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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

NEW SERIES
Number thirty-two

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

ANTI-SEMITISM Ⅳ

EARLY ANTI-SEMITISM: ACROSS THE DOMINION

Part 2

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

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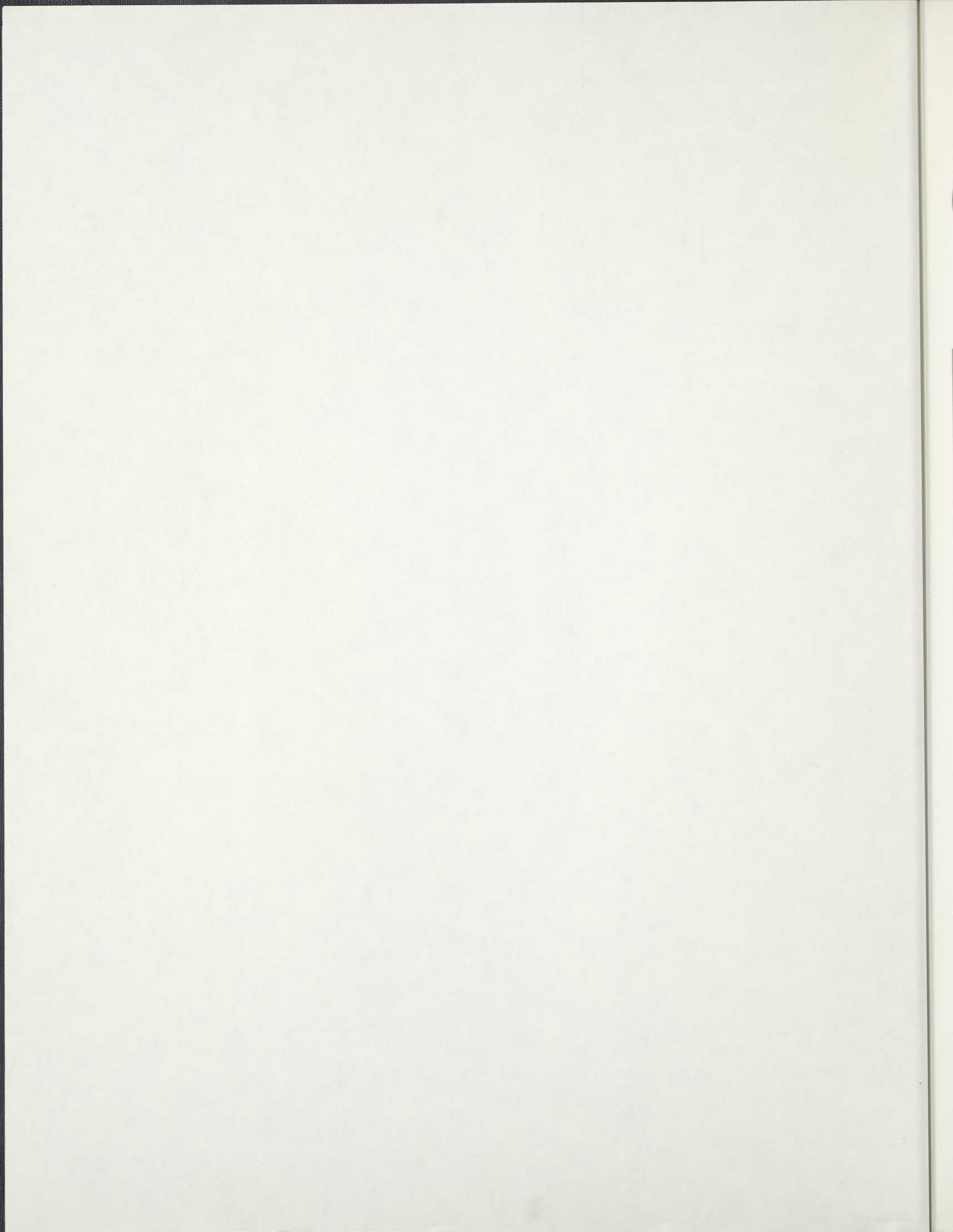
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ANTI-SEMITISM IV

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CONTENTS - PART 2

Canada West to East	Page 112
East of the Rockies	119
Goldwin Smith	129
Anti-Semitism, Gift of Disraeli	Page 133
Academician Anti-Semite	140
Dispersion of the Jews	143
On German Racism	146
Zionist	149
Still Germany	153
Defending Hitler in 1880	159
On Racism in Germany	163
Debate on Russia	167
Defender of Christianity	177
Views on Old Testament	182
"Man of Poland" Alarms	186
To Friends and Enemies	188
The Canadian Application	191
Ahavat Israel	195
<u>Judea for the Jews</u>	196
Henry Wentworth Monk	201
Maritimes	206
The Early Ontario Story (cont'd)	207

CANADA WEST TO EAST

For a more balanced understanding of this saga of prejudice that swept the nation it is more helpful to examine this phenomenon as it appeared across the northern continent even as it became a world movement.

We note that at times the specific European eruption shook Protestant Canadian society as strongly as it affected Catholic Quebec. It will also become apparent that other anti-Jewish and racist traditions, some new and some deeply rooted, were also influential in the new nation.

In nineteenth century Canada the awareness of the existence of a Jewish community was quiescent in the citizenry, with few traces of such an existence in the record. As long as the Jews in the country were few and all economically better endowed than the average they were protected from whatever prejudice may have existed. Their social position was so strong that they were part of the formal structure. They socialized with their economic peers, were received in the organizations of their class. They were not threatened in their employment, in their schooling, in their persons. They could dismiss any vulgarity in the lower classes, and even remain ignorant of it.

In the United States, too, anti-Semitism did not begin to assume serious form until the twentieth century. Then it began to be fed by the newer ideologues of race hatred as Renan, Gobineau and Chamberlain. (Oscar and Mary F. Handlin. Danger in Discord. N.Y., Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith, 1948. Pp. 18-19; John Higham, "Social Discrimination against Jews in America, 1830-1930," in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, vol. 47, no. 1, September 1957, p. 12)

As we examine the Canadian situation from coast to coast a series of remarkable ethnic and chronological patterns emerge which lead to distinctive conditions.

Our story begins on the Pacific coast, in the 1860's on the frontier of frontiers, where we find the cross-continental wanderers who had reached the Pacific, had crossed the Isthmus of Panama, had rounded the Horn, had discovered the never-never land of California and then moved up the coast to the Cariboo and, we might add, passed beyond our Canadian ken into Alaska and the Pribiloff. We are concerned with the Jews among them in the traditional role of victims of discrimination -- or with the traditional bearers of race hate whom they accompanied.

A useful correction for usual perspective on Canada and its demographic morphology comes from a Jewish statistic: In the 1860's the second largest Jewish community in British North America, after Montreal of course, was in Victoria on Vancouver Island.

It was a colorful community, evidencing within itself many influences, not least those of religious and radical plurality. With this freedom and spaciousness on many levels, it blossomed out into as many civic and psychological creativities.

But it was also a product of Victorianism; and in England Jews barely gained in 1858 what Lower Canada Jews won in 1832.

From the 1860's the Jewish citizens were quite anglicized either by birth, or by Western European background or through having filtered adventurously across the ocean (even the Pacific Ocean in one case) and the continent and up the Pacific coast. Those thus equipped found no difficulty in attaining the legislative assembly as did Selim Franklin, or the mayoralty of Victoria as did his brother Lumley, or the assembly and the House of Commons as did Henry Nathan, or the mayoralty of Vancouver as did David Oppenheimer, or the bench as did Samuel Schultz, or later the faculty of the University of British Columbia as did Jacob Biely.

The cases of violence which Jews suffered, as on record, are not, superficially regarded, products of racist prejudice. If Morris Price was murdered at Cayoosh by an Indian, if David Sokoloski and Harry Lewin died in the "Massacre of the Jews" (as W.W. Walkem called it), it was not as Jews that they fell victims, but in the risks of the time and the wild place. (D. Rome. "Notes on Some of the First Jews West of Ontario," in Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1978, pp. 70-75; his "Jews in the Far Northwest of Canada," in Canadian Jewish Year Book, 1939-40, Montreal, 1939, pp. 82-102, and his "Jewish Builders of Canada's Pacific," in Bnai Brith Magazine, Dec. 1936)

All over the continent there was repeated this Canadian-American form of the complex and ancient phenomenon: the confrontation of the recent eastern European immigrant with the old timer. Attacks on "cheap John" Jews occurred on the Pacific Coast, above and below the 45th parallel, at mid-century.

In Vancouver the local News Advertiser put a heading offensive to Jews over a foreign despatch regarding a plague among Mecca-bound pilgrims. Samuel D. Schultz, a B.C.-born Jew, responded to the insult, recalling historic and recent Jewish contributions to medicine. (Jewish Times, Jan. 24, 1908)

We know of the violence committed against Jewish merchants on the streets and in the stores of pioneer Victoria as of Winnipeg. (Rome. First Two Years; and Arthur A. Chiel. The Jews of Manitoba. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 17) Again, these instances are examples of the indiscriminate violence of the time.

It may be that a closer examination of the phenomenon may show that this was not quite indiscriminate, and that certain groups were more open to this victimization. If so, whether these were groups on the economic, social or ethnic gamut, may be made clear only by future research.

It is therefore not totally surprising to find the first anti-Jewish discrimination in classic form on what is now Canadian soil in Victoria.

Compared to the ethnic relations and experiences which we shall find in our prairies, British Columbian Jewish history is relatively simple; it is bi-dimensional, involving only the Victorian British attitude towards Jews. There are no French Canadian or central European considerations, though a color problem did arise.

In 1859 the governor issued regulations for naturalization which prescribed the classic discriminatory formula, "on the true faith of a Christian."

He corrected himself within a few days, but the problem of the Jews' oath came up more seriously a year later.

In the spring of 1860 Selim Franklin was elected to the colonial legislature, a member of the powerful government party. When he was called upon to take his oath of office, he swore and no objection was raised by the chief justice who officiated at the swearing-in ceremony. As in the Ezekiel Hart case in 1808, it was a third party a Major Foster, a member from the opposition party, who sought to draw the attention of the speaker. More significantly, a distinguished colonial figure, Alfred Waddington, joined in opposing Franklin.

But Franklin insisted he had taken the oath and claimed his right to sit. He refused to repeat the act for the entertainment of any opponent or to help the speaker out of what he believed was a predicament.

Followed procedural disputations of some political interest, but indicating very little religious or racial prejudice. Unlike the Hart case, the matter did not become the subject of political or constitutional discussion outside the legislature, nor was any importance attached to it. Beyond the hansard-like report in the daily press, no reference to the incident seems to have survived.

A committee reported that the chief justice had administered the oath in good faith, but appended to the report was a lengthy communication from the judge.

This was so offensive to Franklin that he proposed that the entire report be rejected. Franklin even suggested that personal ill-feeling and bias to his religion entered into the formulation of the committee report.

Indeed, the case was so fully closed that, when the Select Committee Appointed by the House of Assembly to Consider the Petition of A. De Cosmos against the Return of Selim Franklin for Victoria Town met in July 1860, there was not even mention of the oath question. The committee confined itself, without issue, to technical questions about the election itself and about the status of the petitioner who hoped to succeed him in the event the election of Franklin was voided.

But the case ended there, with Franklin in his seat to serve creditably for a number of years. (D. Rome. The First Two Years, A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1858-60. Montreal, H.M. Caiserman, 1942, pp. 64-77)

In September of the same 1860 Foster went out of his way and without any colour of reason to attack the Jews of Victoria.

Apropos of nothing he said, "The Attorney General has been conversing with some of the little Jews on Johnson Street. Ask them if they want 20,000 Indians brought here; they will reply, 'By all means, Mr. Attorney General, bring them along; they will buy our goods and make business brisk.' What do that class of people care if the town was burnt up tomorrow; the next day they are off for San Francisco. This is the class that has influenced the Attorney General in bringing in his resolution." (Rome, Pp. 106-12)

Significantly, no member in the House objected to Foster's remarks.

It may be noted with apology for an apology that in all probability there never was a Jewish community in Canadian history who could less justly be faulted, as Foster had implied, than the Victorian, at that period in particular. The roots they struck at the opening of the colony to settlement in 1858 remain to this day, and within the first years it counted settlers across the colony who included bankers, whalers, miners, policemen, firemen, rabbis, legislators, housewives, merchants, Indian fighters and friends of Indians, victims of Indians, Indian traders, mayors, auctioneers, scholars, infants, antiquarians, road builders, freemasons, accountants, trail packers, ship owners, etc.

This incident was the last and only significant case of anti-Jewish remarks in the B.C. records for many decades. Offhand there come to mind few cases of anti-Jewish agitation in the province until the 1930's.

The British Columbia record of political freedom is crowned by the election of Henry Nathan, Jr., as its first representative to the federal parliament when the colony entered the Canadian confederation in 1871.

It is part of the Canadian pattern, in which this date in the history of ultramontaniam plays so dominant a part, that the second Jewish member of the House of Commons was not elected until half a century passed -- S.W. Jacobs in 1917.

We may record an extraordinary tale connected with the building in 1863 of what is at present the oldest synagogue in Canada, that of Emanuel Congregation of Victoria.

Our source is D.W. Higgins who had published and edited the Morning Call in California before coming to Victoria in 1858. Here he prospected, mined and traded, owned a theatre and published the Chronicle and the Colonist (which he merged in 1866), served in politics and was speaker of the legislature for nine years. He is the author of several volumes of British Columbia reminiscences not all of which can be substantiated in all details but are of considerable interest. His Mystic Spring and Other Tales of Western Life (Toronto, Briggs, 1904) contains a story, "The Mayoral Dinner" which introduces a character, City Councillor John Colber, and his wife, a rather querulous couple. (P.391-3)

"The Colbers decided to erect a brick dwelling on their remaining lot on Pandora Avenue. It was to be a double house and two stories in height. When the walls were nearly up, a difficulty presented itself. The Jewish community resolved to build a synagogue next adjoining the Colber lot on the west. The synagogue was to be bigger and higher than the Colber mansion and would throw it into the shade. The Colbers would not submit to be overshadowed in that way; so they added another story to their structure, 'from the roof of which,' said the lady, 'I can always command a fine view.' During the progress of construction Mrs. Colber was frequently present, and one day as she was climbing up a ladder 'to get a view' from the unfinished roof, a little unslacked lime fell from above and entered her eyes. The pain was excruciating. She walked home and means were employed to remove the stuff. But relief came too late. The lime had slacked in her eyes and the light had gone out from those snappy organs forever. From that day till the day of her death the unfortunate woman was totally blind! The building, which was erected at a greater elevation than had been originally intended, still stands. Other eyes have feasted on the view to be had from the roof, but the lady for whose pleasure the elevation was increased never saw again!

"The devotion of John Colber to his blind wife was marked and touching. Her temper, never of the sweetest, grew worse under her great misfortune; but Colber put up with everything and was accustomed to lead her with exemplary tenderness and patience through the streets for an airing or to and from church.

"The last time the couple came before the public was in the summer of 1867. As a barrister Colber had sued Dr. John Ash on behalf of John Nicholson, a well-known contractor, for work done at or near Sooke. Judgement was rendered for about \$1,500. The money was paid into the barrister's hands on Saturday, too late to be deposited in the bank so Colber put it into a sort of apology for a safe, which was in reality only a wooden box enclosed in sheet iron of about one-fourth of an inch in thickness. On Sunday evening the pair went out for a stroll and were absent for an hour. On their return they found that the iron and wood box had been cut through with a cold-chisel and every dollar was gone. No trace of the thieves was ever discovered, and thus Mr. Nicholson, after winning his case, lost his money.

"A little later Mr. & Mrs. John Colber's names appeared in the passenger list of an ocean-bound vessel, and I heard that she died in Australia and he went back to Scotland."

The city clerk has no record of the Colbers, and we do not plead the accuracy of the story. But it is curious that the print Bird's Eye View of Victoria, 1878, drawn by E. S. Glover, published by M. W. Waitt and printed by Bancroft in San Francisco, shows the synagogue very clearly and an equally tall building beside it.

Whatever historical or personal truth there is to this story, it does evoke a more general problem: the reaction of Canadian neighbours to the erection of a Jewish -- and at times to a Christian -- house of worship. At times these reactions have been very strong; the classic Canadian case came eighty years later in Quebec City.

But Anglo-Canada was as violent on this issue. Sadie Stern reports on the Brantford, Ontario experience of 1914 when the city council blocked the proposed erection of a synagogue on residential William Street. She notes "bluntly prejudiced, anti-foreign, anti-Jewish statements" in the council discussion. The Hebrew congregation failed in their intention, and fifteen months later purchased a building some distance from William Street for purposes of worship. ("The Brantford Jewish Community, 1881-1911," in Journal of Canadian Jewish Historical Society, vol. 5, no. 1, spring 1981, Pp. 23-30)

Michael Baig records the Moncton experience,

"Plans were made to build a synagogue. Each member paid 10¢ a week, and by 1924, enough money was amassed to purchase land. In that year, Jake Marks and Sam Borenstein bought the land, upon which our present synagogue stands, at an auction sale, for the sum of \$650, because non-Jewish people were bidding on the land in order to prevent Jews from building their synagogue on this site. After the synagogue was built, many put their homes up for sale, and some Jewish people bought them." (cited by Sheva Medjuck and H.M. Lazar in their Existence on the Fringe: The Jews of Atlantic Canada. MS)

Largely, difficulties for Jews arose only in the 1930's, when the British Israel movement began a series of anti-Semitic publications based upon their premise identifying the Anglo-Saxon race with Biblical Israel, and then repaying the progeny of this disinherited Bible people for this usurped ancestry with an inveterate hatred.

In general, the racist hatred tradition of the B.C. population vented itself not on Jews but on Hindus, Japanese and Chinese. This story is writ large in countless personal injuries and hurts, in the pressures which influenced national immigration laws, in the expulsion from B.C. waters of a vessel carrying English subjects of Indian domicile and, of course, in the mass internment of British Columbians of Japanese origin during the Second World War.

