phenomenon assumed in the several Canadian societies of this period. From this Canadian perspective certain world events seem particularly revealing and helpful.

In considering the chapter of Canadian Jewish history dealing with anti-Semitism we touch a worldwide phenomenon which, not by coincidence, has an identical beginning in time -- the years of the 1860's and the first of the 1870's. There is a relationship between the relevant chapters of modern Jewish history and of Canadian Jewish history; but not an identity.

On the record the world picture is related to the Paris commune, the invention of racism, the births of Germany and of Italy, the internal politics of France, the financial history of the period and a score of other social developments of the time. Among the important forces which distinctly came to affect Jews were trends within the Catholic church, those who largely followed its grand lines and the sometimes strange partnerships it made for the occasion.

Jacques Grisé (p. 130) suggests that the resurgent ultramontanism movement was strengthened during this period because of the weakened identification of church and state in Europe and beyond. This encouraged Catholic thinkers to strengthen the now more independent church so that it itself might defend its own interests, without recourse to state instrumentality. In the language of the time this became phrased as religious freedom for the church and liberalism. A wave of sympathy for the pope, now perceived as persecuted by the Italian Risorgimento, favoured the theological movement identified with ultramontanism and papal infallibilitiy. (Les Conciles provinciaux de Québec et l'Eglise canadienne, 1851-86. Montréal, Fides, 1979. 454 p.)

The particular phenomenon of late nineteenth century anti-Semitism had its own testaments in gestation, such as Chamberlain, Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, Henri-Roger Gougemont des Mousseaux who was Commander of the Order of Pius IX, Edouard Drumont; Jews-become-Catholics as David Drach and Joseph and Augustin Lémann; Nilus of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Hitler's Mein Kampf. They proved pernicious in other countries such as Spain, Italy, South America and Canada -- not to speak of Russia. Robert F. Byrnes traces some of the influences: "Wagner, Nietsche, and particularly Houston Stewart Chamberlain carried Gobineau's influence straight through to Rosenberg, Hitler and the Nazis." (Anti-Semitism in Modern France. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1950, vol. 1, p. 112)

In 1891 a Jewish scholar in France spelled out his prognostication that from the falsehoods of anti-Semitism in fact, and from the prejudice that it unleashed, there would spring forth violent enmities unprecedented in fanaticism never to be stilled, the annihilation of peoples. He notes that the invention of racism and of the theory of race warfare set the spark of the new holocaust and gave a new amoral dimension to the national idea.

James Darmstetter wrote, "From the other side of the Rhine, this strange crusade of anti-Semitism, that recently astonished Europe like an awakening from the Middle Ages, has endeavored to justify itself by history. Political hatreds and commercial rivalries, in combination with the laments of inquisitors, have been clothed with scientific formulas, and shopkeepers' quarrels have come to be regarded as the symptom of the supposed eternal collision between two races -- between two worlds, the Aryan and the Semitic. The rhetorical duel between court-preacher Adolf Stoecker and deputy Eduard Lasker (in 1883) is interpreted as the old duel of Scipio and Hannibal, of Hadrian and Bar Cochba, of the Crusaders and Saladin. Germany is the ensign of the Aryan race, raised against the encroachments of the rehabilitated Semitic race.

"'Historical spirit' is a beautiful thing, but to abuse it takes a strange ignorance of facts, and a singular docility in regard to words, to make of the Jew the type of the Semite. Judaism is born in a Semitic medium, but it is the most absolute reaction imaginable against the religion, the manners, the traditions that prevailed in that medium; it is the living protest of broad humanity against the tribal idea. Here is revealed the social danger contained in this word 'race' when it is snatched from the hands of a science by the would-be men of affairs, and thrown out to the masses. Through it every struggle takes on a character of bitter and undying hatred, because the combatants are persuaded that there exists between them, not a momentary and accidental hostility, but an irretrievable and fatal one. War between these parties is supposed to be inevitable and eternal, since the cause is always present, and extends from the remote past to the distant future. The organisms, two instincts, two irreconilable souls, are supposed to be engaged in the struggle; not two men, but two vertebrates of a different order. Rapid or gradual extermination can alone put an end to the struggle. In the same way, during the War of Secession the scholars of the South published 'manuals of anthropology' in which the monkey occupied the intermediate place between the negro and the man.

"What is still stranger is that, in the bloody battle of words of the century, the scientific subdivision of races and racial instincts involves a subdivision of the hatreds and fatalities of war and destruction. The movement in Germany would prompt the Aryans to make an assault upon the Semitic world, but the Aryans are subdivided into secondary races which must in turn hate, fight, and exterminate each other by reason of the secondary hostility of their instincts -- the Germanic race against the Slavonic, the Germanic against the Latin. Humanity is merely a cruel and regular network of hatreds and sub-hatreds, interwoven with the hierarchy of races, and entangled by Science and by war.

"If the form of human thought in historical times was really an unchangeable expression of the first race, a permanent state of war, with no other outcome than extermination, would be the inevitable lot of humanity." (Selected Essays. Boston, Houghton, 1895.)

His fears have proven all too well justified. Among the wars to whose roots he pointed is the renewed and unending war on the Jews, moving from Dreyfus to Petlura, to Stalin, to Hitler, to the Mufti of Jerusalem, the new left and the petro-fed Palestine Liberation Organization.

In terms of the political nationalisms of the period we find Treitschke developing a patriotic philosophy of the young German state which is incompatible with the presence of emancipated Jews. According to this ideology Jewish citizens have no place within the German race. The emancipation of 1776 and 1789 are annulled. The transformation of anti-Semitism -- the term was invented in 1879 by Guillaume Marr -- from the religious to the racist turned the concept of emancipation into an illusion. (Pierre Birnbaum in Le Monde, June 9, 1982)

In that French history and the francophone literature of hatred, Byrnes notes "perhaps the most striking, as well as the most disgusting, example is that produced by a German Catholic priest, Father Augustus Rohling who, in 1873, brought out a vicious book, Der Talmudjude, charging that the Talmud was the real foundation of Judaism and that it bound the Jews to destroy Christianity and the Christians. Rohling was transferred during the 1870's from the Rhine-land to the University of Prague, where he was named professor of theology. He continued his attacks upon the Jews throughout Bohemia, embellishing his arguments with reiterated statements that the Talmud encouraged ritual murder. Rohling helped fan the passions of Hungary during the Tisza Eszlar case in 1882." (P.91; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26, p. 15; no. 27, pp. 116-16B)

The shocks of European expansion, industrialization and urbanization, of the Paris Commune, spreading anti-clericalism, the new realism in literature, the positivism in philosophy and objectivism and relativism in science of the appearance of Marxism, of German and Italian nationalism, the aggressiveness of secularism in France with its attacks on Catholic education, the establishment of bourgeois materialism and its invasion of the industrialising globe -- all these multifarious forces were sweeping the world and were creating panic and desperation in the circles responsible for the maintenance and survival of the fundamental order. There could be only one tactic -- an offensive against the very principle of modernity, against time which was compelling the future.

How did the Church Enter the Scene?

The anti-Semitic movement, as the track of its roots traces its origins, is to a considerable extent of Christian origin. But the Catholic-Protestant dimensions deserve careful consideration.

As the record illustrates, neither of these denominations have reason for pride in their portions of this immorality. Even in Canada Goldwin Smith and Adrien Arcand are chums and equal partners, not dissimilar comrades in idea. Racism impregnated more than one Canadian province extensively. The scholars who established the sciences of races and the scale of their relative values were not mainly Catholic, and not even surely Christian.

Yet their teachings, their language and even their tactics were seized upon by churchmen, as they were adopted by politicians. The history of this racism is the political, social, nationalistic history of much of the western world.

It swept across national, class and sectarian lines, and learned to speak language after language, jargon after jargon, in code words proper to group after group. The text was remarkably coherent, from Alberta mayors to Arabian sheiks.

It is not clear in terms of reason, policy or theology why the Catholic Church necessarily entered into this vortex of intense thinking and agitation that has so stirred Europe and the nations related to it by influence or tradition.

The accidental conjunctures of the political kaleidoscope may have created partnerships which came to be fortified by ideological justifications.

Jewish history indicates that seldom in the play of powers will a force, or a potential force, abdicate an opportunity to exploit anti-Semitism for its purposes or will abjure otherwise unattractive associates for such a partnership.

Possibly the class revolt, which led political groups to seek the revocation of the American and French revolutions, tempted some Catholics to see there an opportunity to restore the powers of churches and their connections with states and to erase the criteria which had become rampant; that freedom and equality of religions are supreme and primary values.

In Europe in particular the church had not been totally separated from the states; now the church was feeling some of the weight of the state in the quite internal questions of its dogmas, theology and organization.

The historian of the early Hitler movement must broaden his perspective of the cultural and religious conspectus of the time and look closely at its church history, even though this Nazi movement was from its beginnings anti-Christian and anti-Catholic in so many senses.

THE SYLLABUS

Soon after Pope Pius IX entered into his duties in 1846, he began his analysis of the state of the church and of society and of the deep currents sweeping humanity since 1789; the wave of modern freedoms which also brought about the emancipation of the Jews and the recognition of freedom of conscience and freedom and equality of all religions; Jews were among the beneficiaries of these freedoms. He saw grave dangers in these modern fundamental philosophical, social and theological trends and decided upon a far-reaching reversal.

The analysis of the problems of the church in the western world and the proposals for their resolution, took decades to formulate, during which theological and theoretical thinking coincided with political and social experience within the European states.

These questions reached a critical point after 1864 when the Pope issued a Syllabus, a collection containing the principal errors of our times as noted in the allocations, encyclicals and other apostolic documents, which Pope Pius IX attached to his encyclical Quanta cura.

This action was not the first to provoke divergence of opinion among churchmen in these matters: indeed, it was nearly the last to suppress the opinions of a large segment of controversialists in the Catholic community who believed that these freedoms did not necessarily threaten the church. It established the prominence of the opposing group which has come to be labelled with the ancient name of ultramontanists.

This very careful consideration and consultation led Pope Pius IX to decide that the church must mobilize Catholics to combat the forces which, as he saw them, were inveterate enemies of the church. He felt it necessary to define the principles which he called dangerous and erroneous, to list these forbidden ideas, to declare war on all their manifestations and to eradicate them from the thinking of all Catholics and from the societies in which they reside.

The Syllabus has been described as "a declaration of war against the modern political and social order which in its day provoked the unanimous condemnation of public opinion." (Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., S.V. Syllabus)

A special papal committee had drafted the propositions at the base of the errors that concerned the church, and it was communicated to three hundred bishops under the seal of secrecy for the purposes of consultation.

Even before the pope circulated the Syllabus with his encyclical, the Bishop of Montreal, and not for the first time, denounced the errors reproved by His Holiness at the 1863 synod of the diocese. (Grisé, p. 222)

By a strange quirk of history Mgr. Ignace Bourget, Bishop of Montreal, played a part in the history of the text of the Syllabus.

The Bishop of Turin published the document and Mgr. Bourget, under the impression that publication had been made in Rome, promulgated it for his diocese in 1863. The work had to begin anew,with a new commission.

At the end of 1864 the pope sent it out formally to the episcopates.

Bishop Bourget of Montreal wrote,in a mandement dated in Rome on Jan. 1, 1865, "Scarcely had we arrived in the Holy City than we learned that the Sovereign Pontiff had now raised his voice, from the Apostolic See, to warn the entire world of the fearful errors which are spreading everywhere during these evil times.

"The possibility that these letters which our Father has now addressed to us to help us preserve the precious heritage of our faith may meet indocile and rebellious hearts in our religious country engages us profoundly, and prevents us from surrendering to the joy of the great solemnities in which we are happy to participate.

"For we feel deeply, to the bottom of our soul, that there do not fail to arise some to resist the voice of the first of pastors and to sink into even thicker mists and to fall into a greater hardening of the heart with the deplorable effect of driving them into the baneful lethargy which is an omen of the approaching end.

"We are publishing these apostolic letters of last Dec. 8 so that you may consider 'these depraved opinions' as truly 'reproved, proscribed and condemned'." (Fioretti vescovili, pp. 144-45)

The enthusiasm and zeal of the Montreal prelate introduces our record to one of the most dramatic and tragic Canadian career biographies.

Mgr. Bourget had served the church in Lower Canada with zeal and distinction for many decades. As early as 1822 he held high office and was named bishop coadjutor to the first ordinary of Montreal and Bishop of Telmesse during the stormy year of 1837, when the church suffered its own great trials quite aside those which the entire populace underwent. He succeeded Bishop Lortigue as head of the Montreal diocese in 1840, while the united Province of Canada came into being, with its new problems, opportunities and challenges. He continued his aggressive campaign on behalf of his church and his diocese which constitute a significant chapter in the annals of eastern Canada.

Some readers of Canadian history relate the more militant position of the church at that time to the evolving political developments of Canada at mid-century.

In this reading Papineau, who was following policies not identical to those of the church, was willing to pass legislation granting equality to Jewish citizens and to their synagogue. Five years after 1832 he clashed with Mgr. Lartigue and led the patriotic movement against strict church counsel.

Papineau's revolt movements were defeated. In the new age following 1837-40, the church was more supreme, self-confident and aggressive. It was, in this reading of Quebec history, the age of Mgr. Bourget, not the age of toleration or equality for Jews and for other non-Catholics.

The developments of the 1860's and the 1870's seemed to him to coalesce all his principles and policies into one great war which he entered with all his vast energies; a drive, he believed, in harmony with the world church. On the Canadian scene he had the constant support of his equally zealous, talented colleague, Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières.

To his inexpressible disappointment he lost the war when the apostolic delegate, Mgr. Conroy, rudely pronounced against him in 1876. Within days Mgr. Bourget found himself out of his office, succeeded by Mgr. Fabre. The stormy Bishop of Montreal had become the titular Archbishop of Marianopolis, silenced, for nine years, until his passing in 1885.

But not even a prophet could have foreseen this as Mgr. Bourget plunged himself ever more whole-heartedly and vigorously into the storms of the decades.

The program of Pope Pius IX was immediately seen by governments and other institutions in the western world as a major step towards a conflict of religious and social forces in the restless Europe of the second half of the century. The trepidation it aroused was the greater because so many of its enactments affected the nature of states and governments, their relations with churches and the Catholic Church in particular. The document, read by some as dealing with the rights of the church, was seen by others as concerning the rights of the state. The Syllabus became another active force on the political scene of Europe -- and of Quebec. It is, therefore, a major theme in world history affecting virtually every citizen, not least the Jewish members of society.

In his Le Développement des Idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours (Montréal, Québec/Amérique, 1977), Denis Monière dwells on the conflict between the clergy and the radical liberals about 1860.

He notes that the radicals envisaged the Canadian nation as including Protestants, Jews and English as well as French Canadian Catholics and that "the Patriotes, with Papineau at their head, had recognized the right of the Jews to the franchise in 1832. This attitude is in sharp contrast with the anti-Semitism of later years."

At that time Gonzalve Doutre, before the Institut canadien, rejected the religious criterion in developing nationality. "It is impossible to hope for a nationality based on Catholics on one side and Protestants on the other." (Le Principe des nationalités. Public lecture before the Institut canadien of Montreal, Dec. 1, 1864, p. 174)

It may only be a coincidence in time from which we should not draw any developmental conclusion, but it may be an illustration of what also existed in the mood of the period -- not necessarily born or expanded at this point -- that 1858 is the date of conflictual relations between Montreal's Bishop Bourget (himself a coincidence in time, or a cause?) and the Institut canadien, a body consisting of, and serving Protestant and Catholic members. "Similar institutions, having Jewish and Protestant members as well as Catholic, function in France, and all the literary societies in the world have Protestant and Jewish members. Should they all be excommunicated?" asked the president of the Montreal Institut.

Its president, the Hon. L.-A. Dessaulles, seigneur of Dessaulles, pupil of Mgr. Raymond, narrates one chapter in his Dernière correspondance entre le Cardinal Barnabo et M. Dessaulles. (Montréal, Imprimeries Alphonse Doutre, 1871. 39 p.)

He notes that in this conflict with the diocesan authority the Institut was "only defending the field of studies, of thought, against attacks which no one would dare wage in the lands which lead civilization but which in this country some would accept as legitimate and salutary.

"Young people are told that every word of the Syllabus has become an article of faith; which implies the belief that all modern law, so superior to the ancient inquisitorial law, is only error and tyranny against the church; which implies still the obligation to believe that civil justice violates divine law, for example, by punishing an ecclesiastic for a crime that he may have committed" the nephew of Louis-Joseph Papineau wrote.

In October of that year members within the Institut raised the question about the nature of some books in the Institut library; "the intention of the ecclesiastic authority was to limit its collection so that the younger readers would be influenced by the most excessive ultramontane principles; principles which, in the past as now, indicate the absolute domination of the church over the state, the domination of the priest by divine right in all social and political questions, uncontrolled direction of all forms of study. This has been the case in Rome at all times, and naturally it was sought to introduce this convenient system which involves all the private fortunes of a nation..."

THE JEWISH CONCERN

In an outline of the annals of Canadian Jewry the themes which affect this community directly require examination.

In 1864, thirteen years after the passage of the Canadian law of 1851 declaring the equality and freedom of all religions in the United Province of Canada, and thirty-odd years after the Lower Canadian legislation granting all privileges to the Jewish synagogue and to Jewish citizens, the Pope in Rome circulated the Syllabus which certainly ran in another direction.

From the standpoint of fate-laden Jewish history the errors which were condemned which most specifically involved Jews were the liberty of all citizens to freedom of conscience and the full toleration of all religions equally in society, including non-Catholics; which implied full rights for Jews in society and the constitutional equality of all its citizens.

In the encyclical Quanta cura, which he sent to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops of the world to draw their attention to the Syllabus, Pope Pius IX drew particular attention to the errors of believing in equality and freedom of religions and of freedom of conscience. He wrote that "many dare teach that political perfection and progress in civil life absolutely demand that human society be constituted and governed without taking religion into account as if it did not exist, or at least with no distinction between true and false religions. Contrary to the doctrine of Sacred Writ, the Church and the sacred Fathers, they dare affirm that the best government is that which does not grant the authority the duty to repress violation of Catholic law by legal punishment, at least to the extent demanded by needs of public peace.

"Following this completely false idea on the government of society, they do not fear to maintain this erroneous opinion which is most fatal for the Catholic church and for the salvation of souls which our predecessor of blessed memory defined as madness: 'The freedom of conscience and of worship is the proper right of every man. It should be proclaimed and guaranteed by law in every well-constituted state. Citizens are entitled to full freedom in manifesting their opinions, whatever they may be, publicly, by speech, the press and by publication or by other means without limitation by ecclesiastic or civil authority.'" (Encyclical Mirari Vos, Aug. 15, 1832)

Error no. 15 states: Every man is free to embrace and to profess any religion which, led by the light of reason, he may have thought to be true. (The Syllabus, an Approved English Text with Notes, compiled from the Dublin Review by a Catholic layman. Montreal, True Witness)

This reservation upon freedom of conscience was not a new discovery of 1864. Six years earlier the Bishop of Montreal -- and he also probably not the first -- on May 31, 1858 declared that no one is permitted to be free in his political or religious opinions; but it is for the church to show its children how to be good citizens as good Christians by teaching them the true principles of faith and morals of which it is the only depository. Jesus Christ has given His Church the power to give all peoples the true doctrine, this pure doctrine which teaches them to govern themselves as truly Christian peoples should.

"Clearly this is a matter of high and great importance, and all questions of faith and morals are in the domain of the church, and are subject essentially to its teaching...

"Freedom of opinion is nothing other than the freedom of error, which is death to the soul which can only live by truth. Therefore any newspaper which professes freedom of opinion leads its reader to the ways of error and leads society as well as private persons to ruin and to death." (Pastoral letter on the Liberal Press. Fioretti Vescovili; ou extraits des mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires de Mgr. Ignace Bourget offerts à Sa Grandeur pour célébrer les noces d'or de sa prêtrisse par trois anciens camarades du Régiment des Zouaves pontificaux. Montréal, le Franc-parleur, 1872. p. 104)

However, it should be noted that his injunctions were limited to the faithful of his flock and was not an attack upon the freedoms of the communicants of other faiths.

The Syllabus of Errors defined, in articles 77-80, the liberalism which it condemned as including these principles:

"77. In the present day, it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship." (Address Nemo vestrum of July 26, 1856)

"78. Whence it has been wisely provided by law in some countries called Catholic. that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the public exercise of their own worship.