These are sad chronicles out of Canadian history which have no particular bearing on Jews. It is one of the not rare conditions in modern history where in practice Jews are protected against racists through the existence of other racial minorities who function as lightning rods.

EAST OF THE ROCKIES

When we come to examine the prairie phase of our Canadian history we enter a new and more complex ethnic pattern.

As Leo Driedger describes the areas in his The Canadian Mosaic, "The West includes the southern portions of the four most westerly provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba). These were the domain of the Native Peoples and were settled most recently by immigrants of European origin. This is the only region where no group is in the majority, although the British form the largest group. The region is highly rural and agricultural; it includes substantial enclaves of British, German, Ukrainian, French, and smaller ethnic groups. Although the Hudson's Bay Company, administered from Britain, traded in the area for two hundred years, from 1670 to 1870, a diversity of European ethnic groups settled the region and began social institutions.

"Although many ethnic groups seek to maintain their ethnic language, the language used by the majority (85 per cent) is English. Many promote British, Ukrainian, German, French and other cultures, because no one group dominates the region culturally.

"It has been strongly multicultural throughout its short history." (Toronto. McClelland & Stewart, 1979, pp. 10-11)

A. A. Chiel reported, "With the arrival of the Ukrainians in the 1890's, Manitoba became the geographic repository of several ethnic groups which differed considerably in matters of faith, culture, and language. Until now the lingual and ethnic balance had been a matter of great concern for the English, Scottish and French settlers, but by the last decade of the nineteenth century a variegated ethnic and multilingual pattern had been established with positive economic results, and the race for ethnic leadership was relaxed if not entirely abandoned." (p.57)

The Gazeta Katolicka of Winnipeg was probably not a lone voice when it wrote in 1911,

"Our chief duty is war against Jews who were not only the cause of our being disinherited from our own country, but are also the hotbed of Masonry and hostility towards our faith and ideals. Down with the liberal Jewish government." (cited in Bnai Brith News, Dec. 1911)

Unlike British Columbia, where the British element was the sole dominant group and the other groups -- Jewish, Chinese, Japanese, Amerind -- were not challenging either in number, influence or future, on the prairies the ethnic interplay was major and decisive for the nature of Canada.

The British were dominating and powerful, but the Indians, and the half-breeds posed problems which scarred Canada's conscience, Ontario's hard-nose brutality and Quebec's political reality.

The violence of the Amerindian story on the prairies, compared to the relative peacefulness of the same story in British Columbia, is probably due to the fact that in Saskatchewan the issue was the eventual shape and colour of the country that Canada was to be; on the Pacific coast that was not the problem.

For the purposes of our review, prairie history was shaped by the vectors of immigration and ethnicity.

The French Canadian aspect of the prairies' ethnic drama has to this day not been seen in its veritable perspective.

Quebec was virtually absent from the immigration and from the settling of the west by immigrants; this at a time when the sons of the défricheurs of Quebec's soil sought fortune in American factories, and land-hungry farmers from Slav lands streamed in.

Not only were Quebecers relatively few on the prairie wagons; they were also absent from the ministerial policy makers from their own Ottawa as they failed to contribute to the grand design of peopling and developing the entire country. In consequence French Canada was largely confined to Quebec.

Therefore the three provinces west of Ontario remained under an Anglo-Saxon domination which found that it needed to suppress the lesser breeds who were deliberately brought into Canada by a complex machinery of government, shipping companies, statesmen, land agents. They were not slaves, but they were anonymous manpower to clear and to populate the land.

Probably the most important racist movement in western Canada was the agitation, from the time of the opening of "the northwest," on the part of Anglo Canadians for settlement by English migrants instead of other Europeans. This found expression in a vast and often profound literature which was vociferous but often guarded in language. It was inspired by the mystique of the Anglo-Saxon heritage and race and by its

role in human and in New World history. There was an implicit evaluative scale of the races in question, often illustrated by the record of their respective settlements in the west. Generally it favoured the northern and western peoples of Europe; the central, eastern, Slavic and the Mediterranean peoples rated lower, and the Jews were practically unmentionable and unmentioned.

This anti-alien agitation is endlessly documented in many forms, at times rising to Shinto-religious.

Not the most vicious came in 1906 from H.R. Whates who recalls an immigrant ship "to convey an idea of the class and character of the people who are building up the population of the New Nation of Canada if a few passages of description are interwoven into this chapter. There were about a hundred foreigners amongst us, the majority of them Norwegians. I detected only five Jews. Two of them were women from Poland. Another Jew was a youth who had escaped from military service in Russia, and the remaining two were East London Jews a generation removed from the alien 'greener' stage; very aggressive and objectionable specimens of humanity they were -- noisy, foul-tongued 'hoodlumites' of whom London was well rid. The deserter was an intelligent man, who defended his escape with much force. Russia was not his Fatherland. He was a Jew. He had no ill-will towards the Japanese. Why should he, a Jew, fight the Japanese because the Christians of Russia had got into a quarrel with them? What had Christian Russia done for him and his like? Thus ran the argument."

In Winnipeg he already found a West-end and an East-end. "In one you find the homes of reputed millionaires; in the other, mean tenement houses of the labouring class; in the West the mansions and club-houses of the successful, in the East a labouring horde and the nucleus of a foreign Jewry, which is yearly becoming more congested and extending its boundaries.

"Montreal is a magnet for the cheap labour of Canada. Italians, and Russian and Austrian Jews, swarm there. The artificers among them are quickly absorbed in the industries of the city. While I was there batches of Russian Jews arrived via New York. They were consigned to the Hirsch Institute and the authorities of that place gave me documentary evidence that employment had been obtained for them. Further shiploads were expected. The Institute is under a heavy bond to the Dominion Government that none of its people shall become a public charge, and I was informed that in no case had the head-money been claimed. Some of the people are put on the land, at the Hirsch Settlements in the Qu'Appelle Valley, in Saskatchewan province; but not more than 25 per cent of these remain on the soil. The rest drift into the cities to trade, or into factory employment. Now the Russian and Austrian Jew artificers and factory hands are the least skilled of any to be found in Europe.

The fact that Montreal is making use of them in ever-increasing numbers may be taken to prove that if they can get a living, of a sort, their technically superior English competitors can also do so -- and of a better sort. But it also suggests that the labour market will further deteriorate and will become congested. Is it worth the Englishman's while to enter into competition with the Jew so long as there is vacant land to be had in Canada for a few dollars, residence upon it, and some cultivation of it? I suggest that it is better policy for the English emigrant to let the Jew, or whoever else may come, contribute to the proletariat of Montreal and such like manufacturing cities. In the present disorganized condition of human society it seems to be regarded as a necessity for manufacturing industries to have great reserves of cheap and partially employed 'hands.' These reserves the Continental Jew is now providing in Montreal. The English immigrant can do better for himself by keeping out of the whirlpool of poverty which such reserves create, and taking his chance on the land. Otherwise, he had better stay in England, where he will not -- at least not yet -- be exploited by a rapacious Protectionist party, and where labour is sufficiently well organized to exact adequate protective legislation and fair treatment in the matter of wages and hours.

"This Jewish question is sorely exercising the Canadian mind -- or at least the mind of the Canadian wage-earners, who naturally see in the influx, which is fostered by the capitalist class, a potent instrument for the lowering of wage rates. They say the foreign Jew is no good to Canada. In one respect, however, he discharges a useful purpose. He goes by the thousand into the ready-made clothing trade. There are streets in Montreal where the Jew tailor lives side by side with the Chinese laundry man; and every time a bearded Russian Jew comes out of a house staggering under a load of garments, you know that the effect of his work and presence is to diminish the complaint of the emigrant that clothing is outrageously dear. Should the inrush continue, and should the political power of the Protectionist manufacturers be broken, the grievance would disappear, though new evils would arise." (Canada the New Nation, A Book for the Settler, the Emigrant and the Politician. London, Dent, 1906. pp. 5-6, 44, 47-49)

It is a long, sad story, some of it spelled out in Clouds in the Thirties (David Rome, 1977-1981, 13 sections).

Adam Fuerstenberg, in his paper on A.M. Klein, recalls an embarrassing moment in the life of the poet, then working with Seagram president, Samuel Bronfman, who "decided, at the nadir of Allied and Canadian fortunes in the War, to boost morale by sponsoring a book-length history of Canada with a strong emphasis on its glorious future. The writer approached was Stephen Leacock, then in his seventies, retired and -- in spite of the humour of such works as Nonsense Novels and Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town -- still a crotchety imperialist, a white supremacist, and not too fond of the Jewish immigrants clamouring to enter Canada.

"Only eleven years earlier in a wider circulated political tract, Economic Prosperity in the British Empire, he could argue for billion dollar subsidies to induce 'white' immigration to Canada from the British Isles; but people from European 'alien countries' were not under consideration and did not fit the scheme because, when the British race were available, these others were only 'a second best choice' and, in his view, this second best choice had already 'badly damaged' the Canadian West. For him their learning English and legally becoming British subjects did not make them truly British. 'A few such people can easily be absorbed', he wrote.

"A little dose of them may even, by variation, do good, like a minute dose of poison in a medicine. But if you get enough of them, you get absorbed yourself ...

"I am not saying that we would absolutely shut out and deter the European foreigner, as we should and do shut out the Oriental. But we should in no way facilitate his coming.'

"Whose idea it was to offer the task to Leacock it is difficult to determine. It couldn't have been Klein who, having been Leacock's student at McGill, was certainly familiar with his views and their implication for the efforts to open the gates for Jewish refugees. Perhaps it was felt that Leacock had mellowed; but Klein found himself, late in 1941, in a nutcracker between Leacock and Bronfman (who spent a great deal of time on the project) as he was forced to do a massive editing job so that the history would not offend the non-British."

Soon after the First World War, Murray Gibbon wrote on "The Foreign Born",

"Since the return of peace conditions, the question of the foreign-born, particularly in Western Canada, has once more come to the front. It has been accentuated by the increased spirit of nationality which has grown out of the war -- a spirit which demands that the foreign-born shall either accept the ideals and obligations of Canadian citizenship or get out. It has to be faced in view of the possibility of renewed immigration into Canada, particularly from Central and Northern Europe, and in view of the renewed demand for imported seasonal labour (such as Italian).

"The Jewish has been the element which every nation in history has found the most difficult to assimilate. They are, so the speak, the hard-boiled eggs of the human race. From the dawn of history they elected to be the chosen race, and this isolation has been at once their glory and their tragedy. Centuries of oppression have made them a clear-cut type with characteristics which frequently result in financial and professional success too often at the cost of human sympathy, in spite of their acknowledged intellectual and aesthetic possibilities.

"Canada has opened her social doors wider than the United States, but not so wide as Great Britain. Possibly that is because Canada has only recently become an industrial country and has less sympathy for the immigration of a race that almost invariably makes for the already overcrowded cities. This city fever is explained as due to the fact that the Jews (so far as they are not de-Hebraized) are tied down by their need of "Kosher" food and the Synagogue to places which support a Jewish Colony. Attempts have been made to form Jewish land settlements in Western Canada, but without much success.

"One cannot help identifying the greater assimilation of the Jew in Great Britain as compared with other countries, with the greater de-Hebraism and disregard for the Synagogue in that country. The social culture of the strict Jew is so closely identified with his religion that this is evidently the chief barrier to his assimilation with the Canadian race." (Queen's Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 4, April 1920, Pp. 331-47)

The anti-Jewish drama was played diversely in the intimacies of the various ethnic societies in Canada; each group has its own record, sometimes so muted as to be non-existent, e.g., the Icelanders and the Italians.

The Ukrainian farmers had come from regions where anti-Semitism, often violent, had been deeply rooted for centuries. But an interesting change occurred the moment they came west; they learned deeply the lessons of Canadian law and peaceable order; they sensed that racist hostility was not acceptable to the implicit Canadian social contract.

Age-old prejudice did not disappear; it was an element in the cultural heritage. It may well be that in the privacy of heart and of family it was given expression; possibly in the parish church, it was reiterated by their priests and teachers. But this is not on the external record, or at least that record has not been fully investigated. Certainly the public record does not speak much of it.

B.G. Sack reported on an anti-Semitic newspaper in the Ukrainian language which appeared in Rosthern, Saskatchewan, in 1913. The Novi Kraj called for a boycott of the Jewish storekeepers in the district. Sack quotes such phrases as "they have sucked enough of our blood," "do as the Christians in Kishinev did," "wipe them off the face of the earth," "they follow us like black flies." The local Jews brought the matter before the courts and it was dealt with by Justice Smith in Saskatoon. D. McLynn, M.P., Conservative representative of the city, acted for the defense. The judge postponed the decision and called for a \$500 bail from the publisher until the case would be dealt with in the higher court, possibly the Supreme court, next May. (Eagle, Feb. 17, 1913.)

The Ukrainians were in a most complex condition. The fate of their compatriots overseas had been more complicated, and the image of their future in the shattered crystal ball more contradictory. They had an intense and unrelieved tradition of centuries of violent anti-Semitism fed by myriad roots. They were loud and consistent in their anti-Semitism. But they were unusually driven by a plethora of ideologies and loyalties; among these, the communists who were probably alone in being free from anti-Semitism. However, their life in Canada was largely enclosed in social enclaves and was seldom heard outside, nor did it influence any but their own children who, in the Canadian context, were soon going their own way.

One observer was concerned about this phenomenon. Robert England, who had been director of colonization of the Canadian National Railways, testifies that the Russian toxin was brought to western Canada by central Europeans who instilled the prejudices and benighted legends of eastern Europe into their Canadian-born descendants,

"Dark, sinister hates throw up shadows of a hideous past.

"The terrible old story of the ritual murder of young Christians by the Jews at Passover, an oft-repeated legend. The writer can never forget the gruesome details and the terror with which it was told to him by a small Ruthenian child -- the capture by the Jews of a Christian child, the fattening of the child on sweetmeats, the murder by placing her in a barrel with nails and rolling the barrel, the drinking of the blood to secure the strength to dominate Christians forever -- all reminiscent of the ghastly superstition which has, since the middle ages, swept Russian and Eastern Europe into pogroms, and which has had the most terrible effect on the ignorance and imagination of a people whose commerce is usually done by Jews because they themselves will not undertake the service." (The Central European in Canada, cited by L. Rosenberg in Canada's Jews, p. 301)

The Germans had their own experience, being more westernized than the other groups (as were the Icelanders) at the moment of their arrival. But they had the experience of World War I, during which they suffered unforgettable racial prejudice. Their conduct after the armistice of 1918 was clearly marked by the vocabulary of those years. Twenty years later their often prudent response to Hitler's appeal was marked by their memory of the consequences upon Canadians of association with the movements in the lands of their origin.

On the one hand the German government had intense instruments of pressure to mobilize them into the action program of the Nazi party and of the Reich government. On the other hand, the community was sophisticated and remembered all too painfully how long they had suffered in Canada the consequences of their kinship with the warring Germans overseas. Their reactions were mixed, and most often cautious.

The significant Canadian record is of this muted story, of the immigrants, and even more important, of their children, who, however much or little they knew of this heritage of prejudice, adopted the Canadian compact of multiculturalism more unanimously than elsewhere in the country and battled their way to full Canadian privilege. That is the series of stories of Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Galicians, etc. in western Canada.

Even as they performed their historic economic function, the Jews constituted an unobserved complex of cultural societies, not always recording their active parallel ethnic histories, unique in the Canadian composite. As Chiel notes in The Jews in Manitoba, A Social History (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961),

"Peddling was, perhaps, the least complex of endeavours for men without resources. A new immigrant could begin with a modest investment and could gradually build up a 'pack-on-back' enterprise. In Manitoba Jewish pedlars had an advantage in that there were farmers in the countryside whose languages were familiar to them. They were able to deal freely with the Mennonites because Yiddish, their mother-tongue, and the Mennonite Platt-Deutsch had in common a cognate language, German. Jews who came from Ukraine easily established contact with Ukrainian farmers.

"In time many Jewish pedlars, tired by the rigours of their wandering existence, used their modest savings to open general stores at strategic country crossroads. As country merchants they were more than mere storekeepers. They served as interpreters, counsellors, and trusted friends, and their stores became informal gathering places -- institutions of friendship. These associations led to rich, mutual loyalties between storekeeper and customer

"When one remembers the tragic, hate-filled encounters between Ukrainians and Jews in Russia, the knowledge that in Manitoba they enjoyed warm and friendly relations is both a fascinating and an encouraging observation on the efficacy of freedom in a democratic land.

"At one time Jewish country merchants could be found in at least one hundred and eighteen towns and villages of Manitoba where they spent from ten to twenty years. As their children grew older, however, and the problems of Jewish education and marriage became of immediate concern to them, many sold their businesses, lucrative though they might have been." (pp 57-58)

Official reaction to the arrival of Jews on the prairies was schizoid. On the one hand British racism appeared at its rabid as one official after another recorded his displeasure at dealing with them. Following the arrival of a group of early Jewish refugees, in 1882 the Manitoba government recommended that there be no further immigration "as the majority of those already arrived have shown themselves altogether too desirous of depending on government and private charity, with a corresponding disinclination to work, except as peddlers." (Manitoba, Report of Department of Agriculture, and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for the year 1882)

One of the early settlers in the west, Moses Finkelstein, told the Reform Advocate that the Jewish railway builders moved along with the line, over 600 miles, to a point now called Medicine Hat. They had their own camps and were supplied with their own boarding houses. The C.P.R. had Jewish foremen to look after the work.

H.E. Wilder notes cases of anti-Jewish violence in his survey of Western Canadian Jewish history. He recalls "these new human species, Jewish section hands who were laying the tracks of the C.P.R. in 1882, a fairly strenuous job even for men used to heavy outdoors work; it was to prove quite an endurance for the city-bred Jews. Nevertheless, they did not shirk work and satisfied their employers."

Wilder reports, "Even here, in the broad open fields of freedom-loving, prejudice-free Canada, they were to experience some nasty jolts.

"A group of Jews were working near Whitemouth. Some of these, it would appear, were subjected to a most revolting treatment. They resented such treatment, and protested -- until it came to blows.

"Three weeks later another such incident occurred at Rosser when one Keeve Barsky (who was later to officiate during the High Holy Days) was badly beaten. The police took immediate steps, however, and on July 6 a young man, Charles Swicks was arrested at Rosser 'on the charge of striking a Jew over the head.' The quick action of the police proved effective, for we hear of no more such outrages." ("An outline of the History of the Jews in Canada," in Israelite Press 100th Anniversary Souvenir of Jewish Emancipation in Canada and the 50th Anniversary of the Jew in Canada p. 21)

The Free Press of March 6, 1897 reported,

"Ruben Golstein complained at the city police court this morning that he had been assaulted by a party from the railroad. The affair took place at Brown's Hotel and grew out of a dispute about watches, during which the railroader accused Golstein of being party to a transaction which took place some 1800 years ago in which the Jews figured quite prominently."

When Asher Pierce, homesteader of Oxbow and statesman of the Canadian Jewish community, and his team were seeking a suitable site for an agricultural settlement -- in the event, Hirsch -- the farmers around Regina objected to Jews settling in this vicinity. As their Leader wrote on March 23, 1892, "The Regina district is not a desirable place to make a dumping ground for Russia's pauper element." (Chiel, p. 53)

Der Canader Yid of Winnipeg reported on September 22, 1914, in its issue volume 2, #38, from Edmonton that:

"Abraham Cristal, Jewish pioneer of Edmonton who has acquired a reputation as a prominent citizen, engaged Mayor Carstairs, who is considered the Conservative representative in the area, in a debate when the latter had called Jews undesirable citizens.

"Mr. Cristal challenged the conservative mayor to show evidence the Jews are undesirable citizens to which the mayor, instead of replying, struck Mr. Cristal repeatedly.

"A number of persons who were present have indicated their willingness to testify to what they had seen."

Occasionally the suffering of a hurt child creeps into the records. Clouds in the Thirties recalls the testimony of several who remember the beginning of the century in Winnipeg: Larry Zolf who is Jewish and James Gray who is not. (Section 2, pp 33-38) The tears of little Fredelle Bruser Maynard still pain the author and the reader of her Raisins and Almonds. (Doubleday Doran, 1964; Don Mills, Paper Jacks, 1973)

The racist and anti-Semitic element in the classic Winnipeg struggle of 1919 is adverted to in Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 10, pp. 159-71 and is detailed by Henry Trachtenberg in "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter-War Years, 1919-39" in Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, ser. III, no. 35, 1978, pp. 115-53)

Trachtenberg recalls the hostility which was admixed with the welcome, which the Jewish immigrants met when they first came to the Canadian west in the 1880's, from part of the press and from officials.

The Times called them undesirable, the most useless lot of creatures that ever crossed the Atlantic.

The Free Press found congratulations in order that there are so few of them.

Goldwin Smith found another opportunity to call them the worst of moral and commercial plagues in the country.

GOLDWIN SMITH

The Ontario situation, like that of Quebec, is of course central to the Canadian examination, but the former is more difficult to study because Anglo-Saxon reticence has ensured that we have fewer records of hostility to scan, and certainly few emanating from representative and responsible sources. The researcher is usually forced to analyze other forms of social expression, especially those that grated upon the sensibilities of Jews in that society as they strayed upon the fenced limits of discrimination even as they attempted to live the Canadian dream they envisioned.

What may be an early case in point is the career of Jacob Maier Hirschfelder whose life at Toronto King's College in mid-nineteenth century has been examined by Mel Starkman. ("A Meshumed at the University of Toronto," in Journal of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society, vol. 5 no. 2, Oct. 1981, pp. 70-90; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 28, pp. 54-55; and D. Rome "First Jewish Professor in Canada," in Daily Hebrew Journal, Dec. 12, 1940)

The dominant figure in early Canadian anti-Semitism was Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), anglophone, Protestant, professor of law and of modern history, journalist, publisher, venerated Oxonian intellectual, theologian, philosopher, friend of men of influence across the country, teacher of a generation of national leaders and administrators.

His influence in British public affairs was such that he was cited in the vital Confederation Debate on March 7, 1865. On that occasion, the attorney-general, the Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald of Cornwall, referred to the weight of the Empire's defence being transferred to the colonies.

"I believe that the pressure exercised upon the government by the followers of Goldwin Smith -- or the School of Manchester -- to the abandonment of the colonies was beginning to bear fruit." (Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. Quebec, 1865, p. 724)

In the course of the same discussion Antoine Chartier de Lotbinière Harwood, member for Vaudreuil, also fought off the Goldwin Smith philosophy of imperial policy by citing the minister of finance for India on the extent of England's trade with her colonies as a stabilizing international factor. (Pp. 839-40)

He may have left England because influential men of affairs soon questioned his intellectual credentials and pretensions. In Toronto he became active in Canadian political and academic affairs and acquired a great constituency; there was virtually no one to question his authority.

His anti-Semitism was well in keeping with his entire outlook and to this day no one has remarked on it particularly. He lived in Canada from 1871 to his death in 1910 and exercised great influence in the literature and the political thought of the Empire. From his home at the "Grange" after 1875 a succession of literary-political magazines flowed under his imprimatur for many years.

This distinguished anglophone Canadian was remarkably and authoritatively eloquent of what his Victorian universe customarily suppressed, or reserved for unspoken and intimate -- almost legislative -- regulation. This Regius Professor at Oxford, indefatigable commentator, the immigrant to Canada became so patriotic and nationalist as to preach anti-imperialism and annexationism; the associate of Charles G.D. Roberts, the revered mentor of Mackenzie King, was the unquestioned authority and the creator of Canadian style and tone.

It is a reflection of the political semantics of the time that Smith passes for a liberal. Yet this did not keep him from being the "academic mouthpiece of the mild English anti-Semitism of the time," to quote Cecil Roth. (Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. N.Y. Philosophical Library, 1952, p. 144) It was mildness that led down a straight path to Dachau.

Until 1874 he was the principal support of the Canadian Monthly in money, articles and prestige. It quickly became the most influential periodical of its kind to have appeared in Canada, "the golden world of high Victorian sensibility."

His biographer, Elisabeth Wallace, calls it the nearest equivalent to such British periodicals as the Fortnightly Review.

Smith filled a regular column in the Toronto Weekly Sun over the signature of the Bystander: later he had his own journal with that title.

In 1883 he founded The Week which appeared until 1896.

Smith's commentary appeared in Montreal's Herald, as well as in the Toronto press, on a variety of topics, not excluding his imagery of the Jews of Prague. (Dec. 11, 1897; also comments, Nov. 13 and Dec. 18, 1897, and his address at the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, Dec. 13, 1897)

Among the Canadians influenced by Smith, together with Henri Bourassa, was Mackenzie King, whose family were near neighbours and friends when they resided at 4 Grange Road. The future prime minister spent many hours at the "Grange", as he recorded it in his diary. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, nos. 4, 11-14)

In his Industry and Humanity he used the Smith quotation, "Above all Nations is Humanity." Decades later, in 1939, he brought it to the attention of His Majesty, the King, who used it in an address on his return from America. (Letter of C.L. Smith, Aug. 10, 1939, King papers, pp.237, 273)

His name is still revered in the annals of Canadian identity and of the country's letters, and he has a prominent place in the Encyclopaedia Canadiana. W.M. Kilbourn calls him "a great publicist and intellectual." Roy Daniells links him with "the golden world of high Victorian sensibility." and C.F. Klinck records that, "The great journalist had the stature of Matthew Arnold." Few anti-Semites in the English-speaking world had the credentials of this Canadian Oxonian.

His influence was extensive and durable, and a case can be made for his major contribution to Canadian political thought often labelled "liberal," largely because it was not deliberately founded on British imperialism or royalism. Hence, his friendship with Henri Bourassa; "Few Torontonians had Bourassa for a friend," notes Miss Wallace. (Clouds in the Thirties, Section 1, pp. 14, 47)

More significantly, the Protestant Smith introduced into Canada the virulent racist anti-Semitism from Europe when it was young, having been born in the Germany which interested Smith so deeply, at the very time that the Catholic Church embarked on its Syllabus program to reverse the emancipatory current which had enfranchised the Jews. Racist anti-Semitism in Quebec was concurrent with Smith's voluminous anti-Jewish dissertations.

As far back as 1899 Smith had praised Bourassa's stand on the Boer War in his Toronto Sun and began a very friendly association. Bourassa had been a guest at Smith's "The Grange"; the several hours there, Bourassa later testified, were at the origin of some ideas which oriented his political life. In particular Bourassa appreciated Smith's warnings against imperialism, jingoism and their best ally, opportunism. During the instructive chats with the former tutor to Edward VII, Bourassa heard about Disraeli and, presumably, about Smith's feud with the Jew which initiated his anti-Semitic prejudices.

On Bourassa's first voyage to Europe in 1901, letters of introduction from Smith opened many doors for him particularly of Englishmen whose imperialism was moderate. (R. Rumilly. Histoire de la Province de Québec, vol. 10)

In 1903 Bourassa had published Smith's Before the Tribunal of History in his French version (Beauchemin), where he found Anglo-Saxon condemnation of English policies in South Africa and of imperialist jingoism. Smith wrote a French preface to parallel the position of the French Canadians and the Boers. He found kind words not only for Bourassa, but for the Catholic hierarchy, in spite of his wonted anti-clericalism. (Mason Wade. The French Canadians, 1760-1967, Toronto, Macmillan, 1968; Robert Rumilly, Henri Bourassa, La Vie publique d'un grand Canadien, Montreal, Edition de l'homme, p. 63)

The moral nadir of Henri Bourassa was plumbed when he cited Smith in parliament on March 15, 1906 in explaining away the Russian hatred of the Jews which found expression again in the pogroms of 1905.

The strange community of anti-Semites -- the Oxford Saxon and the classic French Canadian -- fed on their common coolness towards the Empire and towards British imperial initiatives.

Bourassa considered Smith the outstanding English writer of the age. (Devoir, June 11 and 15, 1910)

As revealing is the approval which La Vérité accorded the Protestant sage of Toronto even as it noted that Smith was an enemy of French Canadians. (Clouds in the Thirties, section 1, p. 47) It is another example of the Catholic anti-Semitism of the half-century collaborating with heretics and atheists in the common cause against the Jews.

The Quebec Nationaliste cited Smith's article in the Weekly Sun of May 8 and 22, 1904.

One observer who was scandalized at Smith was the French ultra-conservative Catholic scholar, Arthur Savaète, who noted the existence of a powerful party in Canada dedicated to union with the United States. "Among these -- O Paradox! O Irony! -- an accredited representative of the high Oxford culture, one of those infallible professors whom Old England sometimes sends to the New World, to inject in it the taste for human letters, Mr. Goldwin Smith in person." (Vers l'abîme, Voix canadiennes. Vol.1, Paris. Pp. 32-33)

ANTI-SEMITISM, GIFT OF DISRAELI

The anti-Semitism of Goldwin Smith was fed by several influences, one of them the then current "Eastern Question" which involved British policy towards Turkey and consequently towards Russia.

Those who opposed dismembering the Ottoman Empire, and foiling Russian plans in that direction, were seen as betraying the Bulgarians then suffering at the hands of the Turks. Imperial policy polarized, with Russia and Turkey at either end.

Disraeli happened to be among the pro-Turks and the anti-Russians, and a number of English thinkers ascribed this to his Semitism and to his antipathy towards the czar who was oppressing the Jews. Anti-Semitism entered more deeply into the anti-Disraeli campaign, and Froude and E.A. Freeman, as well as Goldwin Smith, sought to launch German-style anti-Semitism in England. (Bernard Lewis, "The Pro-Islamic Jews," in Judaism, vol. 17, no. 4, 1968, pp. 391-95)

Even Queen Victoria joined the Church Times, Lord Derby and Freeman in anti-Semitic expressions in their criticism of the British statesman who was Jewish. (Colin Homes, "Goldwin Smith, A 'Liberal' anti-Semite," in London Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 6, no. 5, September, 1972, pp. 25-30)

In his attacks on Jews in the Contemporary Review ("England's Abandonment of the Protectorate of Turkey," vol. 31, 1877-78, p. 617) Smith made hostile comments on the emancipation of the Jews, their racial exclusionism, their fearful powers and their inability to be patriotic citizens.

Smith's anti-Jewish virulence dated back a quarter of a century before his coming to Canada, to a personal clash with Disraeli. Smith supposedly began his journalistic career "in 1850 as a staff member of the Peelite organ, the Morning Chronicle. In it appeared a series of anonymous articles attacking Disraeli, who discovered that their author was Goldwin Smith. Disraeli mentioned that he bore no grudge -- but although the two men never met, an acrimonious feud between them led each to seize every opportunity for personal attacks on the other." (Elisabeth Wallace. Goldwin Smith, Victorian Liberal. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 11)

It has also been suggested that "three unsigned articles entitled 'The Political Adventures of Lord Beaconsfield,' in the Fortnightly about this time, were probably written by Goldwin Smith. (Hirst's Early Life and Letters of John Morley. 2 vols., London, 1927, II, 50.) "I doubt this. The style is unlike that of Goldwin Smith, and there is no manuscript of these articles among his papers," Miss Wallace notes.

Smith's "advocacy of the cession of Gibraltar and the Ionian Islands provoked the ire, not only of The Times, but of Disraeli, who neither forgot nor forgave the critical articles Goldwin Smith had written a decade earlier for the Morning Chronicle, and who also disliked Smith's attacks on the law of entail. Colonial policy, Disraeli declared in the Commons, was the affair of statesmen, not professors and rhetoricians; the destiny of the British Empire must not be left to 'prigs and pedants.' He described his adversary as a 'wild man of the cloister,' an 'itinerant spouter of stale sedition,' and in Lothair pilloried him under the guise of a professor noted as a 'social parasite.' Replying in an open letter to The Times, Goldwin Smith briefly dismissed 'the stingless insults of a coward.'"

Holmes notes that the naturally sympathetic Dictionary of National Biography wrote of his extreme insensitiveness and reckless aggressiveness in his illogical defiance of liberal principle in his attacks on the Jewish race. "The 'tribal' character of the Jews and their unfitness for civic responsibilities was a constant theme of his middle years." Example of this hostility to Disraeli, extending beyond his person to the entire Jewish people, appeared in his article on "England's Abandonment of the Protectorate of Turkey" in the Contemporary Review, vol. xxxi, 1877-1878, p. 617.

In one of the first issues of his Bystander he outlined his portrait of Disraeli,

"A stronger contrast there could not be than that between Mr. Gladstone and his rival. It has been said ten thousand times; nevertheless it is true, that the career of Lord Beaconsfield has been a fulfilment of 'Vivian Grey;' and 'Vivian Grey' is a reverie of successful intrigue, precociously clever, and prematurely cynical. A legislator Lord Beaconsfield has never sought to be: in more than forty years he has not placed upon the Statute book a single measure of first-rate importance, saving the Suffrage Bill of 1867, which itself was merely the embodiment of an intrigue. Much he has talked, in his Tory-Chartist strain, of improving the lot of the poor and of sanitas sanitarum, but very little has he done. The solicitor in whose office he learned law said of him afterwards, with unconscious piquancy, that he had not been good at hard work, but first-rate at drawing prospectuses. He has since drawn prospectuses to some purpose.

His singular genius as a tactician has never been wanting to his fortune, while on the other hand fortune has been kind to him. Six special pieces of good luck have befallen him -- the quarrel between Peel and the Protectionists; the appearance upon the scene and then the death of Lord George Bentinck; the death of Peel; the succession of Lord Derby to the Conservative leadership; and the Jingo movement, which had its origin in social circumstances wholly out of his control. All his early combinations and programmes, Tory-Chartism which he tried with Mr. Walter, the proprietor of The Times, and young Englandism which he tried with a little circle of sentimental slips of nobility, came to nothing; and under the Peel régime, not being good at hard work, he was in danger of being stranded.

"Then came the split in the party about the Corn Laws, and he found among the infuriated landowners a market for vitriol such as does not present itself once in a century. That he had flattered Peel with more than Oriental fulsomeness, sought place under him, and poured ridicule upon the Corn Laws in Popanilla, was of no consequence to the tactician.

"Still his motives were so much on the surface, and his character was so well known, that he would hardly have succeeded in permanently splitting the party, had he not found an instrument in Lord George Bentinck, a fanatical Protectionist with a violent temper, easily played upon, a brother of the Duke of Portland, and a man who exercised great influence over the squires. By copiously flattering Lord George, and adding fuel to his rage, Mr. Disraeli made him his own, and through him brought about a permanent split which took off not only Peel but all the leading men of the party except Lord Derby, and left the leadership of the remnant open to the aspirations of 'Vivian Grey.'

"But with Agricultural Protection tied round its neck, the new party could not have floated, and to rid it of that incumbrance was impossible while Lord George Bentinck lived. Just at the nick of time Lord George Bentinck suddenly died, and no sooner was he out of the way, than Mr. Disraeli, now promoted to the first place, made haste to get rid of Protection. The equally sudden death of Peel removed another obstacle equally fatal; for while Peel lived, though he had lost his Tory following, he remained at the head of the nation, which would unquestionably have called him back to power and put all factions under his feet.

"Mr. Disraeli would have been unable to prevent that consummation, which would have reduced him again to comparative insignificance. Carlyle has expressed the general feeling with perfect fidelity, though with characteristic ruggedness, in one of his Latter Day Pamphlets, in which he calls upon Peel to undertake the Reform of Downing Street, and pours utter contempt on the possible opposition of Mr. Disraeli. The hearts of the young men of that day especially were on the side of the great statesman who, in trying to rise above party and to govern for the good of the whole nation, had been stabbed by the poniard of faction or of something viler still. A plunging horse cleared Mr. Disraeli's path of Peel, as an apoplectic fit cleared it of Lord George Bentinck.