"79. Moreover, it is false that the civil liberty of every mode of worship, and the full power given to all of overtly and publicly manifesting their opinions and ideas of all kinds whatsoever, conduce more easily to corrupt the morals and minds of the people, and to the propagation of the pest of indifferentism.

"80. The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and civilization as lately introduced." (Address Acerbissimum, of Sept. 27, 1852)

The Montreal edition of the Syllabus explained the exact meaning of this proposition by quoting from the condemnation Multiplices inter of a certain Spanish book, on June 10th, 1851,

"The author, although a Catholic and, as is reported, a priest, in order that he may more securely and with impunity follow out that indifferentism and rationalism with which he shows himself infected, denies that the Church has power of dogmatically defining that the religion of the Catholic Church is exclusively the true religion; and teaches that it is free for every man to embrace and profess that religion which, judged by the light of reason, he may have thought true.

"This, then, is the tenet which Pius IX here condemns as Indifferentism: a denial that Catholicism is exclusively the true religion, and a consequent affirmation that every man may freely choose whatever religion his reason prefers. The context alone, then, interprets the condemnation. Yet apart from the context, the meaning is surely clear." (pp. 12-13)

This commentary also developed Proposition 77 at length,

"Its sense is so clear, that there neither is nor can be any difference of opinion on the matter.

"The Allocution (Nemo vestrum, July 26, 1855), on which it is founded refers in particular to Spain: and it is perhaps somewhat remarkable, that no express censure of the proposition is to be found therein; though such censure is, of course, implied throughout.

"As regards Prop. LXXVIII, it has been argued that a Catholic may ascribe to it the very widest sense which its words can possibly bear. The proposition, on this view, eulogises a permission given in some country for all immigrants without exception, -- immigrants whether present or future, -- to practise their religious rights; however atrocious those rites might be, or however openly offensive to public morality. And it is contended that, by rejecting this truly monstrous opinion -- an opinion, indeed, which no one has ever dreamed of maintaining -- a Catholic will satisfy the Holy Father's requirement.

"But we must submit earnestly that no such interpretation is tenable for a moment.

"In the original Allocution (Acerbissimum, September 27, 1852) the Pope comments severely on a decree enacted by the Republic of New Grenada, permitting to immigrants the free exercise of their respective worships. He does not profess, nor has it ever been alleged, that such permission extended to any such outrageous length as that above mentioned. It was neither more nor less than such liberty of conscience as is granted to immigrants in the great majority of European countries; the only difference of the two cases being that, in New Grenada, religious unity had up to that period been maintained inviolate.

"The Pope, however, protests against this decree as being injurious to the Church. Moreover, we know from his present pronouncement, that the Allocution of 1852 was one of those Apostolic Letters wherein he warned 'all children of the Church' against the plague of modern error; or, in other words, that he issued it 'ex cathedra' in his capacity of universal teacher, apart from the Syllabus altogether. The Allocution, if it stood alone, requires of Catholics an interior belief that such liberty of worship as was granted to immigrants in New Grenada was injurious to the Church's rights and liberty.

"But, further, this Allocution is not only authoritative in itself, but it supplies the one authentic exposition of Prop. LXXVIII.; and the proposition, therefore, cannot surely, without manifest unfairness, be understood otherwise, than of such liberty to immigrants as was then granted in New Grenada.

"Many persons exist, who, regarding the civil enforcement of religious unity as 'no longer expedient in this our age,' (Prop. LXXVII.) think, therefore, that New Grenada acted 'laudably' in this matter; such opinion is here authoritatively censured...

"The present inexpediency of excluding from a country all non-Catholic worships (Prop.LXXVII.) would be on extremely good ground (if such inexpediency existed) for eulogising the removal of that exclusion in some given country, such as New Grenada; but it could be no possible ground for praising so monstrous a measure as permission accorded for rites openly offensive to public morality.

"The whole preceding argument equally applies to Prop. LXXIX. The Allocution (Nunquam fore, December 15, 1856) on which this censure is based refers to an act of the Mexican convention establishing such liberty of worships and of the press as obtains in most countries of Europe; and it is in respect, therefore, of such liberty, that the proposition is condemned.

"If it were false (Prop. LXXIX.) that the liberty of non-Catholic worships and publications conduces to indifferentism and moral corruption, it might legitimately be inferred that in our age the prohibition of such liberty is no longer expedient (Prop. LXXVII.); and that these countries act laudably (Prop. LXXVIII.) which remove that prohibition.

"By condemning the above proposition, the Pope decrees: - (1) That there is no injustice in 'treating Catholicism as the only religion of a State,' and 'in excluding all other worships.' (2) There is nothing 'intrinsically unjust' in restraining all non-Catholics by material force from the profession and practice of those various religions which they sincerely regard as true. (3) Nor is it prejudicial to the interests of Catholicism, even at the present day, that under certain circumstances, a State should practise rigidly this intolerance towards all religious error. (4) Nor again, does the advance of true civilization require that society should be governed without any distinction between the true religion and false ones. (5) Liberty of worships and liberty of the press conduce to moral corruption, and to the spread of that devastating plague, religious indifferentism.

"At the same time, none of these doctrines are inconsistent with the opinion which we hold that the true service of material force is to retain a country in that religious unity which she possesses, not to reinstate her in that which she has long unhappily lost. Nor is there, we believe, a Catholic living who would wish to see it now employed for the latter end. What the Pope here decrees not unjust in itself may, no doubt, be unjust under particular circumstances." (pp. 42-47)

In listing the "errors" of the Canadian liberals the ultramontane Bishop Bourget put in the first place their belief that "the conscience of man is inviolable, and that man can be called upon to account for his exterior acts only when they are harmful to the well-being of society.

"Practical tolerance is an inestimable progress, and the victory of reason over the most cruel and distasteful fanaticism." (A. Savaète. Vers l'abîme. 1.488-89)

Mgr. Gaume explains this ban on indifferentism and latitudinarianism as a condemnation of the belief that any person is free to profess the religion which, following the light of his reason, he believes to be true. (The Petit catéchisme du Syllabus by the French theologian was published in Quebec by Garant in 1876. pp. 18, 52)

"Liberalism," he wrote, "is the total or partial emancipation from all church authority, seeking to conciliate the modern spirit with the spirit of the church, in particular on the basis of freedom of conscience and equality of religions.

"The church can never accept such a conciliation. By approving freedom of conscience and the equality of religions it would lose its raison d'être, since in the eyes of the entire world it would no longer be the only and true faith...For these grave reasons these alleged liberties may at times be tolerated, but it can never be raised to the dignity of a right.

"It is false to believe in the civil freedom of religion, whichever it may be, as well as the full freedom accorded to each of them to proclaim publicly all sorts of thoughts and opinions. This leads in special manner to the corruption of spirit and of heart, and to the advancement of the plague of indifference."

The gallery of horrors thus formally qualified as forbidden heresies included the principles of freedom of the press, nationalism, equality of religious confessions before the state, liberty of conscience. It rejected the possibility of reconciliation with progress, liberalism and modern civilization.

The considerable literature on the various principles condemned by the Syllabus is of profound interest to the historian of modern Jewry -- not least Canadian Jewry -- and some of this explanatory literature was widely and authoritatively circulated in Canada and even composed in Quebec.

LOUIS VEUILLOT

A reader of Jewish history who would examine the historic debate of these decades must enter into the semantics of the time and must familiarize himself with the meanings attached to the terms "liberty," "religious freedoms," equality of religions," "freedom for the church," etc.

The profound problem as it was presented during the second half of the century -- and possibly later -- is semantic. The term "religious freedom" had different meanings for Mgr. Bourget and even for Judge S. Pagnuelo and, on the other hand, for Wilfrid Laurier.

Mgr. Laflèche did not hesitate to rejoice over the freedom of worship accorded by the act of 15 Victoria (1854) which provided Catholics a new guarantee of the social condition which had been assured them earlier by treaties.

As he saw it, by this freedom of worship the state conceded the authority which governs the Catholic religion, "as it is and as Catholic peoples venerate it." (In his appendix to his 1882 mémoire on the Religious Difficulties in Canada, in A. Savaète. Vers l'abîme. II. 152-55, cited by L. Chevrette. Aperçu des thèmes de l'idéologie et des perceptions du groupe ultramontane canadien français, 1870-90. Québec, Université Laval, 1968. p. 30)

Mgr. Louis-F. Laflèche of Trois-Rivières boldly stated the ultramontane position in regard to equality of religions in the present time.

As he wrote in Le Journal des Trois-Rivières, it might be argued that the claims of the church may have been valid and applicable in the Middle Ages when all Europe was Catholic and believed unshakably in the divine institution of the church.

"Today this social order has disappeared. With the growth of modern theories on civil society and their acceptance by constituted governments, the separation of church and state has become a fait accompli which must be accepted willy-nilly.

"But what? Just because modern governments treat equally all the different religious faiths to which the peoples under their protection adhere; because they accord freedom and protection to all these various religions without recognizing anyone of them as the religion of the state, are we to conclude that these governments are atheistic, and that they need not concern themselves in their legislation and in their jurisprudence with natural law and with evangelic law?

"Must we admit that they can govern the people under their authority as if they are atheists without belief in God or in any church?

"Certainly not, writes the learned priest, Canon F.-J. Moulard of Louvain in his excellent work, L'Eglise et l'état. The subordination of the political order to the spiritual subsists to a certain degree under the rule of modern constitutions and by virtue of their own principles." (Reprinted by A. Savaète. III. pp.283-37)

A reader of Jewish history who would examine the historic debate of these decades must enter into the semantics of the time and must familiarize himself with the meanings attached to the terms "liberty," "religious freedoms," "equality of religions," "freedom."

These questions became issues of fundamental and even violent debate in many countries, not least in Canada. A reading of Louis Veuillot's Rome pendant le concile (in the first series vol. 1 of his Ouvres complètes. Paris, Lethielleux, 1927) is helpful:

"I do not say that the freedom of worship (la liberté des cultes) is good. Those who refuse it to us may say it is. We do not say that at all, we who accept it. We live, and we must reason on that assumption. We may wish life to change; we can work in various directions to make it better according to the different ideas we may entertain about progress. We cannot in any sense misunderstand it, nor demand nor permit that it be violently suppressed. The Catholic conception of this liberty, ours at least, is the conservation of its particular freedom for each faith, the protection for all of the common law.

"Each faith is practised, governs itself, affirms itself, develops itself and fights peacefully in accord with its character. It is forbidden only to injure public order by material aggression or by immoral doctrines.

"As for us, accepting as we do provisionally this principle of social decadence, which is nothing else than the denial of absolute truth, we count on turning it into an instrument of conquest for the truth which it permits society to contradict. We undertake to return by means of persuasion, by science, by works of charity and works for perfection to the promised unity in the world.

"This intention may irritate those who pursue a contrary design. They have the right to fight it, to be more persuasive, more learned, to perform deeds more powerful and more salutary than ours. That is liberty. Beyond it there is no debate; only tyranny; there is no conflict, only killing.

"We accept the present state not as good, for in truth it is anarchic; but as less evil than the previous condition, the state of fictional unity and of true servitude, the most surely opposed to the reestablishment and to the progress of true unity which shall be the only true liberty and true civilization.

"Where the Church is not the Queen we would sooner have her a simple citizen rather than the principal employee or the favorite. We would not object to a free church in a free state if this formula, unclear as it may be, was proposed as a transition rather than an imposed and permanent dogma.

"In fact, if the Church must forever be within the state, that is within something greater than her and therefore superior to her, there can be no assurance for her dignity and for her liberty, and the Christian consent as of that date to an abdication which appears too much like apostasy.

"We claim that we did not receive the crown of baptism in order to renounce the temporal crown. On the contrary, we seek the temporal crown in order to extend the crown of baptism, the crown of liberty to the entire human race. It is therefore proper that the church reign and that the state be Christian.

"We have no right to renounce this ideal. Humanity will leave slavery only when this ideal is realized. What kind of liberty can forbid us to reveal Christ, to overthrow the idols, to give God to every soul and to give God every soul? How can we accept the ignominy of never seeing the cross at the head of all faiths in such want?...

"No, we are not dead and we do not renounce Christ. We are conquered, it is true, conquered by the Jew, the heretic, the atheist, the bureaucrat and the businessman.

"The gallican enemy has brought us freedom of worship, not to save us but to break us up....We believe in freedom of worship more than do those who imposed it. In itself it is barbaric and antisocial; it brings tumult and insult about the sanctuary; it threatens to prolong this condition. But we anticipate that it will drive Caesars from the sanctuary, and there is no price too high for this advantage." (Pp. 250-53)

MGR. PINSONNAULT

Major controversialist Mgr. P.-A. Pinsonnault, Bishop of Berthe, composed Les Soirées du Casino, ou Discussion sur le Syllabus. (Montréal, J.-A. Plinquest, 1876) It appeared late in the Quebec controversy on the papal document, but it reflects accurately the current Canadian teaching of the church on the questions of the time.

His work was in the form of a dialogue, like another publication, La Comédie infernale which we shall need to examine.

In 1850 he had been proposed by Mgr. Bourget of Montreal as the official agent of the Canadian bishops in Rome to replace Mgr. Baillargeon of Quebec; the latter became Archbishop of Quebec. (Grisé, p.58)

Pinsonnault was forced by Rome to resign as Bishop of Sandwich (Windsor) in 1866 in the light of his inability to administer a diocese.

In this work Mgr. Pinsonneault translated the intent of the Syllabus, from its negative statements in the form of errors which are condemned, into positive injunctions of faith, i.e., into principles which the Pope -- and soon the church council -- enjoins firmly upon the faithful. He spells out three principles concerned,

"77. At the present time it is still expedient, at least in certain countries, that the Catholic faith be considered as the only state religion, excluding all other faiths.

"78. In Catholic countries the law may apply tolerance in regard to non-Catholic strangers which ask to settle there in due course, provided this tolerance does not imply a probable consequence that the error itself may come to be favoured; which will unfailingly happen if, under cover of tolerance, the free exercise of a false faith which had been hitherto banned in the country comes to be exercised. Only the fear of a greater evil may then become the reason for an excuse; acceding to this need is less an occasion for praise than of blame.

"79. It is only too true that the civil freedom of all religions and the full rights accorded them of openly and publicly expressing their opinions and all their thoughts throw the people more easily into corruption of manners and of spirit, they spread the plague of indifferentism." (p. 128)

His Sergeant explains "the important distinction between a law passed by a legislator and the motives which lead him to do so. A law may be good or tolerable, and the motives alleged in its favour may be false and dangerous for faith and morals. For example, freedom of the press and of worship, when authorized by circumstances, may be good or tolerable. But this liberty is often established by virtue of a false and anti-Christian principle, i.e., the inherent right of each person to write at will, and to maintain that the false is true; or the right of any religion, true or false, to act freely in public. But the doctrinal teaching of the Syllabus limits itself to condemning the error of false principle without forbidding the use of this freedom which may be tolerated because of circumstances...

"The Syllabus condemns the thesis, i.e., the modern pretensions to establish dogmatically certain religious or political freedoms as the natural rights of persons and of peoples, and to deny or to ignore the imprescriptible rights of the Church of God which is charged with the teaching of nations and of persons.

"But the Syllabus does not condemn the hypothesis, i.e., the acts of governments and of legislators who may be more or less forced by circumstances to concede,by given situations or to public opinion,to pressing necessities. What it condemns, and what it can only condemn, is the systematic setting aside of the rights and the duties incumbent on both to recognize, to defend and to protect as much as in their power the divine right of the Truth taught by the Church of Jesus Christ." (pp. 73-74)

ROME IN CANADA

Staunch Ontario Protestant C. Lindsey, in his Rome in Canada, spells out some principles which come to lie at the heart of the controversy,

"It is the custom of the Ultramontaine writers to treat Catholic Liberalism as the synonym of Gallicanism. There may be some resemblance between the two, but they certainly are not identical. Article seventy-seven of the Syllabus stigmatizes as Liberalism the toleration of other modes of worship than that of the Romish Church; and the next article denies that it is a wise provision of the law to allow persons who take up their residence in Catholic countries to enjoy the public exercise of their own worship. Article seventy-nine denounces the civil liberty of every mode of worship as of corrupt and immoral tendency, which leads to the propagation of indifferentism." (pp. 187, 193)

Lindsey quotes an 1872 defender of the Syllabus,

"It is vain to say that in Canada, we are obliged to tolerate the liberty of worship; that it is to this liberty we owe our Catholic franchises.

"We reply that there is an enormous difference between tolerating and defending an abuse. The Catholics are entitled to say: our Church is free because liberty of worship exists, but that it is not equally permissible to grant liberty of worship to dissidents by invoking the liberty of the Catholic Church.

"We further reply that the Catholic Church alone has the right to liberty, because she alone is in possession of the truth..." (p. 203)

Abbé Benjamin Pâquet (whom Rumilly identifies in his Mgr. Laflèche et son temps, as the brother of Louis Pâquet who figures notoriously in the history of Canadian Jewry) told the students of Laval, as Lindsey reports,

"To proclaim liberty of thought, in matters of religion, is an impiety: so teach the doctors at Rome; so teaches this doctor of theology at Laval.

"No man has the right or the liberty to believe or to refuse to believe what has certainly been revealed by the God of truth, or by the organ which he has chosen to promulgate and explain his law; this right does not exist.

"This doctor of theology distinguishes two kinds of tolerance: one civil, the other religious; one political, the other theological. Civil tolerance consists in a government according to its subjects the permission publicly to practise whatever religion they please.

"Civil laws may, and ought, in certain circumstances tolerate what God and the Church reprove; but to create it, to give it the right of action, never; to this, reason and faith are opposed. Man has neither the right nor the liberty to refuse to believe, or to choose at his will, between the different religions; and a sovereign or a government has not, any more than the individual, this right or this liberty.

"The Abbé does not think religious toleration is a gross error, an insult to reason, a blasphemy and an impiety. Everywhere, and at all times, the principle of religious or dogmatic intolerance will remain master of the position; for the reason that it is the truth, and truth is indestructible and eternal. Those who reproach the Church with being intolerant of toleration, reproach her with nothing less than her right of existence. As the Church cannot renounce her mission without renouncing her existence, she ought always to anathematize this teaching of toleration.

"The Abbé admits that there may be circumstances in which the rigid application of the principle of intolerance would bring danger or lead to disaster; and then truth may cede its place, but not its right, to error. There is a scale by which the liberty of worship may be regulated, according to circumstances; but it is a golden rule that nothing which can be withheld should ever be granted. Liberty of conscience is assumed to be granted when no one is constrained to profess, in words or fact, a cult which in his conscience he, rightly or wrongly, regards as false. Liberty of worship may mean a worship which is confined to the family and in no way obtruded on the public; it is relatively public when it is exercised in a place where several meet without external publicity, as Judaism and Protestantism have been in the habit of hiding themselves at Rome.

"For reasons of social order, toleration may sometimes be permitted: 'To prevent evils which might disturb the peace of society, a government is authorized to permit civil liberty of worship; and it is even its duty to do so.' But it is bound, at the same time, to promote the true worship to the best of its ability. And much prudence and sagacity must be used to prevent this civil liberty degenerating into license. In a country where different religions are professed by considerable portions of the population, the government, for prudential reasons, may not insist on that unity of worship which in Spain, Italy, New Grenada, and Mexico it is bound to enforce. France, Belgium, Canada may allow some latitude; Catholic Governments none.

"In a word, intolerance is to be enforced wherever there is power to enforce it; a measure of toleration may be allowed where the government is not strong enough to withhold it. But the Church is to hold fast to the sheet anchor of dogmatic intolerance.

"A government, he suddenly discovers, cannot proclaim civil liberty of worship, without usurping a right which it does not possess. It is not judge in matters of religion; and when it allows civil liberty of worship, it usurps a right which belongs to the spiritual power; it substitutes itself in place of the infallible tribunal of the Church. To authorize the liberty of different forms of worship is to hide a profound indifference for religion under an appearance of equity and liberality: this is immoral; the living faith is not so accommodating.

"The supreme law of God, His will as manifested by reason and revelation, is unity of worship; a government, especially a Catholic government, should do nothing in the opposite direction; on the contrary, it is under an obligation to protect the true religion, to the exclusion of all false forms of worship (cultes).

"The Abbé Pâquet, if we may believe his enemies, gave great offence at Rome for admitting exceptions to the rule of intolerance. The book, it is alleged, barely escaped the ban of the Index."