"Still he could not have led the Conservative party without Lord Derby to act the part of the Marquis of Carabas in 'Vivian Grey.' Lord Derby was formed by destiny for that part. He was a brilliant, proud, ambitious, but at the same time indolent aristocrat, very jealous of Sir Robert Peel, whom he despised as a cotton spinner, and exceedingly open to those arts of which Mr. Disraeli was the supreme master. The spirit of gambling, which he had imbibed on the Turf, made him an extremely useful instrument of an adventurous policy; no Conservative leader except him could have been persuaded to take such 'a leap in the dark,' to use his own phrase, as Household Suffrage, or have been perfectly consoled for the peril into which he had brought his party and the country by the thought that he had 'dished the Whigs.'

"The victory of 1867 was gained by a junction with a section of the opposite party, Mr. Disraeli's favourite stroke of strategy. An appeal to the constituencies as reorganized by himself, however, left him in a minority of a hundred. But fortune was again kind: from the effect produced on the character of the nation by a decade of extraordinary prosperity, came at once a plutocratic reaction and Jingoism; and Mr. Disraeli, who has always studied with a sagacious eye what he calls the 'spirit of the age,' was lifted higher than ever by the friendly tide and borne back to supreme power for six years, when his career was closed by the reviving sense and morality of the nation.

"He has more than realized his youthful visions; he has enjoyed to the full all that his heart desired; he has been the Prime Minister and the favourite of the Court; he has made the Queen an Empress; he has been the most prominent figure in a Congress of Great Powers; he has dazzled not only England, but Europe; he has had a dozen dukes at his table at once, and has himself created dukes.

"We put the last as the climax, because it is believed to be the climax in his own mind.

"Of his legislation and his policy, not a vestige will remain. Jingoism is defunct; personal government has wilted in an instant; Tory Democracy has gone to the grave of Bolingbroke, leaving upon the Conservatives the stain of a futile conspiracy to swamp the intelligence and worth of the nation by an alliance with ignorance and beer. The conservative party, had it not lent itself to the object of Mr. Disraeli's ambition by throwing over Peel, who had combined organic Conservatism with administrative progress, might have retained power under Peel himself and a succession of leaders trained by him from that hour to this, instead of being out of power for about four-fifths of the time. It is now more prostrate than it has been since the Reform Bill of 1832. The Crown, instead of being exalted, has been humbled, and owes its humiliation most distinctly to Lord Beaconsfield. It can hardly be doubted that under his inspiration the attempt was made to frustrate the decree of the nation by keeping Mr. Gladstone out of power.

"We are wrong in saying that Lord Beaconsfield's career would leave no trace. It will leave a trace, for some time at least, in the altered tone of English public life. Nobody can doubt that, in point of veracity and what is generally called honour, there is a difference between the English character and the Oriental. Hitherto the word of an English statesman has been above impeachment; but under the administration of Lord Beaconsfield there have been constant complaints, not only from English opponents of the Government, but from foreigners and neutrals, of prevarication and deception.

"In this line Lord Beaconsfield has had the sinister advantage of originality: he has operated in an assembly where legerdemain was easy, because before him it had been unknown. It is a singular proof of his power of influencing other men, that suspicion has of late extended to the statements of the proud Lord Salisbury and the respectable Sir Stafford Northcote." (June 1880, pp. 310-16)

Smith settled his score with Disraeli in his Reminiscences, which appeared posthumously. (edited by Arnold Haultain, N.Y., Macmillan, 1911).

There is probably no connection, other than coincidence of timing, between Smith and the appearance of an article signed "D.F." in the Canadian Monthly of 1880 on "The Schoolboy Days of Lord Beaconsfield." (vol. 12, pp. 154-59)

In its disputes with Smith, the Jewish Times of Montreal, published by S.W. Jacobs and Lyon Cohen and edited by Carrol Ryan, who was not of their faith, mocked the Canadian "master of English prose" whose distinction was to have the disdain of Disraeli. (Dec. 23, 1898)

"In that conflict of wits the Professor met an antagonist who gave no quarter, and the stinging mot with which the master of phrases stamped him evidently cut deep, and has rankled ever since. It accounts for his hatred of the Jews and everything Jewish. His animosity towards the statesman, who had passed beyond his reach even before death, has been transferred to the race to which that great man belonged. As a result, we have those occasional outbursts of spitefulness from 'A Bystander' which disfigure with their pitifulness the columns of the Weekly Sun. In a recent issue of that paper he returns, to use an ancient but rather inelegant simile, like a dog to his vomit.

"The utterly unworthy spirit in which he writes is at the bottom the spirit of Torquemada with a nineteenth century gloss. We can afford, however, to smile at the sneers, forgive the insults: but we cannot allow even an ex-Oxford Professor of History to falsify history, although he delivers himself with all the pompous cocksureness of a back country schoolmaster before a class of bumpkins.

"He says, -- 'Differences of religion never had so much to do with the matter, even in the Dark Ages, as is commonly supposed, and it has nothing to do with the matter now.' What matter? The 'Bystander' is vague. Trouble between Jews and Christians, we presume he means. A 'Master of English prose' should give us better writing than that."

Recalling some elements in the martyr history of the Jews at the hands of popes, emperors, bishops and princes no less than of nations, the editor of the Jewish Times explains to the Oxford don "only too plainly how it came about that a people, mercilessly oppressed and chased like a dry leaf from spot to spot all over the globe, became narrow in mind and 'short of spirit.' The Jews retired more and more within themselves; ever smaller grew the part they took in the joys and sorrows of the nations in whose midst they lived, and gradually they confined themselves altogether to the contracted circle of Talmud studies.

"And now in the 'enlightened and rationalistic age' vaunted by 'A Bystander' we find him unearthing the old exploded slanders, and using them to give point to sneers at a race whose history constitutes the most stupendous miracle, the most awful tragedy that could be presented to the contemplation of the human soul.

"We cannot close this article without a reference to what 'Bystander' says of Jewish 'financial craft.' Surely he has not studied his subject, or he would know of the abject poverty of the mass of Jews in many countries, and that wealthy Jews are few in proportion to their numbers in England, France and America, where they enjoy most liberty, and still fewer in other countries. But 'Bystander's' lack of information on the facts of the present day is on a par with his ignorance of Jewish history and literature. In a man of his pretensions it is deplorable."

ACADEMICIAN ANTI-SEMITE

Anti-Semitism was central in the thought and visceral reaction of Goldwin Smith.

In relating Smith to the Canadian framework we note that his anti-Jewish comments came in the midst of the Quebec attack on the religious freedoms and equalities and after Father Huot and the Gazette des campagnes had introduced the anti-Jewish element into their moral and political preachments, but some years before it spread in wider circles by more authoritative spokesmen.

There were not many anti-Semites in Canada during Smith's early days in the dominion. It may well be that A.D. Decelles, Ottawa librarian and author, was influenced by Smith as he wrote on "La question juive" in L'opinion publique of December 1, 1881 with much the same "information" but to a much milder effect. Rather he wondered at the phenomenon of Jewish survival, of their consistent success, of their admirable family and personal qualities even as they exploited nation after nation (vide the Rothchilds), buying up real estate, speculating on the misery of peoples, usurious, never working the land, never in industry, seldom in the professions.

Remarkably, Smith's view on the Jews, ancient and contemporary, did not prevent him from making a generous contribution towards the erection of the Toronto synagogue in 1897 and attending the dedication services. (Wallace, pp. 102-3; S. Speisman, pp. 64, 67)

Indeed, in spite of "his articles in various publications disparaging Jewish characteristics," Henry Speisman sees Smith as xenophobic rather than anti-Semitic, as is evidenced by his appearance at the synagogue. "He was perhaps willing to accept those Jews who would adopt the customs of the general community." (The Jews of Toronto, A History to 1937. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1979, p. 67)

Smith's anti-Semitic 1877 article in the Contemporary Review is significantly early in the history of biological racist anti-Semitism. The diversion from religious anti-Semitism, which had been so virulent for nearly two thousand years, to the irremediable genetic, from error in faith to innate materialist, economic and social evil, from propaganda of the true faith as the instrument of correction to physical extermination is vastly historic, and the Oxford scholar insisted early and long on the thesis.

In the history of modern anti-Semitism this comes quite early, nearly a decade before Drumont's La France juive of 1886.

Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler of London felt called upon to reply to the Canadian writer. (In Nineteenth Century, vol. 3, 1878, p. 637: "Can Jews be Patriots?")

Smith replied to the rabbi in the same journal under the same question title. (vol. 3, 1987, p. 875)

As far afield as New Orleans Jewish readers were aroused; the Canadian scholar received his riposte from the Jewish Spectator there.

Accepting chaplain Stoecker as the pioneer of the new political and social anti-Semitism (labelled Christian and preached from the pulpit), we note that Smith imported the thesis into Canada within two years, without benefit of satellites.

It is helpful to appreciate the early date of Smith when we read the historians who tell us that the new anti-Semitism did not reach France until the Dreyfus case, after 1894.

From his earliest days Smith was the defender of German anti-Semitism; there is scarcely a word in the later Hitler which is not anticipated in the earlier Toronto "intellectual." The Lutheran pastor, Adolf Stoecker, who had founded the Christian Socialist Workers Party and collected some 300,000 signatures to a petition urging exclusion of Jews from all national schools, national universities and public office is his hero. (Robert F. Byrnes. Anti-Semitism in Modern France. New Brunswick, N.Y., Rutgers University Press, 1950. vol. 1, pp. 81-82)

It need not surprise us that an academician, a sophisticated social scientist, a professing Christian scholar, should suffer from so disgraceful a malady. He was in the European traditions of the new, secular anti-Semitism. Its very racism was based allegedly on the sciences such as biology and anthropology. James Parkes recalls that in Germany "in the 1880's a section of the academic world, hypnotized by the strength of the new German State and captivated by the theory of the Aryan super-race, threw in its lot with the anti-Semites under the lead of the distinguished political philosopher and historian and former National Liberal, Heinrich Treitschke. It was, in fact, Treitschke who invented the slogan constantly used by the Nazis: die Juden sind unser Ungluck. A petition was prepared, and widely signed, demanding the exclusion of Jews from the schools and universities and from all public employment. Under academic influence the racial aspect of the question steadily gained ground, and the incompatibility of 'Teutonism' with 'Semitism' became a widely held doctrine. As was to be expected it led extremists into the necessity of also rejecting Christianity."

In the late 1800's, the leader of the conservative anti-Semitic party, Baron von Hammerstein "disappeared in a cloud of disgraceful swindles. A small anti-Semitic group struggled on for some years, but the political influence of the movement steadily diminished. It was the academic world which kept it, as it were, in cold storage, ready to re-emerge after the defeat of 1919."

Parkes recalls that in Austria "the anti-Semitism of the Pan-German element became stronger. The place where this change took place was among the students, especially in the University of Vienna, where anti-Semitic student organizations kept up a mild ferment which at times provoked trouble. A decision which had considerable bearing on the future was that of the Waidhofen student conference, which decided that a Jewish student could not fight a duel as he had no honour to defend, and caused a curious if temporary alliance between the Jewish and the Catholic student organizations. The latter also had come to refuse the duel, but on religious grounds."

"The keynote of German anti-Semitism had been the steady growth of the racial element. The religious element played a decreasing role, especially after the departure of Rohling from Westfalia to Prague and the subsequent disgrace of Stocker. In Austria-Hungary the Roman Catholic church remains throughout in the centre of the picture, and the succession of ritual murder trials or accusations was entirely the work of clerical anti-Semites.

"This period witnessed yet another striking ritual murder trial. This time the scene was laid at Polna in Bohemia. In spite of every kind of contradiction in the prosecution of the accused, Leopold Hilsner, anti-Semitic intimidation secured his conviction of two murders, and he was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life; but such was the atmosphere that it was impossible, even with the support of such members of the Austrian Parliament as Dr. Masaryk, to obtain a fair retrial." (The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939. Oxford, 1846, pp. 201-2, 208)

DISPERSION OF THE JEWS

There was more than a little that was ominously prophetic in Smith's view that Jews would be "put out of the way, and taught perhaps by some process rougher than philosophy approves, that civilization is not to be the pedestal or the gambling table of any Self-Chosen people."

By March, 1880 he was writing in his own Bystander,

"One interesting result of the break-up of the Ottoman Empire seems likely to be the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. The restoration of the Jews to Palestine; for few of the race are likely to desert the stock exchanges for the Courts of Sion. Students of Prophecy will hail its fulfilment; general sentiment will be gratified by the tribute to a nation which, in its better day, did great things for religion, and through religion for civilization. Perhaps some of the more stubborn Jews will be drawn off from western communities and leave the remainder more capable of assimilation. At all events the situation will be defined, and the anti-Jewish movements, such as that in Roumania, and that which has now assumed strange and startling proportions in Germany, will be seen as what they really are, not religious persecutions, but struggles of race.

"The Jews are not a Church but a tribe. Their God is a tribal God; he is the God of Israel, not of other nations. Out of his worship, which was higher and more moral than that of the gods of other tribes, was developed a universal religion, a religion of humanity, which proclaimed that the same God had made all men of one blood.

But this religion the Jews rejected and persecuted. In so doing they made a fatal mistake, and they have suffered for their mistake like other races. A tribe they remain, with a tribal feeling and a tribal idea of their moral duties towards other nations. They kept themselves a separate people by a tribal rite in contrast to the Christian rite of Baptism which is moral and universal. They are all citizens more of Jewry than of the land which is the place of their sojourn. The strict among them refuse, in the spirit of tribal exclusiveness, intermarriage with the people among whom they dwell. The Christian faith being universal, all Christians wish to impart it; the Jew keeps his religion to himself, deeming it the heritage of his tribe; he no more thinks of imparting it than a Brahmin of imparting his caste. Those who refuse to mingle with humanity must take the consequences of their refusal. They cannot expect to enjoy at once the pride of exclusiveness, and the sympathies of brotherhood.

"The dispersion of the Jews, and their peculiar commercial habits, are not phenomena so absolutely unique as is commonly supposed. We have something like them in the cases of the Armenians, of the Lombards and the Cahorsins, in the Middle Ages, and in that of the modern Greek before the restoration of Greece. But the Jew is the chief of those who, instead of tilling a land of their own, have spread themselves abroad to appropriate by usury and other commercial arts the fruits of the toil of others.

"For this purpose they have thrust themselves into all communities, and probably their presence has been everywhere an evil except in countries, such as Poland and Turkey, where the military spirit of the natives despised trade. Their wandering, and the commercial habits connected with it, commenced before the destruction of their city. In the Middle Ages they were the instruments and partners of royal extortion, and the cruel maltreatment which they often received was caused less by hatred of their misbelief than of their rapacity. When the risings took place, the rioters made not so much for the synagogues, as for the places where the Jews kept their bonds. The expulsion of them from England by Edward I, although its harshness is now justly condemned, was no doubt a measure of immense relief to the people. The best authorities assure us that the Roumanian farmers are principally moved, not by fanaticism, but by despair at finding their homesteads passing into the hands of a pitiless band of alien usurers; while, curiously enough, Lord Salisbury, who lectures the Roumanian on intolerance, himself excludes Jews on religious ground from the House of Lords. We all know now that taking the current rate of interest for money is no more wrong than taking the current rate of rent for a house, or the current price for goods; but there is still such a thing as the usury which gets a simple-minded peasant into its snares and eats up the people as it were bread. It is difficult to tell why a nation should allow itself to be disinherited in this way any more than by an armed invader.

"The idea that such practices have ever been necessary or useful to commerce is wholly baseless. Florence, Hamburg, Antwerp, London were built up by the honest labour, and the thrift of Italians, Germans, Flemings, and Englishmen, not by Jewish usury or stock-jobbing, which has never added a grain to the wealth of any country in the world. The Jewish character is not European, but Oriental, and it has undergone for eighteen centuries a training which could not fail to sharpen the wits and enfeeble the moral sense. In politics and in the press it shows, like every other character, the effects of its training, whether it is subtly serving the policy of despots or, with equal plasticity, bidding for the leadership of revolutions. This is no reason for treating Jews with the slightest harshness; but it is a reason for viewing their progress with anxiety.

"Germans, on religious questions, are tolerant and something more; but when they find themselves in danger of being turned by the patient craft of the Oriental into hewers of wood and drawers of water for a race that refused to toil or spin, they can hardly be accused of very shameful bigotry in struggling to keep their fatherland for themselves.

"They will, no doubt, gladly concur in giving the Jew a land of his own. Had he never become a wanderer and an extortioner, but lived honestly by the sweat of his brow, like the rest of mankind, it would have been far better for himself and for western civilization, while many a dark page would have been torn from the book of history.

"This may be admitted without the slightest misgiving as to the wisdom and righteousness of the Liberal policy which, by extending to the Jew, wherever he lives, the full privileges of a citizen, has given him a fair chance of becoming a citizen indeed, as in time he no doubt will." (Pp. 155-56)

ON GERMAN RACISM

Again, in his first year of Bystander, he challengingly justified the emergence of this new, non-religious anti-Semitism of Germany, and relates it to the months-old migration of Jews from eastern Europe. He wrote in August, 1880,

"In Germany they seem at present to be less occupied with anything political or diplomatic than with the dangers which they imagine threaten their own land from the progress of the Jews. There is hardly in history a more curious instance of the unexpected than the turn which this question has suddenly taken and the dimensions which it has assumed.

"It is not one of religion: all the declamations against bigotry are out of place: at Berlin no umbrage would be taken at your worshipping Ashtaroth or your meerscham. History in fact shows, that, of all European nations the Germans have been the most free from the vice of persecution.

"This is a struggle of the natives against the progress of an intrusive race, which is believed, by its patient Oriental craft, to be getting into its hands not only the money of the nation but the newspaper press and other organs of influence; while it is said to avoid manual labour, seldom to produce or even to organize production, to decline as much as possible public burdens, to retain its exclusive nationality, and to be little more attached to the particular country in which it happens to sojourn than is the caterpillar to the particular leaf on which it feeds.

"That the Jew retains an exclusive nationality (it should rather be called tribalism) the hierophants of the Jewish mystery themselves admit. Germany has had Jews, by race at least, with whom she has got on very well and of whom she is proud, who gave her Neander and Mendelssohn.

"But it seems that there has of late been a great irruption from Poland of Jews of a peculiarly hard-shell kind. The Germans are in great alarm: they fancy that by the steady and united persistence of the Hebrews they will be reduced to the condition of Gibeonites in their own Fatherland, and they even invoke the assistance of the Slav to save them from the Jew. We may feel pretty sure that their fears are exaggerated, and that German intellect will in the end hold its own, even on the Bourse.

"Still their feeling is not unintelligible, nor a proof of disgraceful narrowness of mind. A high degree of liberality and self-abnegation must be reached before a nation can see with pleasure an alien race climbing, by superior subtlety and acquisitiveness, over its head in the land which the sweat of its own brow has made fruitful and for which it has poured out its blood.

"Moreover the German may say that he is to have matters; he wishes at all events that their morality should be high, and that whether it has been the fault of the Jews themselves, or that of the nations on which they thrust themselves, they have for twenty centuries undergone, in the practice of clandestine usury and cognate pursuits, a training which, however favourable to sharpness of wit, could hardly be favourable to high morality.

"The purely financial instinct is not that which is most easily transmuted into a noble leadership of humanity. No religious tolerance can enjoin us to disguise the fact that the Oriental character, in its leading features, is inferior to the European race, whether effected by money power or any other power would consequently be a great calamity.

"A community so thoroughly sound as Scotland seems to repel Jewish settlement, while Jews swarm in diseased communities such as Poland. If a local nationality, with its ties, influences and aspirations is good for other people, the want of it must be bad for the Jews. Mr. Lawrence Oliphant is reported to be negotiating with the Porte for the cession of Palestine to its former possessors; let him and those whom he represents put money in their purse, and they will scarcely fail while their success is much to be desired." (pp 444-46)

And again, in December, "Who would have dreamed that the country which, for nearly a century, has led the van of European thought would be discussing the expediency of re-imposing political disabilities on the Jews?

"The movement, however, as was said before, is not religious, but economical and social. The idea of disabilities is absurd; such a reversal of progress would only make bad worse. An amendment of the naturalization law is alone feasible, and this would not meet the danger which the alarmists apprehend. If you cannot shut out Judaism altogether -- and how is this to be done? -- wisdom bids you bring to bear on it all the softening and domesticating influences in your power.

"But while we disapprove the line taken by the German people we can enter into their feelings. Their land, they say, is theirs: with the sweat of their brows they have made it fruitful; with their blood they have saved it from the spoiler. They now see it invaded by alien wanderers of an Oriental race, superior to its natives in astuteness, though inferior to them in industry, who come not so much to dwell in it as to feed on it, have no special affection for it or for its people, form a nation apart with an intensely exclusive sentiment, avoid as far as they can sharing public burdens, shun manual labour, take comparatively little part in productive industry, but suck up the wealth of the workers by usury and stockjobbing, insinuate themselves with patient craft into places of influence such as the offices of the press and seem likely to become, to a great extent, masters of a country, from which, if its riches failed or disaster overtook it, they would depart with as little compunction as they came.

"Such is the vision which presents itself to the minds of the Germans, and has frightened them into this spasmodic effort of self-defence. That their alarm is at all events real, and that they are not feigning excuses for religious persecution, may be believed; for they are the most tolerant as well as the most good-natured of mankind. To rejoice in subjection to superior genius might be magnanimous, but from the days of the Egyptians downwards such magnanimity has been rare.

"Yes, let optimistic philosophy say what it will, there have been not only great calamities in history, but calamities the effect of which have endured, and are likely to endure. The dispersion of the Jews is one of them. Its evil effects were felt as keenly by the Roman world which knew not Christ as by the most fanatical communities of medieval Christendom.

"We should have had a Greek dispersion also, and another train of the same evils, if Greece had not been given back to its own people. The restoration of Palestine to the Jews, which is now perfectly possible, might at all events be a partial remedy. Three thousand Jews are said to be on their way from Roumania, where they have incurred the bitter enmity of the people by their extortionate practices, to the United States. If Palestine were theirs, they would be on their way to Palestine. At New York they will ply the same trades which they ply in Houndsditch. On the hills of Judea they would be planting the olive and the vine." (pp 655-56)

Again, Smith the "Zionist", again the fear of the migrant from the east, again "self-defence".

It was a foreshadowing, ominously familiar to anyone with knowledge of Poland; Dr. Smith was ready to support a movement to give the Jews back their own country. European anti-Semites just before Hitler often spoke in terms of perverted Zionism, sardonically alleging sympathy for the Jewish return. Smith preceded them by half a century.

ZIONIST

In this early emergence of his anti-Semitism -- wholly developed, rising within the first year of his Bystander -- we already see his "Zionism." More than half a century later the mob howling "Jews to Palestine" in Polish, German and the other tongues of hatred, would accompany the drama of European persecution, seeking to pervert one of Europe's early and successful spiritual, even divine, liberation movements to a litany of shattered crystal and to slave marches and worse. Smith was a "Zionist" nearly twenty years before Herzl.

Before proceeding with his continuity of contempt, we can note that Smith remained faithful to his "Zionist" theme which he shared historically with other enemies of the Jews. "Let the Jews, if they are determined to remain a separate nationality, go, as Mr. Oliphant advises them, to their own country, and there live by labour as other nations do." (June 1881, pp. 335-36)

Zionism continued to fascinate him even before the term was invented. In an unsigned editorial in the London, Ontario Farmer's Sun of November 22, 1892, "The Jews and Palestine," he noted that the Jews in America, successful under freedom and equality, are decidedly against the movement to return to Palestine. "But in the old lands where the Jews are persecuted, the Jews are not only praying, but are looking for the Messiah and his kingdom."

A Jewish correspondent translated a number of Return passages from Ezekiel, Isaiah and Jeremiah for Mr. Smith. (Raymond Arthur Davies. Printed Jewish Canadiana, 1685-1900. Montreal, 1955, p. 53)

In 1898 he wrote, "If the Jews are a nation, let them have a country of their own; if they are not a nation, let them put off their racial exclusiveness, their talmudic morality, their refusal of intermarriage, with all the rest of their tribalism, and frankly mingle with the population among which they have taken up their abode. While they retain their present attitude as a nation apart, insinuating itself into the homes of other nations for the purpose of sucking up their wealth by financial craft, and acquiring for commercial purposes a furtive influence over their affairs, at the same time treating them as Gentile, trouble will arise. It has arisen from the same cause in all countries, and in all nations, heathen as well as Christian. To be turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Chosen People is a lot which the Gibeonites

might prefer to extermination, but which no people would willingly embrace. Difference of religion never had so much to do with the matter, even in the Dark Ages, as is commonly supposed; and it has nothing to do with the matter now. In this enlightened and rationalistic age anybody might worship Jupiter or Fire if he pleased without exposing himself to the slightest molestation. On the other hand, the age is rapidly emancipating itself from the dogmatic belief in a chosen race and the favoritism of God. It is understood that the Turk objects to the settlement of Jews in Palestine; but the objections of the Turk may without much difficulty be overruled. They would assuredly give way to a word from the German Emperor who has embraced the Sultan and worshipped the memory of Saladin. Probably they would give way to a draft on Rothschild."

Once, on October 12, 1908, he wrote in more serious tones to a Jonas A. Rosenfeld at Dallas, Texas,

"It has always seemed to me an unhappy thing that a race should be wandering without a country. However high its gifts may be, prejudice cannot fail to be excited. The nations will be sure to feel, as they do, that the wanderer comes rather to live upon them than with them. This estrangement, I am persuaded, has been the main source of all that we have had to deplore. Religious antipathy can now in civilized communities be hardly said to exist. By the exercise of its gifts, the Jewish race has done much for which the world must be grateful; but socially the sense of estrangement almost inevitably prevails."

In an 1899 article in the Weekly Sun, Bystander managed to combine his "Zionism" with his phobia of Disraeli,

"The movement for the restoration of the Jews in their own land, or their transportation to a land which shall be their own, Zionism, as it is called, continues to show force. Some of the Zionists, though not the majority, have turned their eyes to Cyprus, the boasted acquisition of Beaconsfield, which has proved worthless, and were it not for the superstitious feeling against the withdrawal of the flag, would long ago have been abandoned.

"Whether the Zionists succeed in their object or not, they show that they understand the case. If the Jews choose to remain a nation apart, bearing themselves towards other races in the spirit of the Mosaic Law towards the stranger, they ought to have a land of their own.

"Their incursion as an alien nationality into the lands of other people, combined with their addiction as a race in some of those lands to unpopular and oppressive callings, is the real source of the angry relations and occasional outbreaks, which all must deplore. Difference of religious belief never had half so much to do with the matter as supposed; it has now hardly any influence at all. The Russian, German and Roumanian peasant may be ignorant and bigoted, but he is not addicted to persecution. The Russian peasant, especially, by whom the most serious anti-Semitic outrages have been committed, fully recognizes the right of every race to its own religion and, so far as that is concerned, dwells peacefully not only with the Jew, but with the Mohammedan. That to which they all object, and occasionally with violence, is being sold up. The cry of the French anti-Semite is not religious; it is France for the French.

"Two greater calamities have never befallen mankind than the transportation of the negro to this hemisphere and the dispersion of the Jews." (cited in Jewish Times, Sept. 29, 1899)

The Montreal Jewish weekly once again responds to the ancient accusation that Jews committed crimes against the Canaanites by invading the Holy Land; this time the accusation was levelled by the Anglo-Saxon heir to the booty of a long and far ranging history of imperialism, at the Plains of Abraham as elsewhere,

"The charge that Jews have made an 'incursion as an alien nationality into the lands of other people' is hugely amusing. What, we would ask Bystander, has been the history of mankind since the earliest times but accounts of incursions of alien nationalities into the lands of other people? The Jews in their day drove the inhabitants out of the land of Canaan. They in their turn were driven out by the Romans. To come down to a later period and skipping many similar invasions, what about England? The history of that country down to the present day is a record of alien incursions.

"Sometimes the invaders came as conquerors, more often in recent times as refugees, and each and all contributed to make England the great nation she is to-day. As for America, its appropriation by the whiteman is the greatest incursion by force and fraud known to history. According to his doctrine Bystander himself is an interloper.

"And he accuses the Jews of addiction 'as a race' in some of those lands to unpopular and oppressive callings, and sets this alleged fact down as the cause of angry relations and occasional outbreaks against the Jews. So sweeping a statement is not flattering to the intelligence of the readers of the Sun. Will Bystander tell us in

what lands the Jews 'as a race' are addicted the callings he states? Perhaps he has his eye on Russia, for he says further on that the peasant of that country objects to 'being sold up.' Now Bystander ought to know what everybody knows who knows anything that the Russian peasant has never been sold up, for the all-sufficient reason that he has nothing that could be sold. Practically he is as much a serf of the soil as ever he was. He belongs to his Mir, or commune, and only owns his inalienable share in what it possesses. But, to revert to the incursion question; are we who were born in Canada, whose forefathers, one, two, or more generations ago, came to Canada, some of their forefathers having been born in Great Britain -- are we aliens and interlopers? If so, the descendants of Saxons, Danes, Normans and others are aliens and interlopers in England."

The Jewish Times had occasion to chide Smith on July 19, 1909,

"Even Bystander relaxes the atribiliousness of his antisemitism to express approval of the prospective success of Zionism. His argument that the Jews should either have a country of their own or submit to absorption has its answer on Zionism, which he admits would, if successful, change the status of the Jews vastly for the better. He does not forget, however, to repeat his old lamentation that the dispersion of the Jews and the enslavement of the Negro in America were the two greatest misfortunes that ever happened to civilization. We might remind him that there are historians of repute among their own people who say the same of the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution. We more humbly presume to think that the Almighty Ruler knew better than either when he ordered these several events for the fulfilment of purposes which even the genius of a 'Bystander' cannot penetrate."

STILL GERMANY

Smith continued in his Bystander about Germany which was girding to deal with the Jews.

The January 1881 issue of his Bystander carried,

"The wild project of re-imposing political disabilities on the Jews has been rejected by the good sense of the German people. Not only was it a violation of all modern principle; it was practically foolish, and would only have made bad worse.

"But it is not likely that the agitation against Semitic ascendancy will die out; certainly it will not if the growth of Jewish influence in Europe continues as formidable as at present, and the Jews persist in their present courses, political, as well as social and commercial. It is, therefore, desirable that the movement should be understood.

"There is a persistent belief, which some of our own journalists seem to share, that the agitation has its source in a surviving prejudice against the Jewish religion. Were this the case, it might well be thought that Germany was still lingering in the darkness of the Middle Ages.

"But it is not so. The Germans understand religious toleration as well as any people in the world: the struggle between the Teuton and the Semitic for ascendancy in Germany is entirely one of race: it falls, in this respect, under the same category as the conflict between the Bulgarian and the Turk, or that between the Anglo-Americans and the Chinese.

"If there is any other ingredient in the cup of bitterness, it is the feeling aroused by the conduct of the Jews in Germany in relation to the education laws and some other national questions. In by-gone times, all the world was intolerant, all the world was persecuting, and the Jews were not less so than the rest, for they persecuted Christianity wherever and so long as they had the power.

"At the present day, we repeat, the question is entirely one of race, and of the social and economical antagonism into which the races in the struggle for ascendancy are brought. The Germans are striving, or fancy that they are striving, to save their country from passing under the sway of aliens. If the sentiment of race is a prejudice, it is a prejudice which is cherished at least as much on the side of the Jews as on that of their enemies.

"The Jews continue to refuse, as polluting, intermarriage with the other citizens of the communities in which they have been admitted to equal rights. The marriage of a daughter of the house of Rothschild with an English noble called forth an explosion of their unsocial feeling; and a great literary exponent of their sentiment habitually speaks with insolent contempt of the blood of Shakespeare. Those who, by refusing intermarriage, cut themselves off from brotherhood, can hardly expect that other people will regard them as brethren. The advocates of the Jews, on this occasion, admit that their clients regard the Germans with contempt.

"The Germans can hardly be expected to requite contempt with love. The Jews are a wandering nation, with strong national character and distinct interests. That they have objects of their own, apart from those of the people among whom they sojourn, is implied in the admiring rhapsodies of Daniel Deronda, as clearly as in the angry protests of the Germans.

"It is time people should know that, in this old quarrel, there has been wrong on both sides; though self-accusing Christendom, in its repentance for medieval persecutions of the Jews, has been apt to admit that all the wrong has been on its own side alone. Perhaps it would be nearer historic truth, as well as less censorious, to say that the dispersion of the Jews has brought calamities on the other nations, as much as on themselves.

"Suppose we Canadians were all to leave our own land, spread ourselves over the earth, wander from nation to nation in quest of lucre, thrust ourselves in swarms on all communities, whether we were welcome or not and, never handling the plough or the loom, to suck up the produce of other men's labour, and fleece them of their property by usury and other extortionate practices, plying at the same time on a large scale other trades of a still more objectionable kind; suppose while doing this, we were to display an intense and almost ferocious pride of race, cherish a tribal religion, which proclaimed that we alone were the chosen people, distinguish ourselves by a tribal mark, treat those among whom we lived as Gentiles with whom it was pollution to intermarry, and deal with them as Egyptians, made only to be spoiled: should not we be generally odious, and would not our unpopularity be natural?

"If we were anywhere successful in engrossing the wealth of a country and climbing over the heads of its natives, would not our success breed jealousy, and should we be warranted in saying that the jealousy was nothing but envy of our superior excellence? Suppose

again, that being strong Protestants, we intruded ourselves into Roman Catholic communities in a low state of enlightenment and fanatically attached to their faith, should we not have too much reason to expect that the difference of religion would aggravate the national feeling against us, and that we should be exposed to maltreatment, especially if the communities at the time were engaged, as European Christendom was at the time of the Crusades, in a desperate struggle against an inrolling tide of equally fanatical invasion and we were believed to sympathize with the enemy?

"No doubt, the hatred of the Jews in the Middle Ages was partly religious, and to that extent was unchristian and vile; but its main cause was the cruel extortion which they practised on the people, both on their own accounts and as the apt instruments of a tyrannical Exchequer. If any one wants to know why the Jews were detested by the English in the twelfth century, let us once more refer him to the account of Jewish usury, from the Chronicle of Brakelond, given in the fourth chapter of Carlyle's Past and Present. A Daniel Deronds, who was so profoundly versed in the Jewish mystery as to be able, by compound interest and dexterous reckoning, to make a debt of twenty-seven pounds mount up to one of twelve hundred pounds, would have stood a good chance of incurring some unpopularity among his debtors, and, perhaps, in rough times, of getting his bonds destroyed and his own head broken, even if there had been no Crusades.

"If the Jews have been the most hated of all races, it is, in plain truth, because they have done most to provoke hatred. Other races which have done the same things, on a smaller scale, have been hated in proportion.

"It is easy to be philosophic in another man's case. Enlightened persons, who have no Jews climbing over their heads, shower upon the Germans charges of illiberality and Philistinism.

"Perhaps common people have cowered long enough under the dreadful imputation of Philistinism, which every popinjay has learned to brandish. The selfishness which makes the German unwilling to see his country fall into the gripe of the crafty Semite is hardly distinguishable from the patriotism which, the other day, bade him shed blood for that country at Sadowa and Sedan. Those who appeal to national feeling for extra-ordinary efforts of self-devotion, must not expect to see it, as soon as those efforts are over, deny itself and humbly welcome a foreign yoke.