Lindsey states: if Father Pâquet "received the commendation of the Civilta Cattolica, the Rev. Alexis Pelletier says, the article was inserted at the request of M. Pâquet." (pp. 211-215)

Testimony on Mgr. Pâquet's Roman journalistic allies is given by Pierre Pierrard of the Institut catholique de Paris. He notes in his Juifs et catholiques français (Paris, Fayard, p. 28) that Pope Pius IX had entrusted Civilta Cattolica to the Jesuits in 1850. Its anti-Jewish fulminations resounded over Europe for half a century. "The hate review, Streicher's Der Sturmer found many citations in the Jesuit journal for its 1933 issue dedicated to accusations that Jews committed ritual murder. The Austrian Social Christian Party had translated and issued a number of articles from Civilta in 1907. It is possible that Hitler, then twenty years old, who came to Vienna and there purchased anti-Semitic pamphlets, thus became familiar with the anti-Jewish texts published by Civilta in 1880-82."

Father Antoine Braun, a Jesuit priest of German birth, wrote in 1876,

"It is customary to regard Protestantism as a religion which has its rights. This is an error. Protestantism is not a religion; Protestantism has not a single right. Error can have no rights; rebellion can have no rights. Rebellion has a strict duty to fulfill; this duty is to repent, it is to come back; it is submission to the church." (p. 216)

As late as 1882 Father L.-P. Paquin told the Cercle catholique de Québec that Catholic liberalism teaches the unlimited liberty of the press, of conscience, of worship, of association -- this is the phalanx of liberal ideas and modern liberties which is beginning, and will change our atmosphere to which all will need to conform at any price... In the name of liberty it is proposed to constitute the emancipation of human existence at all its levels." (Le Libéralisme catholique. Québec, L.-J. Demers, publisher-proprietor of Le Canadien, p. 17)

AT THE MAKING OF CANADA

The international repercussions of the internal ecclesiastical process are nowhere earlier or more dramatically reflected than in Canadian constitutional history.

The Syllabus of Errors was cited at a stormy moment in the parliamentary debate of March 3, 1865 which decided on the confederation of the British provinces of North America into the single Canadian nation which came into being two years later.

During those Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces (3rd session; 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada, printed by order of the Legislature. Quebec, Hunter Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865), Col. Frederick W.Haultain of Peterborough spoke of the opposition to this project strongly expressed by a certain part of the Protestant minority of Lower Canada.

"I am aware from personal intercourse with many gentlemen belonging to that section of the community, that they do feel a very strong aversion to this scheme, because, as they say, it will place them at the mercy of the French Canadians. On this point I desire to assure my honorable friends from Lower Canada, that whilst I consider that our present circumstances require us all to speak openly and honestly one to the other, it is and shall be my earnest desire to speak with all kindliness of feeling towards them. I feel compelled to say that there is no part of this scheme that I feel more doubt about than the effect it will have upon the education and political interests of the Protestants of Lower Canada. It has been said that there is and always has been a spirit of toleration and generosity on the part of the French Canadians towards their Protestant fellow countrymen. I have heard it said that they have on every occasion furthered, to the utmost of their ability, and in the fairest and most just manner, the educational interests of the Protestant minority. But on the other hand, gentlemen who have paid a great deal of attention to the subject, have said that, in time past, although there might have been no open hostility to the education of the Protestant minority, there has been a very decided underhand obstructiveness. This is stated by gentlemen who have had a particular interest in the matter, and as I am confident, would not make such a statement if they did not think it to be the case. And I must say, for my own part, that I do think the Protestant minority have some grounds for this fear and this is my reason: the religious faith of the majority in Lower Canada is, as we know, Roman Catholic, and they receive from the head of the Romish Church their inspiration; they are guided by the principles that are laid down, and that are from time to time publicly promulgated by the head of that Church. Now, I do not think all my Roman Catholic

fellow-countrymen can be surprised -- and I would ask their attention to what I am saying, I desire to speak honestly, but, of course, courteously -- I do not think they can be surprised at these suspicions and fears of their Protestant brethren. And why? Because they must themselves be aware what are the principles of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy."

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "What are they?"

Col. Haultain -- "They are not tolerant." (Murmurs of disapprobation from various parts of the House)

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "Are Presbyterians more tolerant? The hon. gentleman has said that the principles of the Roman Catholic hierarchy are not tolerant. Will he explain whether he means that they are not tolerant with regard to civil liberty, or with regard to religious liberty. We wish to understand precisely what the honorable gentleman means."

Col. Haultain -- "And that is precisely the object. I believe that civil and religious liberty are so bound up that you cannot separate them."

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "You believe they are intolerant on both points?"

Mr. Robitaille -- "It is not well to discuss such matters here."

Col. Haultain -- "I think I have only to refer to the letter recently issued from Rome, to find a complete and absolute answer to the question which the hon. member for Quebec has put to me. I see in that letter, which is invested with all the gravity and authority that necessarily surround a message from the head of the Roman Catholic Church -- I see amongst other things, that it is there stated as an error to be condemned, 'that emigrants to Catholic countries should have freedom of worship.' (Hear, Hear.) I do not think there can be any one more anxious than myself to avoid anything like religious discussion in this House, or to avoid rousing anything like religious animosity. But when we are discussing a scheme of the greatest importance, involving the interests of various sections of the community, I do think it behoves every man to speak honestly. (Hear, hear.) I have said that the Protestant minority in Lower Canada fear lest they should not have full justice done to them. They know the great power of the Romish hierarchy in Lower Canada. They know how much everything is shaped according to the wishes of that body. They know that that hierarchy receives its inspiration from Rome, and within the last few weeks we find what is the character of that inspiration. (Renewed murmurs of disapprobation.)

Now I ask my Roman Catholic friends to consider this candidly. When there comes from the Pope, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, a letter clothed with all the authority that we know the French Canadians attribute to that source, and when we have it declared here that it is an error to say that, in some countries called Catholic, emigrants should enjoy the free exercise of their own worship -- (Hear, hear.) -- I hear some of my honorable friends say 'Hear, hear', in rather a jeering tone. But I ask you to think honestly about it. Suppose it were possible for the Protestants of Canada to speak in a manner similar to that in which the head of the Romish Church has spoken, and that we were to declare it to be a principle that should guide us, that we ought not give to those who differed from us the freedom of religious worship, would not the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada have good reason to be alarmed? Now, I ask you to do me the justice, my hon. friends, to think of it in a just light and not in the light of an attack upon your religion. I ask you to think of it fairly, especially at such a time as this, when the Protestants of Lower Canada are called to put themselves into the power of the Roman Catholic hierarchy; for I believe it is simply tantamount to that. I ask you to think what must be their feelings when they read, as emanating from the head and ruler of the Romish hierarchy, such a sentiment as that contained in the passage I have quoted."

Hon. Atty. Gen. Cartier -- "Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say a word? The Protestant minority of Lower Canada have always lived in harmony, not only with the Catholics, but with the Catholic clergy of Lower Canada. And I may say also, on behalf of the Protestants of Lower Canada -- the majority of them at all events -- that they are so convinced that there is true liberality in the hierarchy, in the Catholic clergy of Lower Canada, as well as in the great majority of the Roman Catholics of Lower Canada, that they have no such fears as the hon. gentleman entertains. (Hear, hear.)"

Col. Haultain -- "Of course, it must be perfectly obvious that in a matter of this kind, what emanates from my hon. friend the Hon. Attorney General East will have very little weight, in comparison with what emanates from the head of the Roman Catholic Church. Now, I do not accuse my French Canadian fellow-subjects of anything like intolerance. But what I say is this, that there is ground for suspicion on the part of the Protestants of Lower Canada, knowing what is the position in which they will be placed, with regard to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, when they find emanating from the head, the very inspiration and fount of that hierarchy, the intolerant sentiments I have alluded to. Why do I mention this? Is it with the view of raising any difficulty about the scheme now before us? Quite the reverse. I speak in time -- I speak to assure my co-religionists in Lower Canada -- to elicit the

declaration of tolerant and generous sentiments on the part of Roman Catholic members; I speak in earnest warning now, that there may be no necessity for it hereafter. I need scarcely declare what are my own sentiments -- those of every British Protestant; we grant cheerfully to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen that which we also demand, the freest liberty of conscience, the freest exercise of every political right. (Hear, hear.)"

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "The Hon. Attorney General East rose and spoke for the Protestants of Lower Canada. My hon. friend from Peterborough (Col. Haultain) also speaks for them. How shall we decide between the two?"

Hon. Mr. McGee -- "The hon. gentleman from Cornwall is like the blank leaf between the Old and New Testaments, belonging neither to the one nor to the other. (Laughter.)"

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "I really think this is a very important matter. The hon. member for Peterborough speaks for the Protestants of Lower Canada, and the Hon. Attorney General East also says he speaks the feelings of the same class. What shall we say between them?"

Hon. Atty. Gen. Cartier -- "I can say this. I have seen, as the hon. member is aware, a considerable amount of political life, and during all that time I have always stood by the cause, when it was attacked, of the Catholic hierarchy of Lower Canada; but at the same time, I have always stood up on behalf of the rights of the Protestant minority, and it has been my lot always to have the confidence of that body."

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "Not as a body."

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "I propose that this part of the discussion be postponed till Sunday. (Laughter)"

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "And sing the doxology before we begin."

Col. Haultain -- "I think, sir, this is a matter too serious to be made the occasion of unmeaning jokes. I speak what I know when I say there is a feeling of distrust on the part of a great many of the Protestants of Lower Canada. And I speak what I know, when I say that what I have quoted as emanating from the head of the Roman Catholic Church, has tended to increase that distrust. It must be evident, that if we are in the future to progress amicably and well, it is better we should speak honestly before we enter into this compact, and that we should all strive to guard against any system being carried out, or any

course pursued, that would tend to create difficulties in the future. What do my hon. friends from Lower Canada say with regard to what I have quoted? One hon. gentleman rises with a jeer about deferring this discussion till Sunday. (Hear, hear.) I should like to know what the hon. gentleman thinks of the passage I have read. Does he agree with it?"

Hon. My Alleyn -- "Upon my word, I have not read the whole letter."

Col. Haultain -- "Does he agree with the portion I have read?"

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "I am in favor of liberty of conscience to the fullest extent."

Col. Haultain -- "I think, in justice to themselves, hon. gentlemen of the Roman Catholic faith should make themselves acquainted with what has emanated from Rome. I feel there is ground for the remarks I have made, and that I would have been failing in my duty to the Protestants of Lower Canada, had I not made them -- had I not stated on their behalf the gounds of their fears for the future. I hope hon. gentlemen will make themselves acquainted with what I have alluded to. I do not know whether the long list of errors was read out in the Roman Catholic churches, but I do know that the Encyclical letter which accompanied it was communicated to those who attend church. I do not know whether my hon. friend is in the habit of going to church."

Hon. Mr. Alleyn -- "Oh! yes."

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "I would like to know how my hon. friend from Peterborough will satisfy those for whom he speaks, if he votes for this Confederation scheme?"

Col. Haultain -- "I have sufficient confidence that my hon. friend the Attorney General East would oppose anything like an oppression of the Protestant population of Lower Canada. I am quite satisfied he will faithfully carry out the assurances he has given from his seat in Parliament with reference to the amendments to the Education Act of Lower Canada."

Hon. Atty. Gen. Cartier -- "And I may say that my fulfilment of those pledges will be easily performed, because it has never entered the minds of the Catholic clergy in Lower Canada, or of the majority of the Catholics of Lower Canada, to oppress their fellow-subjects, the Protestants. (Hear, hear.)"

Mr. J. Dufresne -- "What happened before the union should be proof of that."

Col. Haultain -- Well, after all that has been said to me, I ask hon. gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion to look at what the head of their Church has written and published to the world, and then to say either the one thing or the other -- either that they have no confidence in what the head of their Church says, or that they have confidence in it, and will act accordingly."

Hon. Mr. McGee -- "I hope the honorable gentleman will be found willing to extend to the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada the same privileges which we are ready to extend to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada."

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "The honorable member for Peterborough admits that the intentions of the Hon. Attorney General East are sincere, and says he relies on them. But, on the other hand, he reads to this House an edict which supersedes any promises which the Hon. Attorney General can make. That is the difficulty in which the honorable gentleman is placed."

Hon. Atty. Gen. Cartier -- "I recommend the honorable member for Cornwall to read the Encyclical letter."

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "I have read every word of it."

Mr. Bellerose -- "Then you didn't understand it."

Hon. J.S. Macdonald -- "All I wished to say was, that I think the honorable member for Peterborough has put the case very fairly."

Col. Haultain -- Whether I put it fairly or not, or whether honorable gentlemen approve of what I have said or not, matters not in the least to me. I have simply discharged what I conceived a duty to my fellow-religionists in Lower Canada. I bring to the knowledge of honorable gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion what many of them seem to have been ignorant of. And it is all nonsense to endeavor to ignore the fact that I have brought before them. We know that in some Roman Catholic countries absolute intolerance prevails. In Spain, for instance, not a Protestant church is allowed to be erected throughout the whole length and breadth of that country. It is of no use, therefore, for honorable gentlemen to jeer at what I say; and when an edict of intolerance is again promulgated and sent out to the world, emanating from the very head of the Romish Church, is it surprising, when the Protestants of Lower Canada are in a small minority, and know that they will be

at the mercy of the hierarchy entertaining those views, that they should feel some reluctance to be left in that position. I know this very well, that the generality of Roman Catholics in this country would avow, as they have done, their opposition to the sentiment I have quoted. I call upon them practically to disavow it, and I have confidence that they will do so. Whether they face the dilemma in which they are placed, or not, is another matter. (Hear, hear.) Composed, as our society is, of those different elements, when we have to discuss matters similar to that before us, when we have to adopt a scheme involving the interests of minorities and sections, it is right that we should do so freely and honestly one to the other, and face to face. I have spoken with every desire to avoid being offensive, uncourteous and unkind, and I have done it, I trust, in a manner befitting the occasion and my own character."

Mr. Denis -- "Will the honorable member allow me to put to him a question? Since the honorable member has referred to this letter from the head of the Church, does he entertain the opinion that any honorable member has a right to come here and criticize in a similar way the mode of procedure of Protestant clergymen? If so, how are we to get along at all? The honorable member may have his own opinions in regard to this letter, but he ought not to state them on the floor of the House, for if he does so any other honorable member has the right to come here and criticize the conduct of respectable clergymen of the Free Church, of the Episcopal Church, or of any other Protestant Church, and make such comments as he thinks fit. This ought not to be. Then, the honorable member said the letter ought to be looked upon with suspicion. Well, all I can say is, that if we go into a chapter on suspicions, every man ought to be suspicious. We might bring suspicions to bear upon everything, however respectable it may be, and in this way it would be impossible with frankness to deal with anything. My hon. friend uses the word 'hierarchy.' Well, a word even does damage sometimes. My honorable friend may have his opinion upon these things, and that opinion ought to be respected because I believe it to be an honest opinion; but if he has a right to speak of 'Romish' and all that sort of thing in connection with our Church, we will have a right to speak in a disrespectful manner of ministers of the Free Church, of the High Church, of the Low Church, and of all the other kinds of churches, and bad feeling will be created to no purpose."

Col. Haultain -- "Mr. Speaker, whenever anyone who has the right or authority to speak for Protestants enunciates such a doctrine as that which has emanated from the Pope of Rome, I am quite willing it should be thrown in my teeth on the floor of this House. I will tell my honorable friend who has just addressed me, what he ought to have been aware of, that there is no analogy whatever -- no similarity whatever -- between the Pope of the Church of Rome and any minister of any other body of Christians. I would dismiss this subject, sir, by simply stating that I have used terms ordinarily employed, and I have been anxious to do so in no offensive manner." (English version, pp. 640-44; French version, Débats parlementaires sur la question de la confédération des provinces de l'Amerique britannique du nord, pp. 645-48)

The Hon. Sanborn also expressed concern for intolerance in Lower Canada,

"There was another branch of the subject he would fail in his duty if he did not touch upon, and that was the situation in which the English of Lower Canada would be placed. The Honorable Premier had remarked at some length upon the disposition to toleration and the indulgent spirit evinced by his people in past times, and he (Hon. Mr. Sanborn) was not prepared to detract from this. He would freely and fully concede the point. He had always lived in the midst of a mixed population, and his division was more French than English, and it would ill become him to cast reflections on their liberality and desire for fair play or justice to others. But this was the time, when treating of important arrangements for the future, to lay aside all unnecessary delicacy, and by our action to lay down the guarantees for the perpetuation of these kind feelings and this spirit of toleration so long existing, and which he devoutly hoped would never cease. No greater calamity could befall the English, or, in fact, both races, than the introduction of religious discord among the people of Lower Canada. (Hear, hear.) It would, however, be a grievous mistake to overlook the safeguards and rules necessary to perpetuate kindly feelings, and to prevent the disposition to aggressions which existed more or less in all minds. That principle -- the love of power -- was found in every human heart; none were exempt from it, and the history of the world showed that no people had ever risen superior to it. The Honorable Premier had recognized this truth in the remarks he had made in regard of the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. The French Canadians had persistently refused the demands of Upper Canada for representation by population, because of the terror they felt that, if granted, their institutions would be in danger; and he had told the French members in the House that under the new Constitution their rights were so effectually guarded that their autonomy was fully secured -- the safeguards thereof being put in their own hands. But, at the same time, the English, who were a fourth of the population, and who, by habit and tradition, had their own views of public policy, were left entirely without guarantee other than the good feelings and tolerant spirit of the French. Was this safe? The only safeguard they were to have was in regard of education, but in regard of the rights of property they were to be left to the Legislature."

When Mr. Denis sought to dismiss the seriousness of the papal letter which Col. Haultain placed before the assembly he reflected a very important aspect of the condition which Quebec and Canada were developing.

He might have had knowledge of opinions and statements by some Catholics which were extremist and intolerant, without feeling bound by them.

Probably, like many experienced and well-informed Catholics, he regardes those theologians and ecclesial politicians of the time as marginal and was in good faith when he saw these men of relatively low repute as comparable to opposite members among Protestants and possibly among Jews. When he identified them, for example, as Adolphe Villeneuve and Father Alexis Pelletier together with the theological school of the agricultural college of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière in battle array against Laval, he felt justified; he can be forgiven for not foreseeing the dramatic council at the Vatican five years later and its consequences upon Quebec for more than half a century.

In 1865 he was permitted, as a Catholic, to make the explanation that he put before the legislators, dismissing the cited document as marginal and non-binding. Five years later, by 1870, he could not have, as a communicant of the church, dismissed the Syllabus statement in so cavalier a manner, for the oecumenical Vatican council declared such pronouncements as authoritative and infallible. Canadians can only guess — and A.T. Galt was long and deeply puzzled — how the Confederation debates and its consequent partnership would have fared in 1865 but for this six-year gap between Quanta Cura and Vatican Council I.

Even Mgr. Bernard commented, "The infallible Pope had published the Encyclical and the Syllabus in 1864...It was all very well to say that the pontifical act was not a definition ex cathedra. It was all very well to seek to soften its import by commentaries. Catholic liberals did not succeed in harmonizing the precise text of this document and the general direction of ideas which were dear to them.

"Who, then, was at fault? No one dared say it was the Pope. But, on the other hand, none of them was moved to strengthen his position further by proclaiming him infallible." (Rohrbacher. Histoire universelle de l'Eglise catholique. II. 229)

Mr. Charles Alleyn, member for Quebec City since 1854, stated on March 6, 1865,

"On Friday night I heard an hon. member (Col. Haultain) declare that the Protestant minority of Lower Canada entertained apprehensions with regard to their religious liberty, and that hon. member expressed grave doubts as to the toleration of Catholics in matters of religion. While I give the hon. gentleman full credit for his sincerity and the temperate manner in which he expressed himself, I think it would have been far better had that portion of his speech been omitted.

It would certainly have had much greater weight with the country without that portion than with it. I do not believe the Protestants of Lower Canada fear persecution, and there are those in this House, their natural representatives, yielding to none here in talent and knowledge, well able to speak for them. But, sir, had the hon. gentleman read history as carefully as he seems to have studied polemics and theology, he would not have fallen into the error into which he has. He would have found that all sects of Christians have had reason to blush for the persecutions of their fellow-men. The best course we can pursue is to allow the veil to fall over the errors of the past. (Hear, hear)

"But, sir, he would have learned this, also, that those who laid the foundations of the British Constitution were Roman Catholics; that the barons who wrung the magna charta from King John were Catholics. (Hear, hear.) It was a Catholic Parliament, the Diet of Hungary, that alone granted emancipation to Protestants, and Catholic Bavaria has followed the example. In America, the Catholic State of Maryland first adopted, without limit, religious toleration. Had the hon. member visited Rome he might have seen a Protestant Church, and have attended service every Sunday in the year under the eyes of the Pope...