"To the Germans it signifies very little whether an alien race invades them by force or cunning, whether it comes with the sword or with the stock list and the ledger in its hand. They are specially exasperated by seeing that the system of national defence, which they deem necessary to guard the country against a revengeful foe, is assailed by the Jews, who, if Germany were conquered, could either decamp with their gathered wealth or remain to trade with the conqueror.

"The great Teutonic nation, united and redeemed at so vast a cost of noble effort and heroic blood, is a part of the heritage of humanity which the Semite cannot be lightly allowed to corrupt and devour; nor can he be allowed to use its force, as, if he gets the control of it, he certainly will, for the furtherance of his own ends in Europe, which are those of a vast money power adverse to the higher interests of the nations, as the Jewish press of Vienna does not fail to apprise the world.

"It may be very true that the Hebrew excels the German in certain arts which lead to success in life; but there are arts which lead to success in life without qualifying their possessors, morally or politically, for the supreme guidance of a nation. Whatever the Germans have done in the way of violence, insult, or injustice, we must all heartily condemn. They cannot be blamed for wishing to keep the government and the destinies of their country in patriotic hands, for desiring that German, not Semitic, ideas and morality shall prevail on German soil. There are legitimate and constitutional methods by which they may work in this direction without doing any man wrong, or violating any liberal principle; and they move their government to take measures, in conjunction with the other powers, for the restoration to the Jews of their own land, with as much of the adjacent territory, now to a great extent vacant, as they may choose to fill.

"The return to Palestine of the Jews settled in the West, on a large scale, is out of the question: but the flow of Jewish migration from the East towards the West might be arrested, and Europe might to that extent be relieved. The mass of the Jews already domiciled in her or wandering over her, she will have to assimilate as best she may.

"Some of our contemporaries seem desirous of inviting the Jews here. But to attract such an immigration, there must be something rotten in ourselves. Poland, the most unsound of all communities, has the greatest number of Jews: Scotland, the soundest, has none. In the United States their numbers increased during the Rebellion, with the growth of gold-gambling and the trades that are plied in the wake of war.

"We prefer, for our part, an immigration of Germans, for whose naturalization, we are glad to see, better provision is to be made. They may not be so acute as their rivals, but they are producers, not sponges, and they will come to us the more readily if they are not preceded by the Jews.

"It must be owned that, in a certain sense, the blame of Jewish pride and exclusiveness rests on Christians, who persist in investing Judaism with fictitious importance and wasting money on the conversion of what they call the Chosen People. If there ever was a Chosen People, there is one no longer: there is nothing but a tribal mark of separation, surviving, in its obsolete narrowness, in the midst of races which have embraced the broad religion of humanity.

"Spiritually, the Jews are the residuum of the nation, the élite of which heard the Gospel, and acknowledged the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Invite the Jews to come into the pale of humanity; that is the conversion which they need, and which the higher members of the race in all countries are happily undergoing, though enough to frighten the Germans remain in their pristine state." (pp 36-42)

There was more than a little that was ominous and prophetic in his view that Jews would be "put out of the way, and taught perhaps by some process rougher than philosophy approves, that civilization is not to be the pedestal or the gambling table of any Self-Chosen People."

DEFENDING HITLER IN 1880

By February 1881 his anti-Jewish comments had already drawn a reply from the New York Sun.

Clarifying his position in his Bystander that month, he admitted favouring the enfranchisement of British Jews; "to make them as far as possible citizens is, as we are thoroughly convinced, not only the most liberal but the wisest course, and the one which affords the best chance of divesting them of the exclusive character which has made them odious in all ages, and ridding civilization of that strange survival of the tribal state, modern Judaism. It is of Judaism that we speak, not of Jewish blood, which runs in the veins of many who have completely thrown off tribalism and become excellent citizens of the countries in which they dwell.

"We have already expressed ourselves as strongly as possible against the re-imposition of political disabilities, and we entirely agree with the Sun in thinking that the Germans are estopped from any such proceeding since they have allowed Jews to perform the duties of citizens. But while we deprecate the retrograde measures proposed by the Germans, and heartily condemn the violence into which some of them have been hurried, we can understand their alarm and do justice to their motives, of which we cannot help thinking that disdainful philosophy takes somewhat too unfavourable a view.

"There are questions on which, as Lord Melbourne said, all the clever fellows are on one side, all the fools on the other, and the fools are right -- at least the fools have something to say for themselves against the clever fellows. That there is something about the Jews which may possibly provoke antagonism, and that they are not merely the mystic doves depicted in Daniel Deronda, is proved by their refusal to intermarry with the people among whom they live.

"The world has been awakened from a delusion. It fancied that the Jews were merely a dissenting sect, and that, like other dissenting sects, when enfranchised they would become patriots. But it is now seen that in their case the religion was the least part of the matter. Enfranchise them as you will, they remain a separate nationality, or rather a separate tribe, with strong tribal sentiment, not blending as other immigrants do with the people of the country; but refusing intermarriage, forming a community within the community, a state within the state, and using political power when they get it into their hands with a constant regard for the special interests and objects of their tribe. They are a great money-power and their ascendancy would be a dominion of wealth in the most oppressive as well as the least august form.

"Nor are they quiet and innocuous, but intriguing and aggressive. They are creeping behind the European press, and giving the world an inkling of the danger to which it will be exposed when money-powers learn the art of secretly manipulating in their own interest the organs of public opinion. 'The Semites' says one who knows them well, 'now exercise a vast influence over affairs by their smallest but most peculiar family, the Jews. There is no race gifted with so much tenacity and so much skill in organization. These qualities have given them an unprecedented hold over property, and illimitable credit. As you advance in life, and get experience in affairs, the Jews will cross you everywhere. They have long been stealing into our secret diplomacy, which they have almost appropriated; in another quarter of a century (this was evidently written long ago) they will claim their share of open government.'

"During the late European crisis the Jews used to the utmost their influence over the Vienna press to prevent the emancipation of the Christian communities from the Ottoman yoke, and they are now opposing by the same means the resurrection of Greece. The effect on the policy of Germany would soon be seen if a controlling influence over the Government were to pass into the hands of the Jews. The Americans deem it perfectly lawful and consistent with liberal principles to debate the expediency of excluding the Chinaman from their hospitable shore, on the ground of danger to the integrity of the national character. Yet the Chinaman, besides being a producer, which the Jew seldom is, and adding to the wealth of the community, which the Jew simply absorbs, is in point of influence on the political, or even on the commercial, spirit of a country, little above a mangle or a spade.

"Far be it from us to make an idol of nationality, or even to assume that it is the ultimate state, though at present it is the law of our existence, the condition of our public virtues, and the organ, as Mazzini says, through which man serves humanity. But if nationality is to be discarded as illiberal, let the Jews begin: theirs, we believe, is the only nationality so strict and narrow as to shun intermarriage.

"In the meantime, the German people are entitled to be judged by the rule of patriotism. It was for a German, not for a Jewish Germany, that they faced the hail of death at Gravelotte....

"We have before us the pamphlet of Herr Stocker, the clerical leader of the movement. He says not a word against the Jewish faith; on the contrary, he falls in with the common habit of exaggerating the religious importance of the 'Chosen People;' though he complains of the hostility of the Jewish press to Christianity, giving quotations which show that the antagonism of Tribalism to Humanity is nearly as strong as it was on the day of the Crucifixion.

"In truth, Christianity was the offspring of Judaism as much by antagonism as by evolution: it came from a quarter from which Judaism said that nothing good could come. Stocker's points are: The exclusiveness of the Jews, their anti-national position, and their aversion from manual labour, which particularly offends the Christian Socialists, and which would certainly seem to unfit those who cherish it for sympathizing with the sentiments, or guiding the destinies, of industrial communities.

"If, in the matter of religion, he brings any charge at all, it is not that of misbelief but of unbelief, and of stifling the spiritual life of the community by the propagation of wealth-worship and greed. In fact, what is called 'a great religion' has apparently sunk into a set of obsolete forms, combined with a materialistic optimism and a lingering tribal notion that other races are Gentiles. There is no sort of resemblance between a modern Jew and the devout and simple husbandmen who went up to the Courts of Sion. All the declamations, therefore, of American preachers about the revival of religious persecution are out of place. In the Middle Ages, and long after the close of the Middle Ages, intolerance was the law. The Jews did not suffer as much as the Albigenses and other Christian heretics who, be it remembered, were natives, not intruders, and had never been the ministers of extortion or the grinders of the people. In England, the Jews were relieved of their political disabilities almost as soon as the Dissenters. Nor did they outstrip in tolerance the rest of the world. They were all the time reading in their synagogues a law which punished religious offences with death, even in the case of a stranger. It is irrational to impose political disabilities on a man now because his forefathers took part in the crucifixion of Christ, and it is equally irrational to allow him to do wrong because his forefathers were persecuted in the Middle Ages.

"The Jews are beginning to assume, and are encouraged by Judaeomaniacs in assuming, the airs of 'a superior race.' Even if they were a superior race, we should think it better for Germany, in her own interest and in that of humanity, to develop in her own way and on the lines of her own character. But to dub a race superior, in such a sense as to make it the fit guide of our destinies, there must be superiority of character as well as of intellect. The Scotch are a superior race all round, and the absence of any serious feeling against them, in spite of their success, and their occasional clan-nishness, is a confutation of the theory that the feeling against the Jews is merely envy.

"But the Jew has for eighteen hundred years subsisted upon the labours of others by arts which are proverbially identified with his name; and whether it was his misfortune or his fault, the inevitable result has been a sharpening of the wits at the expense of the moral qualities. The effect would have been the same in the case of a tribe of seraphs.

"Of the extraordinary services which the Jews are alleged to have rendered to civilization during the Middle Ages, we desire clearer proof. Commerce was developed not by Jewish usurers, but by the merchants and mariners of the great trading cities of Italy and other countries. The exclusion of the Jews from England did not hinder her from being the England of Elizabeth. One branch of commerce indeed the Jews did help to develop: they were great slave dealers; and though such fables as that of Hugh of Lincoln are, in their most odious features, fanatical slanders, it is not unlikely that they had a partial foundation in cases of kidnapping. If Jews added to the wealth of the countries in which they settled, Poland would hardly be so poverty-stricken as it is. Nor do we see the ground for the assertion that they have 'saved nations from bankruptcy.' As money lenders they have helped governments to run nations into debt, and to carry on wars at the expense of posterity; but for this service civilization owes them scanty thanks.

"Much has been said about the services rendered by the Jews as scientific discoverers; but what were the discoveries, and what had become of them when the Middle Ages closed? Rabbinism, seen not in elegant extracts, but in the lump, appears to be the very dregs of the human intellect; and it would severely tax our respect for the literary authority of the Sun to assign a high place among the agencies of mental progress to the philosophy of Philo Judaeus. The Jewish Mystery about which Daniel Deronda rhapsodizes is pure fiction. In the case of Miss Martineau, the nemesis of Positivism was Mesmerist superstition; in the case of George Eliot it was an hallucination about Judaism. The Armenians are like the Jews, a wandering and money-broking race, though on a smaller scale; some day, we shall have an Armenian mystery. To dally with such stuff, is only to confirm the Jew in his addiction to what is worst in him, and prevent him from coming into the allegiance of Humanity. That the world has, in later times, owed much to men of Jewish race, such as Spinoza, Neander and Mendelssohn, we cordially and gratefully admit; but these men had left the pale of tribal Judaism.

"This view of the case may seem illiberal; but we recognize no liberality which denies facts, nor do we see why justice should not be done to Germans as well as Jews. The question is a serious one. Apart from this struggle of races in Germany, there is reason to fear that Judaism, with political power in its hands, having the European press under its control, and acting in the interests of

accumulated wealth, may some day become a formidable combination against the interests of humanity. To all measures of disfranchisement, we repeat, we should be utterly opposed; and not less so to social injustice or contumely of any kind. To limit immigration is inhospitable; though in very extreme cases it is lawful, as the new treaty of the United States with China affirms.

"The German is, of course, at liberty to combat Jewish influence at the polls, and, by his vote, to put true Germans at the head of the nation. Jewish Mammonism must be combatted by the general agencies which sustain and quicken spiritual life in a community. To keep themselves out of the hands of the Jewish usurer, the people must practice the industry and thrift which have guarded Scotland; and now that Germany is united and has become a great nation, the native chiefs of her commerce will learn to operate on a larger scale. The fresh life infused into her veins by her liberation from a brood of petty despots will enable her gradually to throw off alien accretions, which gathered on her when in her king-ridden and torpid state.

"It is open to the Germans also to set their diplomacy at work for an object to the advantages of which we have more than once referred -- the restoration of the Jews of their own land. The faces of the Jews in the Turkish Empire and of those in the Lower Danube might thus be turned eastward instead of westward, and the west might be saved from an impending immigration, while the fact would be made clear to all that the Jews in their present condition are not a religious sect but a wandering and parasitic nation."
(Bystander, Vol. 2, Feb. 1881, pp 90-97)

ON RACISM IN GERMANY

With satanic prophecy Smith directed his advice, in Nineteenth Century (vol. 18, 1881, p. 510) to the Germans whom he urged that they face "the great compactness of tribal organization and corporate activity on the side of the Hebrew." He was confident of his analysis and program. "All these centuries of aspiration and of upward effort ... are not going to terminate in the ascendancy" of the Jews.

He wrote similarly in his own The Bystander about Germany which was girding to deal with the Jews. "Their exclusive character which has made the Jews odious in all ages" led them to seek "to rid civilization of that strange survival of the tribal state, modern Judaism."

Switching ideology from February to March, from p. 97 to p. 154, he finds race at the root of German hatred of Jews. The movement in Germany did not constitute religious persecution. Smith argued in his Bystander in March 1881, though "there may be a certain amount of religious antipathy on both sides, and even the Agnostics may, perhaps, be inclined to support the Jews, not only on the grounds of political Liberalism, but from antagonism to Christianity. Germany is about the most free-thinking country in Europe.

"Nor can we accept the simple solution of the phenomenon as a mere exhibition of the 'brutality' of the Germans, or of their envy of superior wealth. The Germans are not brutal, but kindly; nor are they covetous, but rather the reverse. The conflict, we feel sure, on which ever side the right may be, is fundamentally one of race. For the continuance of race feeling and the antagonism to which it gives birth the Jews are themselves responsible, inasmuch as they keep themselves severed from their fellow citizens by the retention of a tribal mark of separation, by manifestations of tribal sentiment towards Gentiles, and above all, by the avoidance of intermarriage.

"Germany was utterly ruined for the time by the Thirty Years' war. Upon her prostrate nationality fastened themselves a group of petty despotisms, Austrian domination, French ambition, and the Jewish money power. The Jewish money power has fattened itself on other prostrate nationalities, such as that of Poland, that of the Danubian Communities, and even that of England, while she lay helpless and almost lifeless under the Norman yoke.

"German nationality has now risen again. It has overturned the petty despotisms. It has shaken off the Austrian domination. It has repelled the attack of French ambition, and in doing so rendered to Europe a service; for some of the Liberals were too much in love with the productions of French intellect to be sufficiently grateful. It is now struggling to set itself free from the grasp of the Jewish money power. The anti-Jewish movements have coincided, not with fits of religious fanaticism, but with the pulses of returning national life, with the liberation of Germany from the yoke of Napoleon, the Revolution of 1848, and the repulse of French aggression.

"The situation and motives of the Germans can hardly be understood by communities in which the Jews are not so numerous as they are in Germany, and their special influence is not felt. All religious intolerance, all social oppression, all violence we most heartily condemn. But the mere fear of being called illiberal will not make us take part in traducing the Germans, or shrink from facing a little misapprehension in endeavouring to do justice to their cause, as they have faced the shot for the independence of all nations. Let the Jews give up their exclusiveness, cease to regard their fellow-citizens as Gentiles, intermarry with them, and blend, as other immigrants do, with the people among whom they have settled; there will then be an end of the conflict of race; but otherwise there will not. The often-repeated tale of Jewish wrongs is partly a tale of Jewish wrong-doing; perhaps it is still more a tale of disastrous accident.

"In pleading the cause of the Germans or any one else against a money power, in the present state of opinion, we are at all events not striking the weak. No recognition of the influence of wealth could be more signal than the homage which English society, with the heir to the Throne at its head, pays to the millions of the Rothschilds.

"The fortune of a chief of industry like Mr. Brassey is made up of small percentages on enterprises which employ tens of thousands and add vastly to the wealth of mankind. But the fortune which, as an English journal says, has placed the Rothschilds in a rank little below that of kings, denotes no such benefit conferred upon the world. The most famous stroke of the House was of a kind which the morality of the future may possibly condemn.

"At all events, he who uses his exclusive intelligence of an event for the purpose of buying up the property of other people at half its value, no more adds to the general wealth of mankind by his success, than he who wins money at the gaming-table. The family history of the Rothschilds, given to the world in connection with the wedding, indicates that even in marrying their object has been to keep their wealth together. Nor, so far as we are aware, are any great acts of munificence connected with their name. Their title to reverence is money and money alone. Those who repudiate, as we do all asceticism may still hold that Mammon worship is not the goal." (Bystander, March 1881, pp. 154-56)

When the violence spread in central Europe, Smith felt his views confirmed.

"From the Danubian Provinces and Germany the anti-Jewish frenzy spreads to Hungary, Russia and Poland. Nothing can be more deplorable than these outbreaks. But our theory of their origin is confirmed; they are not religious, but economical and social: difference of religion is, at least, only a secondary cause and a subordinate ingredient in the cup of bitterness. The ideas of the Russian Government and people on the subject of religion are a relic of the primitive and tribal state in which God was the God of the nation and religious belief was a matter of race.

"The anti-Jewish movement is not a religious persecution so much as an insurrection of the people against extortion. The cunning Oriental has got them into his toils, and is devouring their substance by his usury. The peasant, in resigning his homestead to the usurer, ought, perhaps, to be filled with grateful admiration for the financial genius of 'a superior race.' Not being a cultivated person he gives way to less philosophic emotions, and in his wrath and despair commits acts which are intensely to be condemned. Yet the attacks upon the Jews in the Middle Ages were, as we have said before, in reality less persecutions than economical revolts, sanguinary as all revolts in half-civilized communities are.

"If a race, whether, Jew, Armenian or Lombard, chooses to renounce manual labour, to desert its own country and spread itself over the world without regard for the condition, character or prejudices of the communities upon which it intrudes, in order to live upon the labour of others by usury, it is certain to arouse antagonism, and disturbances are sure to ensue.

"Let the Jews if they are resolved to remain a separate nationality go, as Mr. Oliphant advises them, to their own country, and there live by labour as other nations do. Otherwise, where they are very numerous, as they are in Germany, Poland and Eastern Europe, and where their financial yoke is very heavy, these hideous outbreaks will recur.

"It will be a disastrous consequence of the insurrection if the Jews are driven to this Continent, where they will add to a money-broking element already as large as industry can well bear out." (June 1881, pp 335-36)

In his defence of Hungarian anti-Semitism Smith was led to justify the charge that the Jews of the middle ages practiced ritual murder. (Bystander, Oct. 1883)

Every occasion was an opportunity. His review of Anglo-Israel, or the Saxon Race Proved to be the Lost Tribes of Israel in Nine Lectures by the Toronto preacher W.H. Poole, with an introduction by W.H. Withrow, provided Smith with another reason to justify the persecution of Jews even in Spain. Again Jews are intolerant because they will not eat, drink or intermarry with others and specifically in Europe, are usurious and have been exacting the wealth of their Christian neighbours. (Bystander, Jan. 1890)

"He feared for the world for in Medieval times, this 'historian' wrote, they had 'threatened England with the perpetual ascendancy of an alien and unassociable race.....The Jew had prowled as usual on the track of conquest.... plying his tribal trade of finance.... Beholding the Jew's mansion, the Englishman said, as the Russian peasant says now, 'This is my blood!' (The United Kingdom. Toronto, Copp Clark, 1899, vol. 1, pp. 10, 108-10, 185)"

Debate on Russia

In 1881 Smith was recording his affection for the czarist régime in Russia. He mourned the assassination of the "paternal despot" whose powers had been attained legitimately, "one of the greatest farmers and philanthropists who ever sat on a throne... exercising powers which the overwhelming majority of his people, if called upon to vote, would have conformed."

His murderers included "Jews, devoid of patriotism however perverted, and striking for some malignant or interested object of their own." (pp 211-12)

When anti-Semitism in Russia assumed very severe forms after 1880, and world opinion was horrified by what it witnessed, Goldwin Smith came to the defence of the pogromschiki: it was not religion that motivated the murders; it was "only" economic circumstances; Jews had acquired success and power that were intolerable to reasonable Russians. The pogroms were a form of defence against invaders; the sword and rapine legitimate weapons. He consistently defended and legitimized the perpetrators of the pogroms in Russia.

When a Manchester friend wrote to protest, he replied that his critics must be strong Agnostics, a title this scholar assumed was enough to discredit anyone. Such people would tend to impute him with bigotry no matter what he said. In this letter he again defended the Russian government, "with a desperate problem on its hands, trying to resolve it in the only way which can be effective -- by the separation of the races," -- foreshadows of Madagascar, Apartheid and of the ghettos of Warsaw and of Vilna. (Letter to Mrs. Winkworth, January 24, 1882, pp. 102-3)

Similarly, in a letter to Robert Collins, Smith wrote "The Russian fire spreads, as it was sure to do. The rising in Roumania and Moldavia is not anti-Jewish in a religious sense, but it is in the sense of resistance to Jewish intrusion and oppression." (March 24, 1907. pp 482-83)

The black Russian periodical Novoye Vremya cited the Canadian's anti-Jewish writings to prove that British public opinion approved the Russian policy of anti-Semitism. (Jewish Chronicle, December 16, 1881). This is probably the first case of Canadian Jew-hatred being exported, and to Russia at that.

Professor Gotthard Deutsch notes, in 1906, how quickly Smith rose to the defence of pogromist-killers: "On June 14 a pogrom broke out in Bialystok. The daily papers contained the first reports, June 15, and it seems that Professor Goldwin Smith, who lives in Toronto, must have at once sat down to write an article which amounts to as much as saying 'serves them right,' for this article appeared on June 21, in the New York Independent."

"In the midst of peace, under the eyes of the law, both civil and military, some seventy people, amongst them old men, women and infants, are killed, and a writer sits in his study, some four or five thousand miles away, and calmly tells an intelligent public that the thing was not so bad after all."

In this New York article, entitled "Is it Religious Persecution?" Professor Goldwin Smith maintains "in the light of recent events of Russia, his old stand, taken a quarter of a century ago, that the Jew has only himself to blame, if he is persecuted.

"The committee appointed by the Duma to investigate the events in Bialystok found that during the two days of June 14 and 15, 82 Jews and 6 Christians had been killed, and 70 Jews and 12 Christians wounded. The government appointed another committee, which arrived at somewhat different results, finding that, instead of 6 Christians, 7 had been killed, while the Jews killed numbered, not 82, but 75. It may be stated right here, that the Duma report deserves preference, because the official record of the Jewish Cemetery shows, that on June 18, 78 bodies were buried in Bialystok."

Like anti-Semites to-day, Smith could not minimize the outrage and horror of genocide, but he could at least question the statistics of their extent.

The Independent, which had rushed the newsworthy attacks of Professor Smith into print, found no room for the longish response of Dr. Deutsch, who had to content himself with seeing his response limited to the Jewish readers of the Montreal Jewish Times, (Sept. 7 and 21, 1906) who had the least need for his proofs.

Wrote Dr. Deutsch, "This event is not isolated. Similar outrages have occurred now and then, for the last three years. To quote the best known instance: In Odessa, during four days commencing October 31, 1905, 301 people were killed, and thousands wounded, and property to the amount of millions was destroyed.

"In the midst of peace, under the eyes of the officers of the law, both civil and military, some seventy people amongst them, old men, women and infants, are killed, and a writer sits in his study, some four or five thousand miles away, and calmly tells the intelligent public, that the thing was not so bad, after all.

"It is true that Professor Smith says that the outrage is not palliated by inquiring into its cause, but as he goes on, trying to prove that the provocation was all on the Jewish side, that this evil has existed for centuries, and that the qualities of the Jews do not change, even when they leave the Jewish fold; the only inference is, that there is no remedy for the evil, unless all the Jews are disposed of, in the way in which the hooligans of Odessa and Bialystok understood the philosophy of history.

"Of course, Professor Smith may say that, in finding fault with the Jews he spoke expressly and exclusively of those who are unassimilated but, at the same time, he included Benjamin Disrael -- who was never educated as a Jew, and who was baptized at the age of thirteen -- amongst those who prove his theory of the absolute Jewish depravity; and when he says that the transportation of the Negro to America and the dispersion of the Jew are the greatest evils that have befallen mankind, the so-called assimilation of the Jew is at once declared an impossibility.

"Compared with this view, it is a small matter when Professor Smith speaks of exaggerations of the persecutions which the Jews of Russia have suffered. Suppose that in a city of half a million inhabitants, slaughtering was going on for four days. Frightened people flee from cellar to garret, from the roof to the house of a neighbor, down again into a cellar, out into an alley, and everywhere they meet the ghastly faces of cruelly murdered people; they see others fleeing, with the blood streaming down their faces, they hear the bell of the ambulance, which is carrying victims to the hospitals, and the agonizing cries of those who are being kicked, clubbed, or stabbed. Should any one wonder, that in the excitement of these moments, they believe the hundreds to be thousands? Or can any exaggeration add to the impression produced by the fact that among the victims are infants two years of age, or that a Cossack, just for the fun of the matter, grasped a five months' old child by the throat, and held it out in the air until it choked to death, just as naughty boys might do with a bird fallen from the nest. These are facts, which one can only deny, if he would declare the burning of Bruno and Huss, the hanging of Mary Fisher in Massachusetts, the executions of the Puritans in England and the record of the Spanish Inquisition, a myth.

"Goldwin Smith, however, claims that all these facts are not a religious persecution, although, strangely enough, in one instance which I shall illustrate later, he admits it, evidently without being aware that he has overthrown his theory. For the sake of systematically arranging the plea on the Jewish side, I shall divide Mr. Smith's statements according to three principles: The objections to the Jews from the economical, from the ethnological, and from the religious point of view; and, as we are living in a materialistic age, the economical side of the question shall be taken up first.

"The Jews, according to Goldwin Smith, are a parasitic race, a tribe wandering all over the world for the purpose of gain. The metaphor is not very complimentary, as it suggests the vines, which kill the tree they live on, by their embrace. We will, however, not quarrel with Professor Smith on this account, as the expression is not his own, for it has been used by the late Edward von Hartman (Das Judentum in Gegenwart and Zukunft, Leipsig, 1885), and is very likely, older still. If, however, we examine it critically, it will be impossible to give a definition of it. Why are the Jews parasites? They are traders, stock-jobbers, and, in general, intermediaries in the economic life of the world. Granted for a moment that this be so, are they the only ones in this line? Are there no Christian merchants, shop-keepers, stock-jobbers, insurance and book agents, real estate and ship brokers, and any number of other people who make a livelihood by bringing the buyer and seller together? The only answer that I can think of in this case is that the Jew practices his vocation unscrupulously and dishonestly, while the non-Jew is always filled with higher ideals. To such a statement no objection could be raised, because fairness and unfairness are terms which can not be proved by statistical records. But if we consult the statistics of criminality, it will become evident that the Jew shows, on an average, a higher morality than his Christian neighbors. Not wishing to burden this essay with cumbersome notes, I merely refer to the article, 'Criminality of the Jews,' in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Taking the matter up from the standpoint of personal experience, I might add that I attended recently a discussion on the subject of trusts, and one of the debaters, quoting his own business practices in favor of the trusts, answered the objection, raised from a moral point of view, with the plain words, 'I am not in business for my health.' I merely ask the reader whether he is convinced that such a statement could only have been made by a Jew, or whether the great magnates of finance, like Jay Gould, Russell Sage, J.D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan and all the great speculators whose practices have been revealed by Thomas W. Lawson, have not been acting on this principle.

"Merely to defend myself against error I wish to add, that I do not consider the work of a middleman parasitic. Jewish second-hand shopkeepers help to turn castoff articles, valueless and burdensome to their present owner, into articles of value and usefulness. The junk dealer is not a criminal, and his business practices, even if they are somewhat sharp, do not justify anybody in choking that shopkeeper's baby to death, nor in performing the same act of kindness on his neighbor's child who happens to recite his prayers in Hebrew. Further, I do not believe that the publisher -- in this line of business the Jews are almost totally unrepresented -- is anything different from a middleman. I further do not believe that a Jewish storekeeper in New York could do business on any different methods than those employed by John Wanamaker, or Marshall Fields.

Neither of these gentlemen are in business for their health, nor is the self-avowed object of Englishmen wandering all over the globe different from those which Goldwin Smith charges to the Jews. The Spectator of July 14, 1906, says: 'We (the British people) have in most of the dark regions commenced our work with the intention of securing gain.'

"The most important point, however, is that it is absolutely false to say that the Jew is exclusively a middleman. This statement is so grossly false, that it cannot have been made out of ignorance. The New York papers of July 27, contain the report that Meyer Goldstein, a painter, fell from the scaffold, and was killed. The name, Meyer Goldstein, does not suggest Irish descent; still, this same Mr. Goldstein, who may have come from Bialystok and might have been killed there by hooligans if he had not previously gone to New York, is made responsible for the deeds which the good-natured mujik has been goaded into doing. Or should Meyer Goldstein be the only one, amongst the 750,000 Jews of New York, who followed a manual trade, while the remaining 749,999 are sucking the blood of their Christian neighbours? Is it not a matter of public record that the workers in the sweatshops of London, and the large cities of America, are, to a great extent, Jews? Do we not know hundreds of thousands of Jews to be working in the tailor shops, in the shirt, cap and cloak-making trades, in the shoe factories, and the like? This fact is patent with anti-Semitic agitators. They often use it against Jewish immigration, as tending to the pauperization of the masses. Now what is the Jew to do? If he makes money in business, he is ruining his neighbors by taking too much of their money. If he works in the shops at low wages, he is ruining them by not taking enough of their money. So it is the old story of Lessing's Patriarch. 'Thut nichts, der Jude wird verbrannt.' Professor Smith brings another argument from history. The Jew has always been a blood-sucker. He was a money-lender, serving the King, for the purpose of looting his dearly beloved subjects. I shall lay stress on the latter fact, proving from altogether unsuspected sources how little the Jew was to blame for such a condition. The Talmud prohibits the taking of interest-- mind you, the taking of any interest, not merely usury -- as unlawful, even when the creditor is a non-Jew. This is clearly stated in the usual Talmud editions. (Tractate Baba Mezia, page 70b), and pious Jews, in the 12th century, had naturally, very serious scruples. One of their rabbis, Jacob ben Meir, who lived in the Champagne, says, 'What can we do? Since we have to pay burdensometaxes to kings and nobles, no matter at what interest we lend the money, it barely suffices to make a livelihood. Furthermore, we have no other trade left; and therefore, it is just as legitimate to lend money as to follow any other trade.' Professor Smith may take any edition of the Talmud, from any library, or consult any manuscript, all in the possession of non-Jews...."

"It is absolutely proven that the Jews were not money-lenders until after the first Crusade (1096) when the bitter animosity of the mob, fomented by the clergy, relegated the Jews to this trade. How they were driven to high rates of interest can best be established from the fact that from time to time the kings would declare the debts owed to the Jews void, who then settled with their debtors on the basis of one-third of the amount, or in other instances, let the mob pillage the Jewish houses, burn the bonds and take the pledges found in their possession, as long as they received a share of the plunder. (Jewish Encyclopedia, article: Toetbrief)

"Under such conditions the Jew was, by law, excluded from following a manual trade, because this trade was monopolized by the guilds, which would never elect a Jew; he was further excluded from commerce, because this occupation also was controlled by the guilds. Finally, he was absolutely prohibited to hold land, in some countries down to the latter half of the 19th century, while in Russia and Roumania, this prohibition is still in force. In Saxony, as late as 1833, it required a royal order for a Jewish boy to be apprenticed to a trade. In Austria, as late as 1852, a Jew had to fight, in the courts, for the possession of a house in a rural district. In Russia the Jewish agricultural school of Minsk a few years ago was not allowed to buy a farm, beyond the city corporation line. The demand, therefore, that, under these conditions, the Jews should be farmers is equal to the demand that a man, with tied hands and feet, should jump into the water and swim.

"One of the most malicious calumnies of the Jews in Russia is that, by their wealth, they provoke the peasants, who naturally think that this wealth is stolen from them. I do not know whether Professor Smith has ever visited Russia. I have. I can state that in Bialystok alone there are twelve to fifteen thousand Jews working in the woolen mills, in the tanneries and in the tobacco shops. All over the so-called 'Pale of Settlement' in Russia the great majority of the mechanics, cab drivers and other people living by hard labor are Jews. This fact can be tested in this country, where, in every large city a great number of Jewish mechanics will be found, so that, of all charges made by Professor Smith, only one remains: That the Jews are not found, to any large extent, among the farming population. Considering the fact that the laborer in the factory, the mechanic, and the shop-keeper is not a drone of society, it would be no condemnation of the Jews, that they are not farmers, and still, even this is not true. All over the world, the Jews are found amongst the farming population. But even if they were not among the farmers at all, they would merely follow the general tendency of the ordinary population. The general tendency is from rural districts into the city, not the reverse. 'The cry -- Back to the land --' says The Spectator, July 14, 1906, p. 47, 'has not as yet led to any appreciable result.'

"The most serious charge placed against the Jews by Professor Smith is, that they are a different race, and that their 'tribal spirit' prevents them from assimilating with other nationalities. First of all, the intermingling of the two terms, tribe and race, is directly illogical. The Jew is certainly not a race, in the sense in which we speak of the negro, or of the Mongol race. What keeps him separate is his religion. The best proof of it is that a Jew who changes his religion is immediately absorbed by the people which he joins, at the moment when he professes his new faith. It is further a fact that the Jew does not present a different tribe, race, nationality, or whatever you may call it. While the majority of the Jews are descended from Jews, they have, from time immemorial, received into their covenant, people of other nationalities

"The absolute impossibility of making such a definition of Jews as a tribal denomination is increased by the question of nationality. Why should the child of a German Jew, born in America, be less American, than the child of a German Catholic? Or why should the great grandchild of an immigrant Jew be less American than William McKinley, the son of an Irish immigrant? Is there anything like inherited nationality in these days even in countries which, for years, have had a staple population? England had amongst her statesmen, Murdella, an Italian, Labouchere, evidently of French descent, while France has had her Wilson, Waddington and Thompson. Germany has now three members of the Cabinet, with decidedly Slavic names: Posadowsky, Podbielski and Tschirsky and she has had, in former times, a chancellor by the name of Caprivi. Russia has any number of prominent public men with German names. I mention Lamsdorff, Voelkersam, von Plehve, and the same is true of all other nations. In the ruling families this is still more pronounced. The English king is the son of a German father, and there is very little, if any, who was unable to speak English correctly. This clearly proves that nationality is a matter of choice; and still Professor Smith claims that Disraeli, English born, and the son of English-born parents, was not British, but merely a Jew. Even Disraeli's interference in the peace of San Stephano, and his successful effort to keep Russia from seizing Constantinople, is counted against him, as a proof of the unassimilative character of the Jews.