"Had the hon. gentleman (T.C. Wallbridge of Hastings North) travelled in France, he might have found the Protestant clergyman received from the state an allowance one-fifth more than his Catholic brother, on the ground that he may have a family to support. In Lower Canada a Catholic Legislature gave equal rights to Jews a generation before enlightened England emancipated Catholics. (Hear, hear.) And sir, the history of the Jews gave a terrible warning to all who persecute for beliefs' sake. They, God's own people, set that bad example. For belief they crucified, and during a thousand years for belief they were oppressed and wronged as no nation ever suffered...

"I can assure my hon. friend the feeling pervading the Catholics of Lower Canada is a disposition to give the utmost tolerance to all religious sects. For my part, Mr. Speaker, persecution for religious belief I know to be a crime against humanity, and I therefore believe it to be a sin against the Creator." (pp. 672-73)

John Scoble of Elgin West agreed that Col. Haultain "correctly interpreted the feelings of Protestants in Lower Canada when he referred to the probable effect of the Pope's encylical on the Catholic mind of the country. They think that if the principles inculcated in that letter were acted upon, their religious liberties and privileges would be in peril. But it would appear that my honorable friend had not the true key to the interpretation of that

famous document. Catholic commentators find it to be perfectly innocuous when properly understood. Be that as it may, I rely rather on the good sense and good feeling of Catholics themselves, and above all, on the religious liberty secured to us in this province, than on the Pope's encyclical for the protection of our liberties, whether civil or religious. Let us be united in object and in interest as a people, and I have no fear, however diversified our opinions may be on matters personal to ourselves, but that we shall grow up to be a great nation, and that a glorious future awaits us." (Pp. 911-12)

In his defence of the confederation project on March 10, Antoine Chartier de Lotbinière Harwood, member for Vaudreuil, 1863-67 (later member of the provincial assembly, 1867-71), cited examples of successful federated states.

"Look at the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; does it not consist of three distinct nations holding several religious creeds? Those three nations have fought side by side on the sea and land for ages, against the enemies of their country. What glorious victories, what noble deeds in arms have they achieved! And the most perfect harmony exists among them. In England, are the Jews persecuted, deprived of their rights and privileges? Are the Roman Catholics? Is there not residing in the very capital of England a prince of the Romish Church -- Cardinal Wiseman? And, Mr. Speaker, who would have believed the fact? -- the last census shows that the city of London contains 100,000 Catholics more than Rome itself -- Rome the seat of the Catholic Church! And a greater number of Jews than there are in Judea or all Palestine! (Hear, hear.) And yet all these people enjoy their respective rights and privileges, and worship their Creator according to the traditions of their forefathers, unmolested, undisturbed by any." (p. 833)

CONTROVERSY AMONG CATHOLICS

The diversity of opinion as to the advisability of preparing the list of errors and as to the authority which this Syllabus was to be accorded was as great within the church as it was outside its walls.

This document shook even many conservative supporters of the Pope who shared his views on very controversial issues, such as papal infallibility. Mgr. Bernard, author of La Vie du Cardinal Pie noted that support for the formal adoption of this authority of the pope had the deliberate approval of Mgr. Charles-Forbes-René de Tryon, Comte de Montalembart, editor of L'Avenir, who confirmed it in his Intérêts catholiques au XIX^{e} siecle.

"How did this movement end among some believers, and was it replaced by a reaction towards the opposite direction?" asks Mgr. Bernard. "How did this pontifical concept suddenly become the stumbling block for the same Catholics who for thirty years had held and propagated all Roman doctrines, and this doctrine in particular? What has happened?

"It happened that the infallible pope had issued the Encyclical and the Syllabus in 1864." (Archbishop Rohrbacher of Auch. Histoire universelle de 1'Eglise catholique. 9th ed., Montréjeau, Subiron, 1903, vol.18, p. 229)

One French prelate, Bishop Dupanloup of Orléans became a leader and symbol of the opponents. He exerted an influence in Quebec before the question of the Syllabus became central.

So the world-wide controversy reached Quebec, indeed the heart of the province and within the seminary of the ancient archepiscopal diocese. Because of their unauthorized propaganda a half-dozen priests were, in consequence, forced to leave the university, among them the ubiquitous Father Alexis Pelletier.

In his anonymous La Source du mal de 1'époque au Canada, by a Catholic, he writes,

"The impious and revolutionary ideas imported from France, particularly by too well-known Papineau, continued to reign among many of our educated citizens and took shape in various media, unfortunately all too numerous and widely circulated. We need only mention L'Avenir, Le Défricheur, Le Pays, Le National of Quebec, La Lanterne, Le Journal of St. Hyacinthe, Le Constitutionel and Le National of Montreal and Le Bien public.

"In these papers, like in the Journal of Québec, L'Evénement, La Tribune, La Patrie, La Concorde, La Gazette of Sorel, L'Union of St-Hyacinthe and L'Electeur which still appear, the principles which are confirmed are no other than those of the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man of the France of 1789. These vicious ideas are now deeply rooted in the minds of many French Canadians; but many know how to dissimulate them.

"Many liberals in Quebec persevere energetically but prudently in the destruction of Catholicism. When pressed they call themselves Catholics...They seek to convice Rome that they suffer calumny here...

"They work for the separation of church and state and even the omnipotence of the state...They deny the right of the church to intervene in politics...They demand freedom of conscience, the freedom of the press, and complete freedom of action on the political level. They work by all means to secularize education even as they pretend to cooperate with the bishops who were placed on the Council of Public Education." (Pp. 8-9)

Séraphin Marion calls Father Pelletier "one of the most formidable and most cunning pugnacious churchmen of 19th century French Canada, a practiced sniper who never gave quarter and pursued his opponents to their last entrenchment. Vindictive to the last gasp, certainly never caring for the respect due to his hierarchical leaders, he was unquestionably sincere and a lover of truth; he dared face the thunders of his bishop." ("La Querelle des humanistes canadiens au XIX^{e} siècle," in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa. Dec. 1947, pp.405-33)

As Robert Rumilly tells it,

"Following the leadership of Mgr. Bourget of Montreal and Mgr. Laflèche of Trois-Rivières, he feared the wave of modern ideas and felt that the time had come to raise a dam against them. But another spirit reigned at the Seminary and the Archévêché of Québec.

"Mgr. Baillargeon and Fathers Pâquet and Chardonnet sought to have Father Pelletier condemned in Rome. Then, on August 12, 1868, the Archbishop of Rome, in a mandement, condemned the two last pamphlets of Georges St-Aimé (nom de plûme of Abbé Pelletier). It was forbidden to read, keep or lend them. It was even forbidden to publish anything on this question without the permission of the bishop. This restrained the quarrel, but it was to reappear." (Mgr. Laflèche et son temps. Montréal, Editions du zodiaque, p. 36)

Yet the pamphlets of Father Pelletier and of Alphonse Villeneuve were used in France by Mgr. J. Fèvre in his many writings on Canada in the same vein. (Pierre Savard. Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis. Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967. p. 157)

It is traditional wisdom to consider the archdiocese of Quebec as the centre of liberalism, but the conventions of ideological conflict, with its competition for extremism of orthodoxy in its statements, makes it difficult for the reader of the documents later in time to orient himself in the subtleties and peculiar sophistication of the insider, to align the persons and to situate them in the ranks of ideas. Often it is reduced to conflicts and orderings of persons.

In this context Abbé J.-B. Raymond was an admirer of Montalembert and of Dupanloup, and was labelled most influential and prestigious enemy of the ultramontane. But after examining his writings R. Hardy hesitates to call him a spokesman for the liberal tradition. ("Libéralisme catholique et ultramontanisme au Québec: Eléments de définition," in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 247-51)

Robert Rumilly notes, in his Mgr. Laflèche et son temps, that the Montreal Le Nouveau monde and the Journal des Trois-Rivières, which were inspired by Monsignors Bourget and Laflèche respectively, and Mgr. P.-A. Pinsonneault in La Minerve published responses to Mgr. Dupanloup, some of which appeared in 1870 in Le Dernier chant du cigne sur le tumulus." (pp. 50-1)

As C. Lindsey wrote in Rome in Canada,

"Archbishop Baillargeon of Quebec found himself in sympathy with the Bishop of Orléans, when the latter wrote his celebrated letter on the Vatican Council. Of this letter the author caused to be sent a MS copy to the Archbishop of Quebec, with the words 'écrit de sa main.' This letter the Archbishop caused to be printed and distributed among his clergy, in the beginning of the year 1868.

"The 'dangerous doctrines' contained in this letter did not escape the vigilant eye of the emissaries of a foreign power. An obscure journal, the Gazette des Campagnes, was made the medium of the censure. This paper was published under the auspices of the college of Ste. Anne. At that time, the Rev. Alexis Pelletier was professor in the college of Ste. Anne (Abbé Tanguay); and there is little doubt that he was ringleader in this attack. He had previously been professor in the University of Laval; and he carried away with him an undying antipathy to the seat of learning, which breaks out on every occasion. He has been a formidable ally of the Jesuits and Bishop Bourget in their attempts to discredit Laval and set up a Jesuit University in opposition at Montreal.

"The letter had been published by authority of the Archbishop. Vicar-General Cazeau, feeling it his duty to communicate the article to the Archbishop, who was then at Rome in attendance on the Vatican Council, first wrote to enquire whether it had been written with the consent of the members of the corporation of the college; if not, desiring that they might announce the fact in the same journal, or, if they preferred it, send the disavowal direct to him. They were reminded that they were required to inculcate respect for their first pastor; and a hint was given that, if this were not done, changes in the persons in charge of the college might be made: a threat which was afterwards carried into effect...

"The editor of the Gazette was sure of an easy triumph. An appeal to Rome in favour of infallibility, and against Bishop Dupanloup and his sympathizers, was certain to be successful; and the placing of the sanctum of the Gazette des Campagnes above the throne of the Archbishop shows what the press can do in the Province of Quebec, when it ranges itself on the side of Ultramontanism.

"The Bishop of Orléans published more letters; and the Gazette des Campagnes thundered new censures. The Journal de Québec, which in that particular phase of its existence got credit for speaking the language of the Catholic liberals, was suspected of receiving the secret approbation of the Vicar-General; a suspicion which is laid to the charge of M. Cazeau as a crime. The Journal claimed the right of believing or disbelieving in Papal infallibility. The visits of the editor to the Archiepiscopal palace were carefully noted, and became the cause of great scandal; and Ultramontane spies observed that there was an established connection between these visits and each new vindication of Catholic Liberalism in the Journal.

"Near the close of 1869 and the beginning of 1870, the Ultramontanes gained an accession of advocates in the press. Abbé Jos. S. Martel, curé of Ste. Julie de Sommerset, and M. Routhier of Kamouraska, a lawyer, began to proclaim aloud the truth of the doctrines promulgated at Rome, the admission of which meant death to the old Gallicanism. By the light of the Syllabus, Abbé Martel discovered that the conditions under which public education was carried on were deplorable." (pp. 178-80)

The fourth provincial council of the church in Quebec approved the Syllabus in 1868. (J. Grisé. Les Conciles provinciaux de Québec et l'église canadienne, 1851-86. Montreal, Fides, 1979, pp. 239, 241)

ANTI-SEMITISM

The Pope issued the Syllabus with the encyclical Quanta Cura on Dec. 8, 1864. A French version was printed in Montreal by J. Chapleau in 1882 (30 p.).

As early as 1864 we find the first Quebec attacks on Jews.

Indeed, one student of Canadian Jewish history was able to write,

"There were few place in the world in those years where French and Catholic anti-Semitism were combined with more ferocity than in Canada...

"During this period a particularly vicious anti-Semitism, well-honed in Europe, made its way across the ocean to Quebec. There were few aspects of the European strain of this disease which were not in evidence in French Canada, so long otherwise insulated from European influence." (M. Brown. Jewish Foundations in Canada: the Jews, the French and the English, to 1914. Ph.D. thesis at the State University of N.Y. at Buffalo, 1976, p. 266)

The first outright anti-Jewish expression which was to signal a flow of anti-Jewish agitation for those eighty years and to colour the province black at the hands of its spiritual and political leaders came at this moment.

Yet for a more exact understanding of the Quebec condition, it is essential to balance the hostile documentation with repeated testimony from those who lived throughout the period of this agitation. Time and again, Jewish and other witnesses tell us in all sincerity of being unaware of the anti-Semitic propaganda; life went on quite unheeding of the widespread hate-mongering, and Jews spent years in French Canadian Quebec not only untouched by the attacks but actually enjoying the constant friendship of their Christian neighbours. So, H.M. Myerson wrote to the Canadian Jewish Congress Archives,

"The French Canadian Catholic clergy and elite carried on a virulent anti-Semitic propaganda against the then small number of Jews, charging world Jewry with the gamut of the anti-Semitic accusations such as killing Christ, using Christian blood, the conspiracy of the Elders of Zion, defrauding and demoralizing Christian communities, controlling finances, creating communism, etc.

"That propaganda carried on even to the days of Ménard and Arcand when I was a young man beginning to participate in fighting these reactionary forces. However, this creates a wrong image of the actual relationship between the French Canadian people and the Jewish people that settled in this province. I speak with the conviction of personal knowledge and observation during the last seventy odd years living amongst French Canadians. For example, when we came to Canada and settled on a farm in Ivry, Lake Manitou, in 1905, all our neighbours were French Canadian ardent Catholics. But almost all were hospitable and extremely friendly. They understood that farming was new to us. So they came to teach us the rudiments of farming in the Laurentians and even refused to accept payment for their loss of time, although they were not wealthy.

"Most of the Jews I spoke to, who came to this province at the end of the 19th century, were unanimous in describing the wonderful welcome they received in the homes of the French Canadians they dealt with."

The ominous event which was to have a most frightening succession was the appearance of the anonymous pamphlet Le Rougisme en Canada, ses idées religieuses, ses principes sociaux, et ses tendances anti-canadiennes, par un observateur. (Québec, A. Côté, 1864. 79 p.)

The author, L.H. Huot, attacked the Reds, the annexationists, the Institut canadien, etc. in Quebec. He diverted to France where the Rougists are also active. (p. 72)

"While the Rouges of the provisional government were stealing vast sums, we could read on the walls of Paris, 'Death to the thieves!'

"What shall I say of Louis Blanc, of the Jew Cremieux, of Ledru-Rollin, of Michel (de Bourges) of..."

This singling out the Jew Cremieux was probably the first of scores of Canadian anti-Semitic attacks upon the founder of the Alliance universelle israélite during the eighty years which followed.

Soon after Father Huot's first step in Canadian anti-Semitism we meet with Father Alexis Pelletier and the Gazette des campagnes of Kamouraska on the same road, the same Father Pelletier who had engaged his archbishop for his moderation.

It is helpful to place the Gazette in its not unimportant place in the religious-political ferment of the 1860's, the decade which set the scene for the complete ultramontane takeover of the Quebec church. Although far from such centres of influence as Montreal, Quebec and Trois-Rivières, the agricultural college and its Gazette entered into the intensive quarrels of the age.

La Gazette des campagnes, which Beaulieu and Hamelin describe as the nineteenth century spokesman of the clerics' nationalist ideology, was slowly shaped between 1840 and 1870. It had been established on the initiative of Father François Pilote, founder of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière School of Agriculture, and the priests of the College of Ste-Anne were senior contributors to the weekly. (La Presse québécoise, 1860-1879)

The periodical began publication in 1861, with its first two issues printed in Quebec, but then removed to the college at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière under the direction of F.-H. Proulx, proprietor-manager.

For those who attach significance to the background rural and agricultural social syndrome, as contrasted with more progressive urban-industrial, the locale of this early Canadian expression of anti-Semitism may be eloquent.

Placing the Gazette des campagnes in a social perspective we note that the author of the Histoire de la population canadienne-française describes French Canada as virtually more rural during this decade than at any other time. (Langlois, p. 183, cited by H.C. Pentland in his "The Development of a Capitalist Labor Market in Canada," in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 25, 1959, p. 459) In this context, the very title of the Quebec rural periodical gives weight, if only symbolic, to the appearance on its pages of the anti-Semitic slogans which were spread so fatefully in the decades to come.

This journal was trembling in its anticipation that coming decades might destroy the pious rural life of Lower Canada. Pierre Galipeau analyzed its contents and formulated "the principle of all its torments, for the ideology of Calvary: rationalists adore the God of Reason, Jews cursing God and unfaithful wives give themselves the glorification of the body." (Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900, edited by F. Dumont, J.-P. Montminy and J. Hamelin. Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971. p. 157)

Even before Pelletier came to Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, in June 1864, the editor of the series "Histoire de la Quinzaine in the Gazette des campagnes noted the conflict within the church on ultramontanism and on freedom of thought. It cited the papal brief addressed to the Bishop of Munich which condemned some of the teachings of Dr. Doellinger. Controversial questions were insinuated slowly, e.g. papal condemnation of the principle of freedom of worship. (July 30, 1868)

In the heat of the debate on liberties in society, the Gazette des campagnes ascribed to Catholics the belief that in practice, at least today, it is better to separate the natural and the supernatural orders. "In applying this false notion of liberty there follows, on the intellectual level, the freedom of thought; on the religious level, the freedom of conscience..." (Apr. 29, 1875; discussed by P. Galipeau in La Gazette des Campagnes, in Recherches sociographiques, vol. 10, no. 2, 1969, p. 302)

At first it confined itself to problems of agricultural life.

Not sparing praise Pelletier wrote about himself in his anonymous pamphlets La Source du mal de l'époque au Canada. As he tells it (pp. 34-38), several theologians from Quebec, studying in Europe and fallen under the influence of liberal Mgr. Dupanloup, had found a congenial atmosphere in the broad-minded seminary. But Pelletier had adopted the very conservative paedagogical views of Mgr. Gaume in France. He wrote several articles in this vein in Le Courier du Canada which so displeased Archbishop C.-F. Baillargeon that further publication was forbidden him. Nevertheless, he continued writing and issued three anonymous pamphlets under the name of George St-Aimé. In consequence he, and several other young priests who could not accept the liberalism of Mgr. Dupanloup, were forced to leave Quebec.

In 1866 the superior of the college, Abbé André Pelletier found himself obliged to receive his nephew Father Alexis Pelletier (1837-1910), ordained only three years earlier, who was forced to leave Quebec after the extensive controversies he had stimulated with his extreme ultramontanism.

As he wrote about himself anonymously in his La Source du mal,

"In the diocese of Quebec the truly Catholic were forced to remain silent, for the least word against Gallicanism or liberalism brought reprimand from the archévêché and even threats. But there was one small paper, La Gazette des campagnes, edited in part by Alexis Pelletier who felt he had to brave everything for the sake of the truth. He dared say that Mgr. Dupanloup, because his behaviour at the approach of the Vatican Council had aroused suspicions.

In addition to his teaching duties the militant Father Pelletier was very active in the Gazette and had a regular section in the weekly. "He was brilliant, but not always an asset," to quote U. Lebon.

Mgr. Pinsonneault, the former bishop of Windsor,Ontario, noted that the paper virtually resigned from its agricultural vocation and became a medium for the priest wrangling with his opponents. In 1869 the head of the school retired from the administration, "Your friends who move in this direction are newcomers, strangers to the spirit of its establishment, its original intention. There are six newspapers who are fighting you now. That is a good many adversaries to have at one time. Four large columns in the last issue were not enough to reply to them all. Three are awaiting their turn. This is unheard of in the traditions of the Gazette," he wrote to the abrasive Father Pelletier.

There followed a series of scandalous actions and warnings engaging the archbishop and Mgr. (soon Archbishop) Taschereau, Mgr. Gaume, Mgr. B. Pâquet, Father Chandonnet, and the Holy Office in Rome.

At this the entire liberal press joined the attack, and Vicaire-général Cazeau of the archbishopric wrote to the superior and the directors of the College Ste-Anne, where Pelletier was professor, to warn them, on pain of being considered unworthy of training students for the sanctuary, to disavow publicly that evaluation of Mgr. Dupanloup which La Gazette des campagnes had published. The priests refused and Pelletier appealed to Rome.

Father Charles-Felix Cazeau had been secretary to Archbishop Pierre-Flavien Turgeon since 1830. He became Grand vicaire in 1850 and held the post for thirty-one years. That appointment appeared at the time with provision that he was to succeed Archbishop Turgeon as head of the Quebec province. Cazeau was particularly active in the convening of the six provincial councils, 1851-1886 serving as secretary of the first and promoter of the consequent five councils.

"G. V. Cazeau, administrator of the diocese in absence of Baillargeon in Rome, wanted to force the priests in a college publicly to disavow in the press the slight criticism, by one of their colleagues, of Mgr. Dupanloup." (Mémoire succinct et confidentiel sur la situation religieuse du Canada, et spécialement de la Province de Québec. P. 11)

Abbé Pelletier confirms the version of the Protestant author of Rome in Canada,

"Abbé Pelletier convicted Vicar-General Cazeau of the double crime of Gallicanism and Liberalism. The orthodoxy of the views expressed by M. Routhier of Kamouraska was guaranteed by this priest: they had 'the merit of being qualified as Ultramontane, in opposition to those called Gallican and Liberal. We have therefore,' exclaimed Pelletier, 'from the hand of Vicar-General Cazeau an authentic document attesting that at Quebec, in the palace of the Archbishop, proffession is made of Gallicanism and Liberalism.' The Gallicanism which had a vigorous existence at Quebec six years ago is now silent as the tomb.

"The College of Ste. Anne became a hotbed in which the new opinions were forced. In the summer of 1870 the Archbishop of Quebec resolved upon the removal of all the teachers, and formally addressed them a letter to that effect. They refused submission, and threatened to appeal to Rome. Called upon to disavow the authorship in the Gazette des campagnes, they replied, Jesuitically, that they regretted whatever had appeared in that journal which could reasonably offend the Archbishop. The organ of the Archbishop simulated satisfaction with an answer which was the reverse of satisfactory.

"So obnoxious were the new opinions that M. Cazeau did what he could to prevent their expression in the press. He is said to have succeeded, for a long time, in imposing silence in the Courrier du Canada, and to have discouraged to the utmost of his power the circulation of the Nouveau Monde, an Ultramontane journal, set up at the instance of the Bishop of Montreal. In the nomination of curés, it was charged against him that he favoured the old Gallicans and discouraged the new opinions; that he retained in high positions the Abbé Chandonnet, who shared his liberal views and defended them; while Ultramontane priests sometimes sought a refuge in expatriation from the vexation caused by what they considered a want of appreciation of their merits. The malice of his enemies charged that he sent M. Proulx to Beauce, as to a penal colony. Between him and the German Jesuit Braun, notorious for the extravagance of his Ultramontane views, there could be no sympathy. This Jesuit found a natural ally in Bishop Bourget; and he found his true place when, leaving Quebec, he took up his residence in Montreal.

"Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, came, in turn, under the fire of the Ultramontane skirmishers of the Province of Quebec. He had publicly stated that in Ontario the priests are forbidden to turn the altar into a tribune from which to deliver political harangues or to menace electors on account of the votes they may give at political elections.

"It is a noteworthy coincidence that, soon after the appearance of this criticism, the Archbishop ceased to favour the public with his views on these questions, which had been given in a non-official shape." (Rome in Canada, pp. 182-86)

In 1870 Archbishop Baillargeon brutally forced Father Pelletier to leave the school and to move to Montreal where he enjoyed the protection of the bishop while writing in the Franc-parleur. He impertinently continued his war against the supporters of the Archbishop of Quebec until the Vatican silenced him totally. He was reduced to serve the church with devotion and piety on the parish level. (U. Lebon. Histoire du College de Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1827-77. Québec, Charrier & Dugal, 1948; D. Rome. Clouds in the Thirties, section 1)

It is in this climate that we note the early anti-Jewish writings in the Gazette des campagnes by an eminent cleric.

Grand Vicaire Mailloux of the Diocese of Quebec was an indefatigable preacher, "the apostle par excellence of temperance," and very popular in many parishes in this cause which deeply engaged the church. Not limiting himself to exhortation, he was active in seeking appropriate legislation to this end. At one time he was considered for the bishopric of Caraquet in New Brunswick. As a theologian for the Quebec diocese he attended the first and fourth councils of the church in Canada, in 1851 and 1868. (Grisé, pp. 103, 137, 187)

G. V. Mailloux wrote, on June 15, 1866, an endless denunciation of luxury running through many issues. (Pierre Galipeau. "La Gazette des campagnes" in Recherches sociographiques, vol. 10, no.2, May 1969, pp. 293-322)

In its apotheosis of the human body the Gazette des campagnes tells how it was "ornamented with silks, pearls and jewels and presented for the adoration of the entire universe, unsuspecting that it was full of infectious rottenness. The Jews, the idol worshippers, the Protestants and Catholics will cover it with luxury and vain ornaments and will repeat in all corners of the civilized world, in a choir such as the spirit of evil had never heard, 'Let us raise the flesh! Glory to the flesh! May it be elated with delight and voluptuousness! Progress! Progress! Progress! The flesh is no longer flesh! See it, it is an idol decorated and ornamented like a temple!'

"Carry yourself in spirit to all parts of the civilized world where the ideas of progress have penetrated. You will meet there Jewish women cursing the God of Calvary, Protestant women of all types who worship Reason-God; infidel women who do not believe in Christianity...

"Who has made us rebel against truth? Let us admit honestly that we have been under an enchantment by a magic word that the spirit of evil has injected into the world like an epidemic, the word 'Progress' which is a pest for souls and minds. Without noticing the spirit which planted this word into the world, like the enemy who sowed passion in the midst of good wheat, we have accepted the word and all its implications that the spirit of untruth has attached to it.

"With the Jews, with the infidels, with all the shades of sectarianism, with the world and with Satan, we have cried out, 'Progress! Progress! Progress!' and with the entire enchanted world we have followed progress in the direction which the world and Satan indicated." (June 15, 1866)

Long afterwards the anti-Jewish Semaine politique commented on the Gazette des campagnes on April 7, 1894,

This excellent agricultural periodical which appears at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière deserves all possible encouragement. We can believe that it already has received this encouragement since our colleague has already a career of over 30 years duration. Subscription is $1.00 a year."

The Montreal L'Echo de la France reprinted from the Semaine religieuse de Paris the series of 1868-69 advent lectures at the Notre Dame Church in France by Father Hyacinthe. These lectures were purely theological and deal at length with the Jewish people and Jewish nationalism in Bible days as precursors of the higher religion which Christianity brought to humanity. However, in no sense can they be qualified as anti-Semitic, nor do they affirm the line of development we are following.

A WORLD COUNCIL

As the decade of the 1860's matured in the Catholic world, as the circulation of the Syllabus worked its influence, the next step in the plan to return the western world to the condition which dominated before the revolution of 1789 was unveiled: the convening of a council of the hierarchy of the church to tighten discipline and unity to this end.

Again, the specific Jewish interest only concerned the erasure of the liberalism which had recognized the liberty of conscience of the citizenry, their equal freedom of worship.

Specifically the papal plan centred on a suggestion for an authoritative assembly of the bishops of the church to pass upon a proposed system of values which had inherent in it a plan for society and a mode of attaining it.

Both within the clergy and beyond, throughout Christendom and into secular society, it was seen that such a council might enable the pope to give official and universal church support to certain policies entertained by a particular body of opinion in the church; that it would strengthen their position greatly, and lead to political and social actions which were certainly not universally held. Among the welter of ideas whose fate was involved in the large debate was an intention to erase the social consequences of the revolution of 1789 and equal rights granted to Jews. It is not too far-fetched to state that with an increasingly daring perception of the intervention of God in the affairs of man there was a parallel appreciation of the role of Satan -- in the theological term, manichaeism.

The consensus within the vast church on the nature of the problems, on the desirability of such an assembly and on the propositions to be put before the council was not very much easier to attain than such a consensus within total society. The scheme called forth a very intense debate within the church -- with grave repercussions outside the church -- which nearly shattered its treasured unity. Each of thousands of influential personalities formulated his philosophy, conscience and opinion in vast public, and more discreetly private, debates which drew upon theological, class, political, social and aesthetic issues. Personal and national patriotic issues played no small part in the legal-theological debate where code words underlay many substantial and tactical issues.

The questions formally on the agenda were morally neutral for the secular world which was essentially uninvolved, but of which it may be victim. Whether the faithful believed that the Pope could never err and whether the bishops were equally endowed, when the Virgin was freed from the taint of original sin, whether the centralized papacy or the councils of bishops should have primacy in government -- these issues would not be central in Jewish history. Except that the powers ranged under their banners had intentions and plans affecting the very breath of life of all men and women in a score of nations over many continents, from the newspaper they read to the women they married.

One of the proposals placed into the debate was that of declaring the infallibility of the Pope when he spoke ex cathedra on questions of faith and morals. This was seen by its opponents as an instrument to mobilize the vast institution of the ecclesia into a single, directed force towards the ends indicated in the Syllabus

Indeed, one of the leading bishops in the debates at that time put it clearly that "There is greater anxiety about the condemnation of liberal ideas than the declaration of the infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff."

Other critics were convinced that "It was intended to declare the Pope infallible on faith and morals in order to establish his infallibility in other matters, and that it was not necessary to apply to modern times the traditions of the Middle Ages, as L'Univers put it recently."

In this complex and widespread debate in Europe political issues of various types inevitably became involved, as the very term French Revolution was more a social and even constitutional event than a theological. Groups which were committed to either side of the barricades of 1789 as partisans found an involvement in the debate about the papal proposal.

It was probably significant of the theological climate that, when the 1851, first council of the Canadian hierarchy discussed the dangers which the church in Canada was facing from so many errors, the assembled bishops saw the solution in recognizing the primacy of the Seat of St. Peter, so manifesting their attachment to the teachings of the church, both in regard to dogma and to discipline. (Grisé, p.85)

The fourth council of the Canadian province of the church, in 1868, declared its adherence to the condemnations listed in the Syllabus.

Groups which had fixed positions on change, on status quo or on reversals of conditions saw themselves committed in favor or in opposition to the proposed council.

Governments of nations studied the idea of a council in terms of what it might mean to their own constitutions and partisan balances.

A revolutionary wave swept Catholics with such wide-reaching consequences that the international diplomatic, imperial and political universes became openly involved. We have noted the impact of the issue on the embryonic Canadian Confederation.

The diplomatic activity across Europe and beyond was very energetic; often it was influenced, in both directions, by domestic bishops and by leaders of international theology. Some of this activity involved cooperative action by several governments.

The bishops of each nation came under pressure from their governments.

Philosophers and scientists outside the church were influenced by many issues inherent in the Vatican plan.

Among the pseudo-philosophers and pseudo-scientists who suddenly found themselves in the centre of the vortex and ferment engaging so many of Europe's thinkers and governors were the insane authors of the imaginary science of racism, such as the Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau who had composed The Inequality of Human Races. His theories were not among the errors condemned by the Syllabus a decade after he had written his textbook of racism.

Although many of the creators of this theory were not Catholics, and many of the political leaders who exploited these principles were active Protestants; although the racist approach was directly contrary to basic religious and Catholic principles, many of the communicants of this Christian faith who were most loyal to the papal policy fanatically adopted the racist and anti-Semitic viewpoint, and there was no one to say nay to them.

This moral malady ravaged some Catholic societies; the language of the toxin proclaimed itself Catholic and the offices of anti-Semitic centres of propaganda were at ecclesial and even Vatican addresses. The church could not have attached itself to this fundamentally atheistic movement without being aware of its nature and its processes.

The consequences within the church of this alignment were themselves extremely radical.

Although the word "Jew" scarcely figures in the vast discussion, it is possible that Jews were its major victims. The object of its attack was upon the liberationist intent implicit in the American revolution and explicit in the French. The fatal term was "equality."

This was translated in church terms as the freedom of the conscience of the citizen, his freedom to worship according to the rite of his choice, and the equality before state and society of all religious communions.

Indeed, Léon Poliakov notes, in his Histoire de l'antisemitisme, l'Europe suicidaire, 1870-1933 (Paris, Colmann-Levy, 1977), that "It is true that during the long pontificate of Pius IX French and other Catholics did not yet wage true war against the Jews, and this moderation may be related to the proverbially conservative temperament of this Pope, a certain solicitude for this 'witness-nation' forming part of the oldest traditions of the Holy See...

"The Catholic camp produced only one anti-Jewish work before 1880, and even this work springs a number of surprises for the reader, for a fervent love openly competes with hatred. The book is Le Juif, le judaisme et la judaization des peuples chrétiens by Gougemont des Mousseaux (Paris, 1869) who was blessed by Pope Pius IX for this work." (pp.47-49)

In this upheaval some names rise to the surface or become more prominent; some to be long associated with anti-Semitism, such as Louis Veuillot and his L'Univers; none with any tinge of friendship for the Jewish people.

It was under these circumstances of profound and apprehensive disunity that the pope convoked Vatican Council for December 8, 1869. Pope Pius IX was insistent on the agenda, and severe confrontation characterized its rather stormy sessions which, indeed broke off in disarray for internal church reasons, for political and even military reasons which were far from the theological.

The Encylopaedia Britannica calls the Vatican Council of 1869 and 1870 "the most important event in the historical development of the Roman Catholic Church since the Tridentine synod."

The profound differences faced majority and minority as long as the council met. The pontiff's supporters were the majority on the crucial and bitterly dividing questions. His Holiness himself headed the ultramontane party whose position on the questions discussed at the sessions were adopted brusquely. Among the minority, which included anglophone bishops inspired by Lord Acton who organized to resist the propositions, was Mgr. Connolly of Halifax. He was among the harsh critics of the proposals made to the council as unworthy of the solemn magistracy of the church; they would cause the fathers of the Council of Trent to turn in their graves. The document, he said, is not to be amended or improved but should simply be given honorable burial.

The French consequences had a constant and immediate reaction in Quebec, which was never as colonialized before or since in its 400 years history as it was after 1870.

The religious war in France between the church and the atheists was clearly imported into Canada by several means, one of those being the arrival in many parts of Canada of "exiled" congregations, priests, brothers and nuns from the old metropolis. A good number of them became particularly influential as they came to occupy positions of education and confidence, such as provincial superiors, masters of novices, delegates to chapter meetings, directors of studies, etc. (Gui Laperrière. "'Persecution et exil:', La venue au Canada des congrégations francaises, 1900-19," in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, vol. 36, no. 3, Dec. 1982, pp. 389-412)

But "the other France" was also among the immigration into Canada. P. Savard notes that about 1870 some 3,000 Frenchmen settled in the country, but they were seen by conservative Quebec as the scum of the Paris Commune. Their background and their ideas reinforced the stereotype of the arrogant, metropolitan, irreligious Parisian which remained in the dictionary of Quebec concepts for nearly a century. In the annals of Quebec Jewry the type is strongly present in the Jules Helbronner saga, in the preachings of Father Z. Lacasse and in Canadian literature by A.M. Klein's "M. Bertrand". There was even a public campaign for funds to repatriate them. (Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905. Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967. P. 28; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 11)

Tardivel, then a beginner, wrote in 1874, "We do not need France in our fight against absorption."

Mgr. Félix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orléans (1849-78), sent the Bishop of Quebec a Lettre sur le futur Concile oecuménique au clergé de son diocese et expédiée à sa grandeur l'archévêque de Québec avec les hommages de l'auteur, in which he set forth his revised opinion about the wisdom of convening a council of the world church to define positions on current questions. His Emminence Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau reprinted the letter (Quebec, Augustin Côté, 1868, 60 p.) and circulated it to all his clergy. A second edition was printed in Montreal in 1869 where the letter from the Bishop of Orléans was "suivie d'un Bref de Pie IX à Mgr. Dupanloup et une circulaire de Mgr. l'Archévêque de Québec à son clergé." (38 p.)

When this edition of Mgr. Dupanloup's Lettre was printed in Canada, ultamontanist agitator Father Pelletier wrote to his French guide in religious polity, Mgr. Gaume for "a judgement to be made of it." The French theologian replied, citing the nuncio at Paris, that "it is a small matter; Mgr. pleads attenuating circumstances in favor of the modern spirit." Pelletier had this response printed in the Quebec press.

Grand Vicaire Cazeau saw the priest's act as an insult to Mgr. Baillargeon, who at this time had already left for the council at Rome. The Grand Vicaire asked the superior of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière whether Father Pelletier had acted with the consent of the college. The response was only mildly satisfactory, and the incident continued to fester until the passing of Archbishop Baillargeon soon after. (T. Charland. "Un Gaumiste canadien," in Revue de L'Histoire de l'Amérique française, vol. 1, 1947, pp. 194-236)

In Montreal the Echo de la France reprinted a lengthy portion of an address by Cardinal Manning on the Oecumenical Council in its no. 73, Jan. 1869, Pp 48-51.

"The leaders of the ministry of the entire world are about to meet to study the spiritual needs of the church and to find a remedy for human society, poisoned as it is to-day. This great Council will leave its mark on the Christian world."

Later issues of L'Echo de France of the same year dispose of the current questioning papal infallibility and of the pontiffs authority even over decisions of church councils. These articles took the form of studies of "The Teachings of St. Antonio," archbishop of Florence (no. 74, p. 174; no 75, p. 292, and no 76, p. 394) and had appeared in the Civilta cattolica in Rome and was reprinted in the Paris L'Univers.

The council witnessed a remarkable series of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary procedures as well as disturbing events near and far from the Vatican walls.

Canadian participation in the council was not negligible. Eighteen bishops from the Dominion participated, including Archbishop Charles-François Baillargeon of Quebec (who had to leave Rome and return home for reasons of health; he died six months later), Monsignori Thomas L. Connolly of Halifax, Joseph Eugene Bruno of Ottawa, John Joseph Lynch of Toronto, Ignace Bourget of Montreal, Mgr. Demers of Vancouver, John Farrell of Hamilton, Edward John Horan of Kingston, John Sweeney of Saint John, N.B., Jean Langevin of Rimouski (who returned home early), L.-F. Laflèche, Charles La Rocque of St-Hyacinthe and Peter McIntyre of Charlottetown. (Album des Pères au concile oecuménique du Vatican commencé le 8 décembre, 1868. Paris, L.-E. Desmarais) Mgr. Taché was called by the federal government to return from Rome because of the Métis crisis. Monsignori John Walsh and Thomas Cooke of Three Rivers could not attend for reasons of health.

The Canadian bishops who were in Rome for the council took the opportunity to meet for a discussion of some common problems, e.g., the conflict between new federal civil legislation and canon law such as on marriage and divorce. But these meetings could not continue, if only because of the illness that struck their senior member, Mgr. Baillargeon, and the recall home of Mgr. Langevin and Mgr. Taché.

Mgr. Laflèche sailed for Rome as bishop coadjutor, Bishop Cooke being very ill at the time. The citizens of Trois-Rivières organized to send Mgr. Laflèche, Bishop of Anthédon to Rome.[v] In the light of his eminent qualities and the important services he had rendered and their interest in his mission,[vi] the citizens of the city organized a public meeting on Sept. 29, 1869, at the Palais de justice and initiated a campaign for funds.

"Adolphus Hart of the Jewish faith, lawyer, was among the speakers who paid tribute to the bishop and to his great repute in the country." (Le Journal des Trois-Rivières, Sept. 28 and Oct. 11, 1869; Nive Voisine. Louis-François Laflèche, deuxième évêque de Trois-Rivières, vol. 1, p. 132)

While in Rome for the council Mgr. Laflèche received word of the passing of his predecessor, Mgr. Cooke, and of his accession to the episcopate of Troi-Rivières. (Rumilly. Mgr. Laflèche et son temps, p. 52)

The story of the convening of the council, the debate preceeding it and at the times when the bishops met, and its conclusions are important world history and Catholic history, but not essentially Jewish history, except insofar as these had, or promised to have, direct consequences upon the life of such Jewish communities as that of Canada.

It dispersed with a forceful victory over the substantial liberal minority, with much of its agenda in obeyance, but with a clear conclusion that the ultramontane position was henceforth dominant in church policy. (Roger Aubert, Vatican I. Paris, Editions de l'Orante, 1964. 341 p.)

The triumph of ultramontanism on a universal platform and the respectability accorded to ideas and programs which the nineteenth century might otherwise dismiss as beneath serious consideration were shocking to many witnesses and nearly led to a new Reformation schism. A minority of the bishops, who were so ignominiously defeated, walked out of the sessions. They constituted a rump Roman Catholicism, the Old Catholic Church, which did not become reconciled to Rome for many decades.

The ultramontanist sweep in the Vatican in 1870 makes it possible to consider the event of the council as one of the basic causes for many of the ills which befell humanity since that date, not the least the calamities which befell the Jews.

The triumph of the ultramontane has been so total that to many Catholics the use of the term to describe one movement in the church is objectionable. "The thing thus designated is simply a complete and unminimized Catholicism, and the expression is now meaningless in the mouth of Catholics." (Donald Attwater, ed. A Catholic Dictionary. New York, Macmillan, 1943. S.V.)

From the perspective of their Jewish history ultramontanism is usefully defined as that Catholic ideology which sees it as essential to deprive Jews of rights and equalities, going back in its perspective far beyond the 18th century emancipation, and looking ahead to the racist anti-Semitism of Hitler and of petro-dollar anti-Semitism of the twentieth century. The church in western Eruope, not least in France, became fortified and extreme in its anti-Semitism and became allied with racist and nationalist forces which were not Catholic in creed, tradition or culture.

Out of this flows the stream of Catholic-Jewish relations and of Catholic political policies affecting Jews for sad decades.

The consequences in Austria and Germany were even bloodier and spread to bathe the world in blood and in guilt before the Council was a century old.

One of the consequences of these revolutions in Western Europe rebounded in the east and became a further cause.

The reaction against 1776-1789 reached Russia where the American and French revolutions had produced minimal effects. Yet in due course, the reaction forces there were powerful enough to unleash pogroms sufficiently shocking to trigger a vast migration of Jews from eastern Europe westward, across Germany, France and the Low Lands, Britain, to Canada, the U.S., South America, Australia and, most fatefully, to Palestine.

In all these countries there appeared Jews of another civilization, another ethos, another visage. The very image and iconography of the Jew assumed a new dimension, just when the concept of the Jew nurtured by the emancipatory revolutions of a century ago were questioned anew. All this altered the vocabulary and terminology of the anti-emancipatory revolution.

Certainly a study of the quality of Catholicism of the Catholic anti-Semites of this period, and of the "Catholic" nature of the motley allies who gathered around the church allegedly in its defence against the Jews at this period, will shed a light upon the function of the church in this tragedy and upon the wisdom of its leader.

IN QUEBEC

Father Villeneuve and Pelletier in 1870 founded and contributed to Franc-parleur.

"The conflictual nature of the French Canadian press of the late 1800's is not often appreciated; its partisan character led it to perpetual confrontations. Arguments, sarcasm, polemic and dissertations were the choice dishes it served daily before its readers. Le Franc-parleur was a worthy representative of its time," La Presse québécoise writes of this periodical (vol. 2, pp. 156-57)

Conservateur catholique spelled out the significance of the terms in the current political debate centering on the tolerance which may be extended by Catholic Canadians in an 1875 pamphlet, M. l'Abbé Sax et ses souffleurs, ou Réfutation des erreurs contenues dans le Manifest libéral québécois. p. 18. The object of the attack, Father Pierre Sax, was curé of St. Romuald.

"The current meaning of the word 'liberal,' since developments which are clearer than the mid-day sunshine, according to the many consistent admissions of those who lead the party, implies a conciliation between truth and those who defend error, between justice and iniquity.

"It is a pernicious and damnable conciliation through ill-understood tolerance, in the name of a prudence that is carnal and all too human, of love of a false place. Le Journal de Québec, L'Evénement, Le Bien public and Le National are constantly pleading for this, in one form or another. As they see it, the authors of all that is evil in Canada are those who affirm Catholic principles and who do all they can to give them shape everywhere...Surely, to profess such a liberalism is to profess an error which has been condemned as heretical."

Le Canadien recalled in "Les Tendances libérales; les rouges sont aussi dangereux qu'autrefois," (Quebec, Blumhart, 1874. p. 7) that "The liberals in 1856 proposed to introduce a Godless school system in the province of Quebec which would favor freedom of conscience."

The anonymous pamphlet Le Libéralisme dans la Province de Québec said,

"The liberals whose principles and procedures we are opposing are French Canadian liberals and no others. They can be divided into two groups: some are advanced or impious liberals, pure rationalists; the others are Catholic liberals who support the former without accepting all their errors.

"The first are the sons of Voltaire; the second seek peace with everybody except with those who believe in truth and defend it as it is, in its entirety, unmasked, and will not lessen it for any consideration.

"According to Gregory XIV and Pius IX the impious liberals are those who seek the secularizaion of politics and of education and who call for freedom of conscience, whence there grows forth the equality of religions, and thence the freedom of the press, that is the freedom to speak and to write in accord with the freedom to think." (p. 8)

André Bélanger formulates the relationship between the "isolated" Quebec nationalism and France of that time. As he told Victor Téboul,

"We must not forget the Anglo-Saxon which surrounded them. There are a few Israelites, but there may also be others further away, but nevertheless just as dangerous. There was France itself. We must not forget that for the nationalists of the time modern France represented a certain danger: we must not read French books at random. There are some good authors. France too is perverted, if you wish; Quebec nationalism is a nationalism of survival. In fact we are isolated; modern France of the Third Republic, even that of past -- 1789, not to speak of the France after the 18th century, is not a good France. It is not the eldest daughter of the church. It is a France set on a path which should not be ours, while we are expected to conform to the old France. But this Old France no longer exists. So we are in fact orphans ideologically, and we are content to follow the policy adapted by Rome." (CBF interview, March 29, 1982)

After the council Father Pelletier became more active as the unauthorized but well-supported spokesman of the ultramontanes of the province.

The position of the militant conservatives is stated with a frank brutality by this Quebec priest who has marked a place for himself in the checkered history of Canada. It is clearly delineated on the title page of his 1873 book written under the nom de plume of Luigi, and printed by Le Franc-parleur in Montreal. He describes himself "de la redaction du Franc-parleur." The title: Du Modérantisme, ou La fausse modération.

Pelletier cites as an example of this evil a series of articles in L'Evénement at the end of 1876 and the beginning of 1877 where Retribution preaches freedom of conscience, as in the case of an elected member who should vote according to his free judgment and not be bound by a pledge he had taken earlier. (p. 21)

FATHER VILLENEUVE

In 1871 an obscure teacher by the name of Alphonse Villeneuve delivered an interminable series of lectures which were printed in Montreal by Beauchemin & Valois under the title Nos Faiblesses et nos forces à l'égard de la vérité, Conférences prononcées à l'Union catholique de Montréal. There he discussed freedom of conscience.

"Catholic liberalism invokes this freedom in the interests of general peace. Yet this liberty is only at constant warfare within society.

"They say, 'Nevertheless this freedom exists, and thanks to the progress of civilization we enjoy an infinitely more pleasant and more liberal regime than that which reigns where the church was privileged. Not only are the various faiths equal before the law, but we find these Catholics, Protestants and Jews united in private life in the most cordial intimacy whose ancestors were persecuting each other without distinction in ferocious hatred. And what for? Are they not all equally good husbands, good parents, honest tradesmen, citizens devoted to their country? Are not religious discussions alien to the principles of general morality which are accepted by all? Why do not these opinions appear freely in full daylight and, like lawyers who come out after a case and embrace as they leave the courthouse, why cannot Catholics and free-thinkers live as brothers?'

"In fact, the reign of peace seems to have arrived, but it appears established through indifference rather than through tolerance. Protestant fanaticism is tempered; commerce has almost made the Jews capable of negotiation! and faith is so weakened in Christian hearts that it is possible to insult Christ and His Church, maltreat the Pope, put him in chains, scoff at his decrees, mock his authority, etc., without arousing the indignation of any considerable number of Catholics. Tempers are inclined to peace, but it is the peace of the cowardly, shameful peace, the repose of the lethargic.

"Fortunately, the Church is alert, the Church that may well seek tolerance but that cannot sleep as do the indifferent, the Church which can never renounce the proselytism which is its life...The peace which some dream is illusory, and the freedom of conscience which you would invoke is not possible." (pp. 206-10)

In 1872 Villeneuve wrote a 43-page attack on 62-year-old Mgr. Joseph-Sabin Raymond of the Séminaire de St-Hyacinthe, respected theologian, entitled Le Grand-Vicaire Raymond et le libéralisme-catholique over the signature of Binan of the editorial board of the Franc-parleur, (Montreal, Le Franc-parleur) in response to a lecture by the professor in which he had stated that there were no Gallicans in the Quebec church. (R. Rumilly. Mgr. Laflèche et son temps. Montreal, Editions zodiaque. p. 73)

The prefect of studies at St. Hyacinthe had served as theologian on behalf of his Bishop Mgr. Prince at the first, 1851 council of bishops of the Canadian province and at the second in 1854 where he also served on the commission of studies. He continued as theologian of the 1863 third council together with Bishop Larocque, at the 1868 fourth council and at the 1873 fifth council. He was canon delegated by the chapter of his diocese at the last council in 1878. He was created domestic prelate to the pope in 1876.

Rumilly ascribes the anonymous pamphlet to Mgr. Pinsonnault. (p. 73)

Towards the end of the 1840's, while he was superior of the seminary, large-scale plans had been developed, probably with the assistance of Raymond's kin, A.-N. Morin, to expand it on the model of Louvain; -- some dared breathe the name of Oxford as model -- as a university preparatory centre. The fire that was set to the parliament buildings in Montreal in 1849 extinguished this plan. (Grisé, pp. 50-51)

Raymond has been called the first disciple of Montalembert in Canada.

Villeneuve freely admits that Grand Vicaire Raymond is a venerable priest who has often taken up arms to battle for truth and justice against error, and has come forth many times in aid of the Holy Seat when it was threatened. "See when he proclaimed the divinity of the Word, the infallibility of the church, the power of Mary, etc., he has rejoiced and greatly edified Catholic Canada. When, on the other hand, he preaches liberty of conscience as a fact, he saddens Catholic Canada deeply. (P. 9)

This freedom exists in fact, in which case it operates to the benefit of religion, as Montalembart wrote,

"Political freedom, whose only legitimate end is to guarantee civil and moral freedom...is profoundly valid against the triumphant exaggeration of power...Religion needs freedom, and freedom requires religion...of course, not too much, not at all times, not everywhere, not without motivation, not without preparation. But to refuse it systematically and permanently, to become rigid (s'enrégimenter) as a result of terror and passions which may be well founded, which prosecute them today; to hold that it is possible to deprive the peoples which have tasted even a drop of this strong and substantial nourishment is both a capital error and a very ignoble act.

"Today, unlike earlier epochs, political liberty brings freedom of religions with it. But I love to believe that Catholicism need fear neither...Freedom of conscience today, a principle so long invoked by our enemies, ends up to our benefit.

"Doubtless it would be senseless to proclaim in countries where no one calls for it. But where it does exist, or where it has been inscribed in law at one time, we should be careful not to erase it, for it becomes the safeguard of the faith and the highway of the church." (pp. 16-17)

Abbé Raymond had written,

"In many countries the majority of citizens profess false religions. They have been long established and possess freedoms. Even though there may be something pernicious in their false religions, their divine moral teachings are not totally lost and help to preserve their societies. In the course of time many of them have become less hostile to the members of the Catholic Church. Under such conditions freedom of religion may be admitted as a relative good. In fact, it would be impossible to forbid freedom of religion in non-Catholic countries.

"In countries where the Faith is dominant but where heterodox sects nevertheless have many partisans, repression would necessarily be odious; it would violate civil rights long acquired; would lead to great troubles and would only increase opposition to the church; would hamper conversions and incite persecution of the church.

"This being the case there can be no question of ending this liberty where it is established.

"If Abbé Raymond would remain within the bounds of truth he would limit his teachings to tolerating, when we cannot do otherwise, the freedom of worship, of conscience, of speech and of the press, but not to defend them. For to defend something is to recognize it, But it is never permitted to recognize the rights of error whatever its power and predominance. If we can do nothing against it let us tolerate it, but never defend it.

"If error proclaims the freedom of religion and then stifles you because you are Catholic, as it constantly does out of habit, remind it of the freedoms it has accorded, invoke them at need but do not glorify these rights.

"Neither the Vatican Council nor the misfortunes of France have sufficed to enlighten M. Raymond on the dangers of freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, of speech and of the press." (p. 23)

On the other hand, Villeneuve writes, Pope Pius IX in his encyclical of Dec. 8, 1864, stated "Concerning this absolutely false concept of social government, that he would not hesitate to qualify it as fatal to the Catholic Church and to the salvation of souls, and our predecessor of blessed memory, Gregory XVI, described as insane the idea that freedom of conscience is the right of every man which should be proclaimed by law and ensured in every well-constituted state."

"So," Villeneuve continues, "whereas, according to Montalembert, freedom of conscience operates for the benefit of religion, according to the infallible popes it is fatal to the Catholic Church. It is an insanity...Nevertheless Abbé Raymond rejects the latter view and accepts the former." (p. 4)

Villeneuve established that the condemnation of the principle of freedom of conscience applied to all countries. This right exists in fact in many countries: in France, England, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Spain -- in all countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and America -- except where the state religion is pagan, schismatic or heretical. Pope Pius has condemned the freedom of conscience in law or in fact, everywhere, and he called upon princes and the people to abolish it. "It is not an imaginary and future evil but a real and present evil which Pius IX fought in freedom of conscience."

According to Villeneuve, Raymond commended the principle of freedom of conscience in societies where it was in fact accorded, but condemned it as a principle of law. (pp. 11-12)

"Since public opinion in some countries will not permit any diminution of freedom of worship but at the expense of the society and of the church, it is permissible to tolerate, to defend and to swear allegiance to such clauses in the fundamental constitutional law..."

Raymond associated himself with the views of Mgr. Dupanloup who questioned the meaning of the Syllabus.

"To reject senseless and condemnable indifferentism and the consequences of license that flow from it -- does it mean also to reject tolerance of persons and the civil freedom of religions? This has never been said, and all theologians state the contrary." (cited by Raymond, p. 13)

Montalembert accepted freedom of worship not as absolutely valid but on a relative basis. Dupanloup condemned the absolute principle of these freedoms, but praised liberalism as a relative principle.

Raymond shared their view and envisaged that in some societies some measure of tolerance, restricted to certain limits, may or even should be admitted as a lesser evil, as an exception due to circumstances, to a law whose authority is recognized.

Villeneuve points out that just this is the Canadian condition.

Yet the Pope had condemned the belief not only in the absolute merits of these freedoms, but even the practical, factual acceptance of these liberties.

Rumilly cites the author as affirming the existence "even at gatherings of our bishops, of theologians daring enough to defend some doctrines rejected by the church. These theologians who are with the Archbishop (Taschereau) teach that it is the state that accords the church the right to own property." (p. 73)

But Villeneuve points to clauses 77 and 78 of the Syllabus which condemn this position explicitly. "There is an enormous difference between tolerating Catholicism and defending an abuse...Catholics may not oppose freedom of religion by referring to the freedom which the church enjoys. The Catholic Church alone has the right to its liberties because it alone possesses the truth.

It is Villeneuve's major concern that there are many in Canada who would thus limit the import of the Syllabus of Errors and thus sap church teaching very seriously. He notes that in Canada freedom of worship, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of the press exist, freedoms inscribed in our laws as rights and daily applied in our society as fact; all liberties forming the sum total of our social state, the protocol of our political existence; all liberties condemned and forbidden by the infallible popes.

He summarized, "Political liberalism consists of freedom of worship, of conscience, of speech and of the press, recognized in law and in fact by the state. These liberties are so recognized in Canada." (p. 14)

All this while the grand vicaire maintains that "no one who professes the Catholic faith proclaims freedom of religion ('liberté des cultes'),of speech and of the press as absolute principle; no one maintains that the best political order is the state which is indifferent to all religion." (cited by Villeneuve, p. 15)

LA COMEDIE INFERNALE

In 1871-72 the Quebec religious-political record comes to include a remarkable work which only the extremisms of partisanship could place near the centre of the nation's history.

Alphonse Villeneuve, a teacher who enjoyed the protection of the conservative Bishop Bourget of Montreal,was "a medieval crusader lost in the modern world," to recall the description of Voisine. "In order to attack Gallicanism and Catholic liberalism more effectively he borrowed a literary form from antiquity which he himself defined, 'If it were not that Gallicanism and Catholic liberalism, with their deplorable Satanic illusion, had a comic and an absurd side, I would never have thought of giving my book the title of "The Infernal Comedy."'"

The very title or the sub-title, is significant. The concept of a conspiracy by modernists against church and society was repeated by H. Bernard in his La Ligue d'enseignement, histoire d'une conspiration maçonnique à Montréal (Montreal, 1903), by G. Bord. Conspiration révolutionnaire de 1789 (1909), Henri Delassus. La Conjuration antichrétienne in 3 volumes and in his L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne (1890), B. Goudreau. Le Complot mondial judéo-maçonnique contre la France, Malynky. La Grande conspiration mondiale (1928) and Copin-Albencelli in his La Conjuration juive contre le monde chrétien in 1909 (Paris, La Renaissance française, 534 p.) But the Montreal writer anticipated some of them by decades.

This play in five parts, La Comédie infernale, ou Conjuration libérale aux enfers, en plusieurs actes, by Un Illuminé (Montréal, Imprimerie Franc-Parleur) detailed the current controversies in the province centering on the ultramontane movement.

One of his characters records that "Since the great debate at the Vatican Council there has been great wariness in regard to Gallicanism and Catholic liberalism. Before the polemic on infallibibilty the liberal writings of Dupanloup, of Montalembert and of others were highly regarded in Canada. La Minerve, Le Journal de Québec, L'Echo du cabinet de lecture, for example, published and praised the speeches delivered at various congresses at Malines by these liberal Catholics. Even La Revue canadienne commended the book by Dupanloup and the encyclical of Dec. 1864. Since the council the same papers have been extremely careful in regard to these well-known writers." (P. 31)

In his prefatory letter "To the Catholics of Quebec" he confessed that he had hesitated to write his revelations lest he arouse scandal; but he received an illumination while in his thatched home in the village when a mysterious voice told him "it was time to unmask them, the enemies of the Syllabus and of episcopal authority who live by lies and ignorance. Speak. Publish the conspiracy to which you are witness. If there be scandal, it is a necessary scandal; it will enlighten the people and restore truth. The scandal must come."

His formulation of the devil's program included (par. 6) "No one shall be disturbed for his views, even religious views, provided the manifestations of these opinions do not trouble the public order established by law. Long live freedom of conscience." (p.332)

They "proclaim the separation of church and state, freedom of conscience and the excessive prudence in the face of modern doctrines held by some so-called Catholics. I wish to make it clear how these liberal doctrines are contrary to truth and to what an abyss of evil those who proclaim them drive the poor and the deluded." (p.44)

The publication in several fascicules includes an 1824 declaration in support of Villeneuve's criticism written by a Sulpician father, J.-B.-Ch. Bédard of Montreal, addressed to Father Rioux, superior of that house, in regard to "the ecclesiastic government of the Island of Montreal," that of Mgr. J.-N. Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis, written in Rome in 1836, also drafts of notes sent as early as April 1850 on "the opinion of the diocese of Montreal" to M. Faillon at Paris by Father Joseph Marcoux, "missionary to the savages at Sault St.-Louis, Caughnawaga" in support of Mgr. Bourget of Montreal in his continuous dispute with the seminary in the Quebec metropolis.

The writer excused himself for his savage frankness and ascribed it to the thirty years he had "spent with the children of the forest. If they received something from me, it would be difficult if I also did not take something from them, at least in form."

Remarkably this crude pamphlet was taken very seriously by Catholics and by such anti-Catholics as Charles Lindsey, author of Rome in Canada, the Ultramontane Struggle for Supremacy over the Civil Authority (Toronto, Lovell, 1877)

His colleague Father Alexis Pelletier describes the work,

"A young layman who has since become a priest undertook to put an end to the evil by exposing the truth fully. Without the benefit of counsellors, for he worked in complete secrecy, he felt it necessary to adopt an extraordinary form in order to win readers. He, therefore, published his Comédie infernale in the form of dialogues in which the spirits pf Hell were the speakers.

"La Comédie infernale only told the truth in the hope that principles of order and justice may prevail. There are many books which have been described as good or even excellent which do not have this merit of this Comédie, as can readily be shown. In fact, it did not please some; moved to an expressible fury, and its form provided them with many occasions of which they did not fail to take full opportunity. They countered the exaggerations inherent in its form with their own excesses and even false accusations.

"The form which the author adopted, which became the theme of so many complaints, was a mere accessory. No one approved of it, and the author himself regretted it. But in its essence La Comédie infernale cannot be attacked, and it was this mainly that they sought to destroy by the pretext of criticising the form." (La Source du mal de l'époque. pp.57-58)

No sooner did Villeneuve publish his Comédie infernale than his supporters issued documents to prove the case of the controversialist under the title Pièces justificatives, La Comédie infernale (Montréal, printing house of Le Franc-parleur, 1872-73)

Villeneuve, by this time a tonsured ecclesiastic, entrusted Adolphe Ouimet, publisher of the Franc-parleur with documents regarding the Montreal church conflict with instructions to publish them.

Those who suffered the attacks of Villeneuve were the more angry because throughout the text numerous allusions and even quotations prove that the author had access to confidential documents.

This coincided with strong differences of opinion between the Bishop of Montreal and the Archbishop of Quebec on a variety of other matters. In July 1872 the head of the oldest diocese proposed a meeting of the bishops of Quebec which Mgr. Ignace Bourget of Montreal refused to attend. The gathering took place in his absence in Quebec in Sept. and Mgr. Taschereau had a motion passed forbidding communication or the publication, in whole or in part, of minutes of meetings of bishops or related documents. The conference also explicitly condemned Villeneuve's Comédie. (Voisine, pp. 170-71)

The bishops approved the transmission of these views to Rome, and the archbishop was authorized to append to them such reflections and observations as he might consider appropriate. It took many procedures in Canada and in Rome for the Villeneuve case to be settled. Eventually he was severely censured by the authorities in Rome.

In his Les Conciles provinciaux de Québec et l'Eglise canadienne, 1851-86 (Montreal, Fides, 1979) Jacques Grisé places La Comédie infernale in the midst of the politicio-religious conflicts which filled the years separating the Councils of 1873 and 1878. He notes in particular L.-A. Dessaulles' La Grande guerre ecclésiastique, La Comédie infernale et Les Noces d'or (Montreal, Doutre, 1873) a fundamental attack on the ideas of the Bishop of Montreal. As a result La Minerve which had published it found itself in endless difficulties with its bishop. Robert Rumilly notes that these religious questions dominated public opinion during this time. (p. 287)

Nevertheless, in Dec. 1873 Mgr. Bourget vested Villeneuve with the powers of the priesthood, and the young man became one of the contributors to Le Franc-parleur, as did Father Alexis Pelletier. (Voisine, Louis François Laflèche. p. 282)

He resided in the archévêché at Montreal and served as chaplain of the Carmelites. For some years he was curé at Sandy Hill, N.Y. and later at L'Assomption d'Albany, until 1898.

Dessaulles mocked Villeneuve's crudity and vulgarity, "a man too limited to measure the import of what he says, whose moral horizon reflects for him only his own incomplete idea, and who has not sufficient perspicacity to perceive how his inaptness prevents him from appreciating his own weaknesses."

In effect Villeneuve ridiculed the Bishop of Montreal even as he pretended to praise him. "When we see these ill-fitting and laughable lucubrations enjoying the approval of priests from the bishopric who readily tell all comers that they find nothing but the truth in The Infernal Comedy, a truth inspired by ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests not sensible enough to distinguish them from their good angels -- it is little wonder that people ask what this religious teaching is all about.

"The public has long wondered that Your Grace could approve a work so inept for some readers and so scandalous for the others, filled with ecclesiastic hatred accumulated over three decades, yet all covered by a hypocritical phraseology and conventional charity. It seemed as if in your prolonged illness nothing appeared to separate out the interests of the bishopric from this pamphlet and its author. But when it appeared some days ago that you yourself conferred minor orders upon the pamphleteer, and this without calling for a retraction of his wicked insinuations and insults upon your beloved collaborators in the sacred ministry, the scandal became triply important, for it could only be inferrred from this ordination but that Your Grace thereby gave your cordial sanction to this libel.

"Is it not clear, Monsignor, that this is a not very intelligent manner to assure for the clergy that nearly idolatrous respect that is sought for them?" (Pp. 2-3)

Dessaulles attacked his bishop for what he felt was a restraint upon conscience in the claims of the ultramontane.

"The manner in which the clergy of Rome, and thence the local clergy, understand and implement justice and their pretension of dominating the spirit and the conscience of men in everything are so grave that they must one day become the subject matter of history and profound examination by philosophy. For these and a number of other matters explain the often disastrous influence which a more or less enlightened clergy can exert on the destinies of a country. They explain how certain men who believe that they serve religion by having the spiritual dominating over the temporal can organize a clerical system and combine it with a political so as to destroy all the freely balanced citizens in society (tout libre-arbitre individuel) and thus render impossible the development of public liberties." (pp. 9-10)

"Has not the papacy since the beginning of the century condemned all constitutions which derive from the principle of the sovereignty of the people and which consecrated the freedom of conscience and of belief?" (p. 54)

He took his quarrel with the bishop to the Congregation of the Propaganda where the prefect, Cardinal Barnabo was not a little embarrassed, try as he might to support the Montreal ordinary. Not surprisingly the Bishop of Anthédon was brought into the debate by his colleagues. Under another title this prelate soon appeared as L.-F. Laflèche, Bishop of Trois-Rivières, no mean controversialist, but also no match for Dessaulles. (La Dernière correspondance entre le Cardinal Barnabo et l'Hon. M. Dessaulles, 1871. pp. 10-20)

Dessaulles received his response from Father Pelletier who signed his Le Don Quichotte montréalais sur sa Rossignante, ou M. Dessaulles et La Grande guerre ecclésiastique with one of his noms de plume Luigi. (Montreal, La Société des écrivains catholiques, 1873. 101 p.)

"At this time I will say nothing about freedom of conscience and religions, for I have spoken of this to you at length elsewhere and have shown you that these are false liberties and that their true name is license." (pp. 70-71)

Villeneuve issued an anonymous pamphlet (in 1873) Dialogue sur une question importante, in his favorite form of a dramatic discussion, on the judgment of Judge Berthelot in the case of the Paroisse de Notre-Dame de Toutes Graces. It was signed by "un Catholique".

In his dispute with Mgr. Bourget in regard to the Institut canadien, L.-A. Dessaulles notes, "I truly believe that on this question you will not be supported in Rome more than you were in regard to the false doctrines that you believed you found in Grand Vicaire Raymond. You were certainly wrong there! His superiors told him that quite openly since they stated this in a document intended for publication.

"Has not Your Excellency just been censured by name by the Congregation of the Index which has stated formally that Your Excellency thought you found errors where there were none? Do you admit that you were deceived? It was the Congregation of the Index that said so. Do you offer reparation to the Grand Vicaire Raymond? Is it in the spirit of humility that you do not offer such reparation as is certainly due him? And permitted him to be calumniated in your own newspaper? Why do you not order it to apologize to this priest who has been cleared by this examination? Does not justice demand it? And then conscience?...

"His superiors strongly demand the end of the scandalous quarrels which we have witnessed, and Your Excellency is hastening to begin the war again. You listen to neither your superiors nor to your colleagues and you speak of pride in other people. You blame a grand vicaire who was confirmed in his views by Rome and give him not the least apology when you have been informed by Rome that it is you who are mistaken..."

The president of the Institut canadien placed upon the bishop of Montreal responsibility for Villeneuve's satire-play.

"Has he ever uttered one word of apology to the seminary for permitting Le Nouveau monde to advertise the shameful libel La Comédie infernale which all its colleagues without exception condemn and denounce.?

"Are we to believe that only Your Excellency is right and all other bishops are wrong in their judgment of this shameful book? Is it out of satanic pride that they have condemned it so vigorously? If not, Your Excellency is bound by honour and conscience to make reparations. Will he ever? On the contrary he has admitted into orders this calumniator of his colleagues and of St. Sulpice, and retains him affectionately near him. Those near him say that he swears by him, so that others feel offended. Why does he not insist upon a retraction? Because that would be to admit that he has himself been deluded by fa-

voring this inept work. Is it not pride to put blame upon all his bishop-colleagues and to stubbornly refuse a retraction?" (L.-A. Dessaulles. Réponse honnête à une circulaire assez peu chrétienne, suite à la Grande Guerre ecclésiastique. Montréal, Typographie Alphone Doutre, 1873)

In 1874 La Société des écrivains catholiques published Villeneuve's Neuvième lettre à l'hon. L.-A. Desaulles (36 p.) under the same pseudonym.

His Contre-poison; faussetés, erreurs, impostures, blasphèmes de l'apostat Chiniquy; (Montréal, Le Franc-parleur) appeared in 1875 in two parts in the form of a "dialogue sur la confession." A corrected and enlarged edition was issued the same year and a third edition in 1875.

Villeneuve appears in another role in 1891, as we read his Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et l'immigration, conférence donnée à Rome le 21 mais, 1891, sous les auspices du Comité de Rome pour l'immigration italienne. (Marseilles, Imprimerie Marseillaine, 1891, VI - 53 p.) The lecture had appeared in XX^{e} siecle, July 1891 issue.

The next year Paris saw the appearance of his La Condition du travail aux Etats-Unis et l'encyclique Rerum Novarum, conférence donnée à Paris le 4 juillet, 1892 sous les auspices du Comité ecclésiastique d'études sociale. (32 p.)

CHURCH ACTION

The editors of Le Franc-parleur note, in their Quelques considérations sur les réponses de quelques théologiens de Québec aux questions proposées par Mgr. de Montréal et Mgr. de Rimouski (Montréal, 1873, p. 44),

"It is as clear as daylight that, in Canada, there is no union between the church and the state. The church is completely at the mercy and the good disposition of the governor.

"Here, there is freedom of worship and of conscience, but aside from this freedom being dependent and relative, it results in the state not having a religion; for there to be union of church and state, the church ought to be the sole and only religion of the state.

"Just as polygamy is the negation of conjugal union, so the recognition by the state of the equality and freedom of all faiths is the negation of the union of church and state."

In one of the many attacks on Le Libéralisme catholique which mark this period, Father L.-P. Paquin, addressing the Cercle catholique de Québec (Québec, L.-J. Demers, publisher of Le Canadien, 1882, pp. 16-17) formulated the position of those who were preaching tolerance, "the bastard sons -- issue of the illegitimate union of day and night. According to them, considering the century in which we live and the ideas which dominate our world, it is better to conform our temperament to the atmosphere in which we are forced to exist in order to avoid a worse fate. Let us find shelter in a common law..."

Their opponents claim that,

"By according equal freedom to good and to evil, to truth and to error, both truth and good can only benefit from this common immunity for, thanks to the principle of vitality which is at their root, they will triumph in spite of all.

"The rights of God matter little, nor the tear which entered into the nature of man in the course of the original events. Even the true nature of freedom matters little.

"We reject all this. The unlimited freedom of the person, of conscience, of religion, of association, etc...

"There is much more I could say about what are called modern freedoms: freedom of the press, of conscience, of worship, of association. There is freedom and there is license of the press, freedom and license of conscience, of worship, of association, etc. But there is very much to say on various subjects, and we postpone this discussion to our next lecture, in order not to abuse your attention too much." (pp. 16-17, 28)

MGR. B. PAQUET

We have a remarkable document illustrating the far-reaching influence of Canadian theologians on the internal church debate in regard to tolerance of freedom of conscience at this time.

Mgr. Benjamin Pâquet (1832-1900) was born at St-Nicholas, County Lévis, and studied in Quebec. Upon his ordination in 1857 he was named vicar of the cathedral and, five years later, professor at the seminary. In 1863 he proceeded to Rome where he won his doctorate in 1866. He returned at this time to the university at Quebec as professor of moral theology.

Mgr. Pâquet was private chamberlain (camérier secret) to His Holiness, Pope Pius IX. He was a highly regarded churchman who had served as canonist with Mgr. John Walsh, Bishop of Sandwich, at the fourth Quebec Council of Bishops in 1866 and, more recently, in 1873, with Mgr. E.-A. Taschereau of Quebec at the fifth Council.

The Archbishop of Quebec delegated him as his agent in Rome in 1877 and he may have played a role in the historic decision to send Mgr. Conroy to Canada as apostolic delegate, a mission which proved truly historic in the annals of the new Confederation in stabilizing the relations of French Canada and the other citizens of the Dominion. (J. Grisé, Les Conciles provinciaux de Québec at l'Eglise canadienne, 1851-86. Montreal, Fides, 1979, p. 290)

He rose to become superior of the seminary and rector of the university in 1887, when he was also named apostolic protonotary. He retired in 1900 and died the same year.

He prepared a series of lectures on the issue of Catholic liberalism which were highly regarded.

The Pâquet lectures were delivered in 1873 in the presence of the Archbishop of Montreal. They were printed in Canada in their first edition and won a letter of commendation from Pope Pius IX, dated October 23, 1876.

It had been the intention of the author to issue the second edition at Quebec, "but as our stay in the eternal city was extended beyond our original plans, we decided to print it at Rome." The text was examined "by a Roman teacher who is well versed in these matters."

His Le Libéralisme, Leçons données à l'Université Laval, were published in Rome at the Imprimerie polyglotte of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda (second corrected and enlarged edition, 1877. pp. 121-22, 134-37),

"Under certain conditions," the professor taught, "civil or political tolerance is not only permitted but is even obligatory and necessary...It is sure doctrine. In fact, if it were not certain and sure Rome would not have tolerated, or even authorized, constitutions at various times in France and in Belgium which declare and consecrate the civil freedom of religions.

"But then is that which is permitted in France, Belgium and Canada not permitted in Spain, Italy, Mexico and New Granada?

"Because all these countries do not find themselves in the same circumstances...Conditions often create new rights and new duties which confront pre-existing rights and duties and modify and restrict them in practice without destroying them...

"Catholics who compose a government cannot strip them of their religious nature and their quality as subjects of the monarch of heaven and as children of the Church in their decrees, laws, or administrative acts. Consequently, a Catholic government cannot maintain this title while it recognizes even politically the freedom of false faiths when circumstances do not demand it...For the revelation taught by the Church is also a law, and neither government nor citizens have the right to limit it or to despise it...," the professor wrote.

"A government cannot proclaim the civil freedoms of religion without usurping a right which it does not possess. It is not a judge in matters religious and, in declaring the civil freedom of religions, it attributes to itself a right which belongs only to the spiritual power; it substitutes itself for the infallible tribunal of the Church. Whether such a government wishes it so or not, it is of necessity illogical, irreligious and impolitic; for, to proclaim the liberty of the various religions is to work at collecting all the contradictions into one state; it is to imitate the conduct of the Roman emperors who united within the same temple all the false divinities of the conquered nations; to authorize the liberties of the differing faiths is to hide a profound indifference towards its religion under a seeming equity and liberality; true faith, living faith is not so accommodating.

"Finally, sanctioning freedom of religions is to appear to be quite impolitic since the people will be led to imitate their leaders, will tend to indifferentism which is the ruin of religion, the essential basis of society.

"So, to summarize what has been said, a government, particularly a Catholic government placed at the head of a Catholic nation where there exists a unity of tendency of view, of interior and exterior rule, and which consequently possesses all the elements for social perfection and true civilization, cannot, without violating the laws of sane reason, perform an act which will shatter this happy harmony of forces, of intelligence and of will which lead to the true welfare of individuals and peoples, the infinite happiness, God, the ultimate end of all reasonable creatures.

"But to proclaim the civil liberty of faiths when conditions do not imperiously call for this is to perform an act which by its nature tends to the disappearance of such unity; in so doing a government fails in its duty towards God and towards the people it leads.

"In fact, the supreme law of God, His will manifested in reason and in revelation is the unity of worship; the most sacred and the most precious asset of a nation is the union of spirits and of hearts in the adoration of the one God in the free and common practice of the true faith. No government, but above all no Catholic government, should do anything to interfere with this supreme good of its subjects. On the contrary, it is obliged to protect the true faith to the exclusion of false religions, to shelter it from any attack."

Jesuit Father Cordella praised the work highly in Civilta Cattolica which he directed on behalf of the Jesuits in Rome. (8th ser., vol. 8, p. 214)

Cordella, frequently citing Pâquet, praised the 190-page lectures which treat of tolerance, distinguishing "between religious or dogmatic tolerance, which is always impious and absurd, and civil tolerance which may at times be licit as a lesser evil.

"On this point he explains the duties of a truly Catholic government of a Catholic nation. Such a government must protect the true religion to the exclusion of false faiths as the welfare of the nation and of citizens demand, and accord more than the simple legal protection to the true church of Jesus Christ. It cannot proclaim civil liberty of false religions unless imperious circumstances so demand. It can never proclaim this as a good in itself, but only as the lesser evil which may at times be necessary. Thus even a Catholic government may accord it in fact without professing the maxims and principles of liberalism.

"But even Catholic governments have only too often fallen into liberalism under the deceiving name of civil progress; a false progress to where there is but the one remedy: returning to the previous condition without fear of the specter of the middle ages; as the author states, there is a medievalism which is preferable to modern progress, and going back is sometimes true progress, when one returns to the immutable principle of the religious, political and social order."

Civilta in 1876 noted Pâquet's colleagues Louis-A.-Pâquet and L.-N. Bégin were then in Rome at the Gregorian University already designated to teach theology at Laval on their return.

The two theologians -- the former to become a major figure in Quebec nationalism; the second an archbishop -- were to play a leading and durable role in intensifying anti-Semitism in the province.

MGR. SEGUR

As early as 1877, Laurier pointed to the dangerous influence of the French reaction pervading this ultramontane world of century-end Quebec. This tended to destroy civic peace and harmony, and was throwing open the doors to war, religious war, the most terrible of all wars. (Cited by Robert John Sargent. The Thought of Mgr. Louis-Adolphe Pâquet as a Spokesman for French Canadian Ultramontanism. D. Th. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, p. 84)

Mgr. de Ségur's name was known in Quebec for many years, if only because his La Très Sainte Communion was published in the provincial capital by J.A.K. Laflamme as early as 1862. (79 p.)

His polemical Causeries sur le protestantisme had a Canadian edition from Eusèbe Sénécal in Montreal in 1876 (192 p.) with the approbation of the bishop dated five months after it had been approved by Pope Pius IX, in November 1875.

His pamphlet on L'Enfer s'il y en a un -- ce que c'est et comment l'éviter had its second edition from Sénécal in 1880 (144 p.); the bishop had approved it two years earlier, at the same time as the pope had given it his approbation. The third Canadian edition appeared in 1882 in Montreal from the Libraire St-Joseph of Cadieux et Derome (144 p.).

In 1877 the ultramontane activist publisher, J.-A. Langlais of Quebec had printed, at Le Canadien, a Canadian edition of Hommage aux jeunes catholiques-liberaux for the Cercle catholique de Québec (128 p.), "the handbook containing in concise form the most practical arguments against liberal error," from the pen of Mgr. de Ségur.

The French prelate criticized the principles of liberalism, "the false liberties, the moral principles of 1789, revived in 1830, glorified in 1852 and since...the freedom to believe or not to believe the teachings of the pope, to fear or not to fear his ex-communication... Every citizen of the 'free state' would be free to deny the existence of God, in public or in private, in books, in newspapers, in clubs, in schools -- wherever he wishes." (pp. 78-79)

"Liberalism, assuming various names of truth (progress, light, liberty, equality, fraternity, law, civilization, etc.) appears before the people in such disguise as to achieve the ruin of France and of Christianity, if God does not come to foil this great imposture." (p.98)

"Catholic liberalism is a pernicious plague, because it places at the base of our public institutions principles whose extreme consequences, which are strictly logical, lead to horrors. The fundamental principle of liberalism may be formulated: before the law, error has the same rights as truth.

"Thence flows the freedom to think which can be formulated: I have the right to think whatever I please, to believe whatever I want to believe, to deny whatever I wish to deny. I believe that there is no God, that I have no soul, that theft is permitted, that it is no more wrong to kill a man than a chicken.

"Thence flows freedom of conscience: all religions enjoy equal right to the respect and the protection of the law. The same respect and the same protection for the Gospels as for the Koran; the same respect for the Christian who adores Jesus Christ and for the Jew who blasphemes Him; the same respect for the Catholic who reveres the holy eucharist, for the Huguenot who treads on it; the same respect for the martyr and for his executioner." (pp. 104-5)

The Canadian edition of Hommage carried the approbation of the archbishop of Quebec and of the bishops of Trois-Rivières, Rimouski, Montreal, Sherbrooke, Ottawa and St-Hyacinthe.

ABBE J.-A. GINGRAS

In 1880 Father Joseph Apollinaire Gingras delivered a two-hour address at Victoria Hall under the sponsorship of the Institut canadien for the Société de St-Vincent de Paul on Le Bas-Canada entre le moyen-âge et l'âge moderne. (Published in Quebec by the Cercle catholique de Québec from the presses of Le Canadien. 49 p.)

The lecture was a defence of the Middle Ages, notably with its Inquisition, in contrast with modern society as developed on the principle of the French Revolution of 1789.

Thence followed a political program of Quebec nationalism to be protected politically by clergy-inspired political leaders aware of the evils of the modern age and of the moral values of medieval society.

The Inquisition was "the finest political institution which had ever existed; it was desired by all the popes, and it was admirable in its wisdom and justice, established among Catholic peoples to safeguard the indubitably peerless treasure, the true faith and the national unity of Catholic peoples.

"Through the Inquisition the sovereign ruler said, 'My people is my family, my kingdom is my home. At this time my people profess the same faith...Gentlemen Jews, you say that your conscience does not permit you to embrace the religion of my subjects; very well, do not penetrate my kingdom....'

"The Jews not only sought gradually to extinguish the Catholic faith, but pillaged churches, profaned the sacred Host and crucified young Spaniards to mock Christ. They went so far as to buy the citadel of Gibralter, the key to Spain, for gold, in order to deliver it to strangers.

"Imagine that you are the father of a family...One day strangers ask you for room, your home. But soon these strangers become a source of family quarrels because of their false teachings. Furthermore, they secretly plan to set fire to your house or to deliver it to your enemy. Who would question your right to inquire into those who disturb your peace, or to say to them, 'Gentlemen, if your conscience prevents you from adopting the religion of my children and to join in their aspirations, leave my home and search hospitality elsewhere?'

"Modern liberties, such as freedom, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, free speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of association, civic equality derive from the principles of 1789... If Rome disapproves a social structure built upon such foundations, the edifice of modern society can be neither certain nor solid."

After recalling the repeated condemnations by the church of the principles of 1789 since the papal address to the consistory within six months of the Declaration of Human Rights, Father Gingras recalled the Syllabus of 1864.

ANGLOPHONE GALT

The repercussions of the Syllabus and the ultramontane sweep in Canada constitute one phase of social history in the nation during the post-Confederation period.

Readers of Canadian history are aware that The Political State and Condition of Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects in the Province of Quebec has not ceased to concern Canadians after 1865. They are not, therefore, surprised to learn of a 74 p. pamphlet under that title issued pseudonymously by Hampden in Toronto in 1871. The author may have been Mordecai Adolphus Hart (the initials reversed begin the name of Hampden) who had just issued two other pamphlets in New York under the same pseudonym. R.A. Davies notes that only six copies of this work survive, the edition having been purchased and destroyed by the government. (Printed Jewish Canadiana, 1685-1900. Montreal, 1955. p. 22)

Indeed, they are chapters in Canadian church history and the political annals of the country.

It is part of the Canadian historical scene that Sellar, author of The Tragedy of Quebec "found it grimly ironical that Alexander Galt, Lower Canada's renowned Father of Confederation, should feel constrained to publish pamphlets attaching ultramontane aggression as inimical to the civil liberties of Canadians within ten years of the consummation of the great event." (R. Hill, editor of Sellar's work, introduction, p. x)

Sellar detailed the circumstances that led to Galt's strong remonstrances, some of these explanations possibly being Sellar's own,

"Sir A.T. Galt, quickly realizing the mistake he had made in supporting Confederation, in a pamphlet summarized the dangers which menaced the minority, instancing the assertion of ecclesiastical over civil authority, clerical interference with elections, placing the ban on free speech and on the press, that divine assistance in teaching whatever touches on faith and morals descends from the Pope to bishops, priests, and religieuses. As a politician he had been shocked by a united condemnation on the part of the bishops of Liberalism, by priests being upheld in contested elections who had denounced individuals as guilty of a grave sin in voting for candidates who had not received their approval, and especially by a judge laying down as law that as priests belonged to a

spiritual order they were above civil law and beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. There were decisions recognizing canon law, and burial was refused in the parish cemetery to the body of a man because he had been a member of a society which had declared for the principle of religious toleration. Public men made it their boast, that their obedience to the bishops was implicit and unreserved, and, in pleading before electors, held this up as a claim for support, rival candidates competing on the hustings in deprecating each other's loyalty to the bishops... A sign of the times was the annotator of the Quebec statutes putting in the marginal notes 'the decrees of the Pope are binding.' A bill was submitted to the legislature to place in all courts of justice a large crucifix. To swear a witness he was to 'lift his right hand in front of the crucifix and place his left hand on the book of the evangelists.' The bill was in a fair way to pass, having got its second reading, when the outrage on conscience, in compelling Protestants to take oath in such a way, became apparent to the Ministers, who caused Mr. Lemieux to withdraw his bill."

The events fixed the climate in which the new Jewish migration in the country lived for more than half a century. Sir Alexander T. Galt, who played a part in negotiating the national federation, felt it necessary to review, in a spirit of grave anxiety, the effect of the adoption of the Syllabus upon the new Canadian nation. He felt that the understanding reached at confederation in 1867 "might have lasted for generations, had it not been for the extraordinary claims recently advanced by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Quebec, based as they allege upon the authority of the Vatican Decrees and the celebrated Syllabus; though unsupported by Archbishop Lynch, of Ontario, and certainly unclaimed by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, in his recent controvery with Mr. Gladstone.

"These claims, I confess, filled my mind with uneasiness many months ago; they pointed to the extinction of all free thought and action on the part of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and ultimately tended to the neutralization of the safeguards held by the Protestants.

"So much was I disturbed by these reflections that in May last, immediately after the publication of Monsigneur Bishop Bourget's pastoral, I addressed the Hon. Mr. Robertson, then Treasurer of Quebec:-

"'On my return from the West, I am much concerned to observe the attitude taken by the Ultramontane Party, not only towards liberal Roman Catholics, but also towards us Protestants. I refer more immediately to the manifesto by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal, but remotely, though not less directly, to the ecclesiastical pressure which has been put upon the press of the country, and the claim advanced, with ever-increasing arrogance, to the right of the Roman Catholic Church and its hierarchy to control and direct the scope of political action and public law within the Province of Quebec, treating it as their own peculiar domain, and regarding us as strangers and aliens, holding no status of our own, but simply tolerated in their midst.

"'These pretensions we could afford to view with indifference, if they were only those of a few ambitious priests; but, unfortunately, the Vatican Decrees have announced, as the future policy of the Church of Rome, the complete subordination of all the members of that communion to the control and direction of the Pope. And the celebrated Syllabus sufficiently discloses the design that the regulation of faith and morals is to be extended to embrace the whole field of human thought and action.

"'That these views and ulterior aims are repugnant to the convictions of by far the larger number of the Roman Catholic clergy of Lower Canada, I firmly believe. Many years of intimate acquaintance with them long since satsified me that, as a body, they were highly estimable men, conscientious and scrupulous in the discharge of their duties, and tolerant of the claims of others.

"'As a natural consequence, a freedom of thought sprang up among the laity, and was shewn in the public utterances of their press, which held forth the hope that the liberal views of the so-called Gallican Church would ever prevail in Lower Canada, and that Protestant and Catholic would alike respect their several opinions, cordially uniting in all that concerned the prosperity of their common country, without either Church claiming undue supremacy, or introducing the fatal element of religious strife.'" (May 31, 1875. Civil Liberty in Lower Canada. Montreal, D. Bentley, 1876. pp. 4-5)

In his Church and State he wrote the following year (Montreal, Dawson. 41 p.),

"Has the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Civil Society changed since Confederation; and has such change been signalized in Lower Canada by overt action?

"The Confederation of the British North American Provinces was proclaimed on the 1st July, 1867, and the antecedent discussions may be definitively stated to have commenced at the Charlottetown conference, in September, 1864.

"The Syllabus Errorum was issued by the authority of Pope Pius IX, on 8th December, 1864.

"The Vatican Council met at Rome on the 8th Dec., 1869. And the celebrated Dogmatic Decrees were promulgated on the 18th July, 1870.

"It is therefore evident that if the Syllabus and the Vatican Decrees have in any way altered the relations of the Church of Rome towards civil society, the division of the question must be answered affirmatively...(p.3)

"There is no doubt that for many years even prior to the publication of the Syllabus, a new ecclesiastical element obtruded itself into the Roman Catholic clerical body in Lower Canada. The peaceful, loyal, modest, intelligent priest who, in almost a patriarchal spirit, had directed the consciences of a simple peasantry, began to find his domain invaded by the more active and energetic spirit of the Ultramontane. The Bishops were brought more directly under the control of the Sacred College, vacancies in the Episcopate were filled with men more suited to the requirements of Rome, greater development was given to the establishment of religious bodies, and the control of education, both in its higher and inferior branches, was sought to be placed in the hands of the priesthood.

"But until after the promulgation of the Vatican Decrees -- that is long subsequent to the date of Confederation -- no pretension of interference in civil matters was put forth, beyond the legitimate influence which no one desires to deny to the clergy of all persuasions, in their character of citizens. Can it, with any truth, be said that this state of things exists today?" (pp. 15-16)

Mr. Galt recalled that the Syllabus condemns as a heretical error "that in the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the State to the exclusion of all other modes of worship:- (Sec.78)

"That it has been wisely provided by law in some countries called Catholic, that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the public exercise of their own worship. (Sec.78)" (p.17)

The Canadian political leader notes that "Pius IX, in his Encyclical of 8th December, 1864, which accompanied the Syllabus, also condemned those who maintain the liberty of speech, of conscience, of worship, and of the press." (p. 17)

Galt was concerned that the hierarchy of Quebec in "their own official utterances seek to rivet the most extreme pretensions of the Syllabus on the consciences of their people, wholly disregarding the moderate and wise course of action laid down by Archbishops Lynch of Ontario and Connolly of Nova Scotia... (p. 18)

"But they cannot expect that Protestants will submit their claims or position to the tribunal, the Roman Pontiff, at the moment when in the Province of Quebec, we see the interpretation put upon the Syllabus and Vatican Decrees by the Hierarchy. Some are under the impression that the Bishop of Montreal is the only prelate who has taken up an extreme position, whereas, in point of fact, the difficulty would be to find one who had not. It is true, Mgr. Bourget is the most outspoken, but his opinions are equally acted upon by other Bishops, and have in no respect been condemned by the Archbishop, or Council of Bishops... (p. 20)

"The past has disappeared, and we are confronted with a near and ominous future. The past was bright with actions and declarations all significant of equality of creeds; of liberty of thought and deed; the entire separation of Church from State was solemnly entered on the Statute Book; the Roman Catholic Church reposed on the guarantees granted by the British Crown; it was not aggressive, it meddled not with political strife, it pretended to no superior rights over other Churches, and though it was as a rule favorable to the conservative party, it never presumed to dictate to the leaders of that party their political course.

"All this has changed, and we look in vain for that independence of thought and action which characterized our former French Canadian leaders, in those who have since Confederation administered the Government of Quebec. The party may be called the same, but I fail to recognize it, and few will do so who know that that party was created and led by those wiser minds, who retrieved themselves from the false step of the insurrection of 1837-38, and afterwards led the way in all the necessary Liberal measures that followed the union of Upper and Lower Canada... (p. 28)

"I think the country is threatened with very grave evils... (p.29)

"It is not sufficient for the Protestants to be told that these measures concern Roman Catholics only, and that they may repose in security upon the guarantees obtained at the completion of Confederation.

"These guarantees were obtained under a totally different state of public affairs from that which exists now; being intended as a protection for the faith and liberties of the minority against possible wrong to be sustained at the hands of the Roman Catholics, it becomes of essential importance to recognize the serious change that has been wrought in the Church of Rome through the publication of the Syllabus and the promulgation of the Vatican Decrees.

"Responsible as I was, in a great measure, for the sufficiency of these guarantees, I claim that no blame can fairly attach to me for not foreseeing the attitude the Church of Rome was in a few years to assume, and the consequent extent to which the precautionary measures might prove inadequate. But this responsibility surely entails upon me the duty of raising my voice as soon as there is evidence of danger, and of doing what may, in my judgment, still appear possible to preserve the harmony and good-will we must all desire to maintain in a community of differing, as we do, in creed, language and nationality. (pp. 30-31)

"Comparing the position of Quebec now, with what it was, prior to the Syllabus and Vatican Decrees, I unhesitatingly affirm that 'Such change has affected the general rights of Protestants as citizens of the Province of Quebec, and especially has weakened their guarantees obtained at Confederation.'" (P.36)

Six years later in 1882, Galt, now Canadian commissioner in London, displayed strong initiative in ensuring that the Canadian settlement policy take advantage of the availability of Jewish refugees from Russia and find place for them in the western territories. (A. Chiel. The Jews in Manitoba, A Social History. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961. Pp. 27-28)

The published report of the protest meetings convened in London by the Lord Mayor, and in New York, indicate that Galt was named to the committee which was to assist the Jewish migrants greatly.

WILFRID LAURIER

We have traced the decade or two of the Canadian movement to regress from the enfranchisement and liberation of the Canadian citizenry.

This political ferment, which bore a theological and ecclesiastic label, continued during the 1870's and 1880's, constitutes a decisive chapter in Canadian history, with very grave and far-reaching manifestations in the courts of the land, in the political partisan history of the nation, in church history, in the press. It took various forms -- manifesto-programmes, Catholic Circles and committees, episcopal pronouncements, electoral candidatures, the refined or not so refined episcopal council diplomacy, reference to authority beyond Canada, etc.

This movement was dominant and appeared destined to meet no effective opposition, in spite of the reserve of Quebec's Archbishop Taschereau, until the visit of Dom. Henri Smeulders and of the apostolic delegate Mgr. George Conroy, Archbishop of Ardagh in Ireland.

The issues it raised became ever more fundamental, surpassing even the equalities of various religious groups. The fabric of Canadian society and the contacts between citizens were at risk.

Hermann Plante notes that "the highest judiciary authority in the land was pitted against the highest religion in the province." (L'Eglise catholique au Canada, 1604-1886. Trois-Rivières, Editions du Bien public, 1970. P. 464) He ascribes significance to the fact that Judge Thomas Taschereau, who spoke for the Supreme Court, was the brother of the archbishop of Quebec. Abbé Benjamin Pâquet sent to Rome a memorandum that sought to reaffirm the authority of this head of the Quebec church.

A balance was eventually reached, not without the influence of the highest authorities of world Catholicism.

How stable or precarious is this balance? A century of history and the state of the nation at each moment of this century is the answer.

But for Jews in Canada, the anti-Semitic thrust of the drive since the Syllabus of 1864 continued to operate, in evolving forms, through the decades.

One document that mirrored the political condition of the time and may have influenced it bears the signature of a young political figure: Wilfrid Laurier, M.P. It took the form of a Discours sur le libéralisme politique le 26 juin, 1877 à la Salle de musique sous les auspices du Club canadien. (Québec, Imprimerie de L'Evenement. 32 p.)

He sought to eliminate the confusion which had arisen in Canada and had identified liberal Catholicism, condemned by the church as an error, and political Liberalism as represented by the party of which he was a member and whose cause he espoused.

"If it were true that the ecclesiastical censure against Catholic liberalism were to be applied against political Liberalism that would constitute a condition for us French Canadians of the Catholic faith, a state of affairs with consequences as strange as they would be dangerous...

"We are a conquered people, but we too have conquered; we have conquered liberty...the constitution won by our ancestors and which we enjoy at present...We do not have more rights nor greater privileges, but we have as many rights as many privileges as the other population who, together with us, constitute the Canadian family...

"Since Providence has placed in this corner of the earth populations of different origins and religions, is it not clear that these populations should share common and identical interests, and that each of us should be free to follow either the Liberal or Conservative parties according to his conscience in all that touches his interests?...

"Do you believe that if England had persisted in refusing Catholics their emancipation; and if it had persisted in refusing Catholics, Jews and Protestants who were not part of the established church the fullness of civil and political rights; if it had persisted in limiting the franchise to a few; if it had persisted in refusing free trade in cereals; if it had persisted in refusing the vote to the working classes -- do you think that a day would not come when the people would rise in arms to take unto themselves the justice that had been obstinately refused them?...

"I blame our adversaries for not understanding their time nor their country. They are judging the political situation of our country not by what is happening here but by what is happening in France. I accuse them of seeking to introduce ideas which are impossible of application in the condition of our society. I accuse them of working laboriously and, to my regret, with too much success, to reduce religion to the simple proportions of a political party...

"You seek to organize a Catholic party. But have you ever considered that, if you had the misfortune to succeed, you would be pouring calamities upon your country whose consequences no one can foresee?

"You seek to organize all Catholics into one single party, bound but by the one single bond of the community of faith; but have you ever considered that by that one fact you are organizing the Protestant population naturally as one single party; and then, instead of the peace and harmony which exists in our country today between the different elements of the Canadian population you would bring war, religious war, the most dangerous of wars?...

"I understand very well, without sharing the feelings of the Frenchmen who, seeing how many tears, ruin and blood liberty has brought them, sometimes call for a vigorous despotism for this country. I understand their curses. But I shall never conceive these anathemas against liberty repeated among us."

The future prime minister of Canada was one Canadian Catholic among others who tried to clarify conflicting issues and definitions which threatened the polity of the new nation. But the introduction of religio-political considerations was very grave.

IN PERSPECTIVE

The story of Jewish past leads the reader deeply into unexpected regions of Canadian history; the more if the reader consents to follow, for this time, only the theme of freedom, equality and acceptance of the Jewish citizen. This Canadian story is the more fascinating as it is read in these terms.

It is not an essay in world history, or Canadian politics, or church history. It is only a chapter out of Canadian Jewish history.

This chapter in Canadian history has traced the threats to the rights and freedoms of the Jewish citizenry of Canada -- and of other Canadians -- since the day in 1851 when the lawmakers of Canada legislated the freedom and the equality of religions in their nation.

To summarize, and to enable the reader of Canadian record to retain perspective in this long history, we note that within a decade, by 1862, there began a consistent, continuous and very systematic drive to undo the liberating and equalizing process for the good of Jewish, and of other minority, citizens or whoever was seen as not deserving of such recognition by constitution, law or practice.

This movement of the 1860's was very powerful in Canada for ninety years and proved serious and threatening. Indeed, it was related, by its history, connections and ideology, with the horrifying blood wave of its European counterpart in such countries as Germany and France.

In truthful fact it was as sweeping and influential in Canada as in Europe. If its consequences in blood and in lives were not as cataclysmic, it does not follow that it was of another essence. It operated on another continent, in another political context. It was not necessarily more moderate or humane, and at costs, even costs in lives. This Canadian organized anti-Semitism claimed the lives of whatever number of desperate men and women who sought refuge from the German and Polish murderers whom Canada might have welcomed in mercy if they had not been Jewish. (Clouds in the Thirties, sections 7-13; I. Abella and H. Troper. None is Too Many, Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948. Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys. 1982. 336 p.)

This saga of hatred in Canada nearly a century long is not often dealt with, and is popularly conceived, inaccurately, as centering on the 1930's; its record, its roots, ideology and "heroes" are not paraded before the citizenry. Admittedly, it is not an appetizing spectacle, and will not furnish many models for civic service and edification. But this story serves a high lesson in the formation of public and very private morality and the delineation of the essential history of Canada.

But a closer examination of this Canadian phenomenon, leads the researcher much further back into the heart of the nation's history -- into the resistance to the liberalism of the act of 1832, and even of the act of 1831 (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 24), into the Canadian effort to undo and to reverse the liberties of conscience, the equalities and freedoms of religion won for humanity by the French Revolution in 1879, the conflicts within the Catholic church in regard to what it called modern progress, the saga of its oecumenical council of 1871, the consequences of these world-wide debates upon the shaping of the Canadian Confederation, the unholy parnership in Europe between Catholics, Protestants and Atheists who invented the nightmares of racism and of conspiracies, of genocide, the influences upon Canadian Constitution, political parties and national developments, the new Canadian theologies, the surge of ultramontanism, the nature of Canadian nationalisms, its press and even the demographic features of the Canadian people.

Because Canada is a happy country this long and menacing history has a happy ending, as it had a pre-nightmare beginning.

Again, at a sharp date, 1945 to be precise, when Hitler ended his and the world's agony, Canada almost without a clear signal erased the century-ol heritage and closed its anti-Semitism.

It is still perceived by some to survive in some vestigial 19th century forms and, of course, the influence of petro-dollars and the United Nations under its new anti-Semitism equating Zionism and racism. Revolver-armed Arafat as prophet, and the Covenant as the new edition of Mein Kampf remind the readers of the perenneity of anti-Semitism.

But this is more properly the long history of the future.

PROSPECTIVE

By now the subject far overflow the historic record of the Jews of Canada. For the issues were fundamentally constitutional; Jews were barely mentioned directly. Their interests were, of course, deeply involved; so also were the interests of all Canadians.

But the new attitudes towards the Jews in all of Canada had only just begun to work their their consequences. It is a subject to be followed in detail, for although a seemingly minor chord,it was to develp in the course of decades into a serious element of Canadian history.

As one chapter of this history the Canadian Jewish Archives has presented the record of one very significant incident, the Plamondon case of 1910-15. (Nos. 26,27)

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