"Perhaps Professor Smith's antipathy to Disraeli may be the cause of his anti-Jewish feelings, for twenty-five years ago he claimed that Disraeli created Jingoism for the purpose of Jewish prpaganda (The Nineteenth Century, 1881, pp. 494-515). This statement is equal to the other, that the Jews of Johannesburg, although cosmopolitan, carried Great Britain into the Boer war. Leaving the question unsettled as to whether it was such a crime, that people holding considerable property wanted to protect themselves against the arbitrary rule of a medieval theocracy, I do not know of any Jew who could be

held responsible for the Boer war unless it were Alfred Beit who, born of Jewish parents, was raised as a Christian. Surely Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson were not Jews. It is a strange thing that Alexander Dumas, the son of a mulatto father, and of a Jewish mother, could become a Frenchman?

"The tribal spirit of the Jews is responsible for the fact that the Russian Jews are charged with eating into the core of the Muscovite nationality. It would seem too palpable a truth to retort that there is no Muscovite nationality, but that Russia has several dozens of nationalities, the Russian forming only one-half of the population of the empire; and Jews living mostly amongst the Poles, or in that part of the Russian Empire which was formerly Polish. Their existence in this country is proven by laws regulating their condition dating as early as 1264. Consequently, their claims to the territory is older than that of Russia.

"History, however, seems to have little weight with Professor Smith, or else he could not say that Tacitus called the Jews the enemies of all races. As no quotation is given, I must believe that Professor Smith's reference, often quoted by anti-Semites, is found in Tacitus' Annales (xv. 4), where he speaks of 'odium generis humani.' A careful reading of this passage would convince Professor Smith that this refers to the Christians. Tacitus speaks in this passage of the conflagration of Rome. He says that Nero accused the Christians of having set Rome on fire in order to avert suspicion from himself. Tacitus clears the Christians of this accusation but says that they deserved their fate for their hatred of mankind, and in connection with this statement charges them with a number of vile habits. This passage, as I stated before, has often been referred to the Jews and occurs again and again in anti-Semitic literature although; even in the German Reichstag (February 13, 1893) this interpretation was proven to be wrong. I lay stress on this fact merely to prove the inaccuracy of Goldwin Smith's statements in historical matters, not because it would condemn the Jews if Tacitus had charged them with such an attitude toward the non-Jewish world.....

"The only remedy which Professor Smith seems to hold out to the Jews, if they wish to escape the fate of their co-religionists in Russia, seems to be contained in the words: 'The Jew may presently learn to give up the tribal rites, which conflict with a full sense of nationality, to intermarry, to associate freely, and to keep the same day of rest.' This statement leads us at once into the religious side of the question, which Professor Smith, by the very title of his essay, makes an absolutely indifferent matter. While not minimizing the fact that there is an objection amongst the Jews to intermarriage, I first of all wish to point out that it is not exclusively found amongst the Jews.....

"Professor Smith speaks, in a vague way, of the tribal rite. I can only imagine that he refers to circumcision. Leaving aside the hygienic question, it would seem to me evident that no law has any right to interfere with religious convictions. Granted that circumcision is a barbarous rite, but from the point of view of logic there is no reason why it should be prohibited by law, while the belief in transubstantiation, or for that matter, in the vicarious atonement, and in the practices built on these dogmas, such as the Lord's Supper, Supreme Unction, etc., should be more reasonable. This being a delicate matter, I wish to be clearly understood. I do not attack any of these dogmas or practices, but I merely see no reason for declaring that circumcision ought to be prohibited as contrary to the spirit of modern civilization. Will there not be a possibility that, some day an Ingersoll might make a demand that baptism, being a gross superstition, ought to be prohibited by law? This argument refers to the Day of Rest, just as well. We have now quite a number of Seven Day Baptists and Adventists. There was Alexander Webb, a convert to Islam, who made propaganda for conversion to Mohammedanism. Supposing he would have been successful? Is it not the noblest idea which the Prophet of Israel has proclaimed 'that all the peoples will walk everyone in the name of his god?'

"A word must be said on the Talmudic Jew, whom Goldwin Smith attacks so bitterly. Let me first of all say that the Talmudic Jew does not exist any more than the 'tribal' Jew. If Professor Smith were capable of the slightest degree of fairness he would notice that in America, as well as in Western Europe, the observance of the Sabbath in business is a very rare exception. He would see, not only in passing along Broadway, that there is perhaps not one Jewish business house closed on the seventh day. He could even notice in the heart of the 'Ghetto', on Canal Street, that the push-cart trade is flourishing on Saturday more than on any week-day, although buyers and sellers are both Jews. The expression, Talmudic Jew, is a meaningless, anti-Semitic phrase. The Talmud is partly a code, regulating the ritual and the civil laws of the Jews, and partly in a scholastic and strictly theoretical way, treating on the biblical laws which have not been practical for 2,000 years. Talmudic literature also contains historical and archeological statements, folk-lore and ethical teachings, many of which are not laid down as laws, any more than the ethnical theories of Goldwin Smith are part of the American Constitution, because they appeared in a New York periodical. This does not mean that the Talmud is an altogether condemnable book. The Talmud teaches patriotism as a duty, enjoins moral principles in commercial life, praises menial labor and is very emphatic on the duty of gratitude to one's teachers, and on the importance of cultivating the intellect.

Of course, there are a number of antiquated statements in the Talmud. Rabbis of 1600 years ago believed that the sun revolved around the earth and, provoked by oppression, made, here and there, bitter statements against the Romans and the Parthians. Supposing that these statements are somewhat more objectionable than the compliments paid by Tacitus and other Roman authors to the Christians. Could any Roman in our days be held responsible for what Tacitus said in the days of Rabbi Akiba? Still, Goldwin Smith claims that the Jew is not 'tolerant' now. His diatribe will certainly not foster the spirit of toleration which alone can bring about the progress of the world.

"How do we account for the hostility to the Jews? It has three causes: Snobbery, bigotry and that mental inertia which is responsible for the survival of many other antiquated ideas."

DEFENDER OF CHRISTIANITY

Smith began a controversy with the distinguished editor of the London Jewish World, Lucien Wolf who expressed his "all-consuming indignation" over the extent of European anti-Semitism in the Nineteenth Century. Turning the race monger's argument against them, especially when they flaunted any defects of character they could find among any Jews, he ascribed these failures to "the demoniac" attitude of Christianity towards them.

Christianity had its defender in Goldwin Smith. (Bystander, April, 1881, pp 214-17)

"Is Christianity accountable for the original tendencies of the Semitic race, for the perfidy of the Carthaginian, for the propensity of the Phoenician to cheating and kidnapping? Is Christianity accountable for those special features of Jewish character which were already noted by the Pagan satirist Juvenal, at a time when, instead of being the victim of Christian persecution, the Jew was persecuting the Christian? Is Christianity accountable for the peculiarities contracted by a parasitic race, without a country of its own, wandering over the earth to suck up by usury the earnings of other nations?"

"Mr. Montagu Samuel, another Jewish writer, in his 'Jewish Life in the East,' frankly admits that his people, even in their original seat, are 'infected with that dislike for manual labour which forms at once the strength of their upper, and the destruction of their lower, classes.' When people are infected with a dislike for manual labour, who can prevent them from descending to disreputable trades?"

"Among the instances of the demoniacal conduct of Christianity given by Mr. Wolf, is the conduct of Christian rulers in forbidding the Jews to hold Christians as slaves. This, he says, prevented the Jews from competing successfully in agricultural pursuits. That the Jew should work with his own hands was, of course, out of the question. The Christian, ensnared by his money power, must be his bondsman and toil for him.

"His aim in Germany is to make the German his hewer of wood and drawer of water, while he draws the wealth to himself by his financial craft. We now understand the quarrel of the Christian Socialist with the Jew; and see that there is a social and economical ground for it, irrespective of religion.

"Men are hardly ever 'demoniac', nations never. Christian communities of the Middle Ages were in an early stage of civilization and could no more help it than the germ can help not being a plant. They were organized, equally in accordance with the tendencies of the period, on the basis of a national religion; and they were engaged, at the time when the feeling against the Jews was most strongly shown, in a struggle with Islam, which threatened to overflow the West with its conquering hordes and to substitute its gross militarism, its despotism, its fatalism, its polygamy, and its filthiness for what must be pronounced, apart from theological questions, to have been a far higher and more moral state of society.

"The Crusades, like the Mahometan conquest, were tainted with fanaticism; but they saved Christendom with all the germs and all the hopes that it bore in it: We cannot take part with the Jews and their Agnostic supporters in flinging dirt on the stately tombs of the Crusaders, who gave up home, lordship, and all material objects, to die on Syrian sands for the highest cause they knew.

"Religious liberty had not then been born; but the priests from whom our medieval ancestors learned the duty of persecution themselves learned it from the Jewish books, which prescribe the wholesale massacre of the people of idolatrous cities, and punish with death by stoning the worship of strange gods, blasphemy, Sabbath breaking and every kind of offence against religion. The most hideous of all Christian superstitions - witch burning - flowed from the same source.

"On these communities the Jew, an alien and a religious enemy, thrust himself in quest of gain; he ground the people with usury, and provoked their hatred fully as much in this way as by antagonism to their religion. The consequences were for ever deplorable; but they were perfectly natural, and by no means prove that the Christians of the Middle Ages were demons.

"Let a number of aliens, no matter of what race or creed, thrust themselves into any nation in the same stage of progress and condition as medieval Christendom then was, and the same sad results will follow.

"On the other hand, Mr. Wolf may with justice say that the attempts of Christian Churches to convert the Jews, though well meant, and proofs of a feeling anything but demoniac, have been injudicious, and may well have seemed to the Jews insulting.

"The Jew, instead of being the best, is the worst of all subjects for missionary enterprise; because his religion, instead of being a matter of opinion and thus assailable by argument, is a matter of race, as is most plainly avowed by Mr. Wolf, who takes his stand decisively on the anti-social and anti-national principle of non-intermarriage. The difficulty is in some respects even greater than it is in a case of caste. Millions probably have, by this time, been squandered on the Jewish Missions, the fruits of which have been absurdly scanty, and sometimes far from edifying. Rousseau's Jew, who goes about being converted, and each time getting money as a neophyte, is no mere creature of the fancy.

"Nor can there be anything in the theological sphere less worthy of exceptional interest than a creed which, having been once spiritual and tended to be universal, has sunk back into a religion of race; any embers less likely to repay fanning than those of a Judaism from which the fire of David and the prophets has departed; any people less chosen than that, which of all others, has most signally and steadfastly rejected the Gospel of Humanity.

"As though there were not difficulty enough in the relations between the Christian nations and the two tribes, excellent persons devote their lives to a search for the other ten, which, no doubt, blended with the Semitic populations, into the midst of which they were carried captive, but which a pious fancy discovers now in Afghanistan, now in Wales.

"This hunt for the ten tribes appears lately to have formed a singular union with Jingoism, under the name of Anglo-Israel. The Anglo-Saxons, it seems, were Jews who, having found it agreeable to transfer themselves to a cooler abode on the shore of the German Ocean, left off long noses, threw the books of Moses into the sea, took to the worship of Woden, and became a nest of corsairs. Nothing less than the resumption of the long noses will convince us of the fact.

"It may be hoped that, after the explanations of the real nature of Judaism which these occurrences have called forth, the waste of money and energy on Jewish missions will abate. Let the religion of the Jew be simply treated with respect and left unassailed: surrounding influences will act upon it in course of time.

"It is also to be hoped that the Christian communities will be led seriously to consider the still more important question whether it is right any longer to read the Jewish scriptures promiscuously in churches, or to commend them in the mass as divine oracles to the unlearned people. It must be obvious to all that scandals and dangers result from the practice.

"Such passages as those relating to the destruction of the heathen Canaanites and the occupation of their land; to the treatment of Gentiles generally; to the tortures inflicted by David, 'the man after God's own heart,' on prisoners of war; to the punishment of misbelief or religious perversion with death; to the the execution of witches; to the use of the ordeal; to acts of patriarchs, deemed moral in a primitive state, but which are now moral no longer; and even many of those relating to a religious system of ceremony, sacrifice, and vicarious atonement, ought surely to be removed from the lectionary.

"This is the arsenal of the Ingersolls, and most formidable are the projectiles which it contains. The passages do not shock or mislead the critic versed in antiquities and the comparative philosophy of history, who recognizes in them relics of the tribal state, while he notes the broadening stream of spiritual sentiment which makes its way through them till at last it issues in Christianity.

"But the uncritical they must shock or mislead; that they have had the latter effect is terribly apparent from the annals of Christendom. Bishop Colenso, and not he alone of Christian divines, has openly recoiled from them; Dean Mansel exhausted his sophistry in trying to reconcile our moral sense to them, and exhausted it in vain. No part of the Old Testament ought any longer to be treated as a part of Christian teaching which is not really cognate to Christianity".

His murky controversies with the Jews were constant, inevitably confused with misquotations and misunderstandings that fed on ill will.

In December 1881 he inaccurately ascribed to the very responsible Jewish Chronicle of London some fanatically anti-Christian comments that had appeared elsewhere, and used this mal-attribution for an anti-Jewish article in the Pall Mall Magazine of December 27. The Chronicle repudiated the views under Smith's discussion in its issue of December 30 (p. 4,10), and Christian readers such as George Hurst of Bedford disavowed Smith's views. (Jan. 13, 1883)

Smith pursued his controversy with Mr. Wolf in the Nineteenth Century with a reply that was reprinted in Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly. (vol. 8, 1882, pp 198-212), repeating his insinuations about the excessive homage being paid in Britain to Jewish wealth; Jews are seeking to push Britain and Canada into war with Russia for their own purposes; Jewish extortionist practices against Eastern Christians; Jewish refusal of intermarriage, exclusiveness, etc., make them poor citizens; their divided allegiance (as that of Catholics); their equivocal influence through the secretly enslaved organs of an ostensibly independent press; Rumanians, Russians and Germans in reality are tolerant of the Jewish religion; it is offensive behaviour by Jews

that arouses hatred, -- Jewish antipathy to labour; Jewish tribalism, their failure to proselytize like the House of Lords; the Jews massacred the Canaanites, Jacob cheated Esau, the Israelites despoiled the Egyptians; the Old Testament is instinct with sanguinary tribalism and vindictive malediction, and so on for twenty packed pages.

Sometimes Smith struggled with the Christian and with the liberal he called himself. Finding himself hating the people who discovered the One God for Christianity -- finding himself preaching anti-Semitism, he fought back against himself. Like Arcand and Arafat later, he denied anti-Semitism even as he was vigorously promoting it. As Smith wrote to George Freeman on June 5, 1905 (Correspondence, p. 441),

"The term 'anti-Semitic' is applicable to me if it means simply fear of political, social, and financial influence, without the slightest shadow of religious antipathy, from which I can truly say that I am absolutely free.

"However, it appears to me that the Jewish monotheism, even if it were absolutely identical with ours, which it hardly is, is so bound up with the other elements of Semitism or Judaism -- call it which you will -- that it would be impossible to disentangle it, and to make it the foundation of a united Church. I should despair of seeing such a consummation even if in my hour-glass there were more sand to run.

"We must be content, I think, with spontaneous and informal approximation, which will lead gradually to unity of action -- possibly, in the end, of religious profession."

VIEWS ON OLD TESTAMENT

Smith's approach to the Jewish religion in 1880, as he spelled it out at the end of the year, was quite positive.

"The New Testament itself says that Moses gave the Jews some things because of the hardness of their hearts, that is, of course, not because of their wickedness, but because their moral development was imperfect. Orthodoxy itself, if it keeps terms with reason, allows that the method of divine dealing with man is that of gradual training, not of sudden advancement to perfection.

"Mosaism in its presentation of Deity, in its cosmogony, in its institutions, social, religious, political, military, domestic and juridical, belongs to the primitive and tribal state: to denounce and ridicule its primitive and tribal character is, in the eyes of well-informed and sensible critics, a mere platitude. The question is, whether we do not perceive in it, as compared with other primitive and tribal civilizations, an upward moral tendency, which renders it a memorable step in the progress of the race. We look in the Old Testament only for the beginnings of spiritual life; yet nobody can trace those beginnings in the twenty-ninth and the following Psalms, or in certain passages of the Prophets, without a feeling widely different from contempt.

"If the Old Testament were a mass of absurdities and immoralities, could it by any force of mere tradition have kept its hold on the reverence and affection of multitudes in the most highly civilized nations? Would the sacred books of any other primitive nation have done the same? If the Mosaic code and polity were on a level with those of other barbarous tribes, would men in the age and with the culture of the Puritans have imagined, however erroneously, that they were a divine ideal of government and law? Newton rested satisfied with the cosmogony of Genesis which came into no decisive collision with his science: would he have rested satisfied with any other cosmogony that could be named?

"Say that a great deal of the Old Testament, especially the history of the tribal wars, belongs to the past, to the ages before humanity; say that those portions of it ought no more to be read in churches; and we shall heartily agree with you. But let us be true critics and do justice to the past.

"Even as to those tribal wars and the exterminating precepts connected with them (which it is a comfort to think were probably speculative, having been penned when the wars were really over), they differ from their counterparts in the history of other tribes, not by special ferocity, but in having, not merely a territorial or predatory but a moral object. The lawgiver wanted to save his people from contamination by the presence of an impure religion and a depraved morality; the Dorian invaders of Peloponnese, the Huns, the Danes, the Iroquois, had no such aim.

"Mosaism is the very reverse of favourable to militarism or to conquest. It is a remarkable attempt to give peaceful industry, embodied in a community of agricultural freeholders, a complete ascendancy over war. It bids the people, of course, fight bravely in defence of their land, and enjoins the priests to encourage them in doing so, as in a world of rapine necessity required. But it does not exalt military achievement or the military character as they were exalted by Greece and Rome: it ordains no triumphs or special rewards for the warrior; provides no military training. Much less does it - like the Koran - open heaven to those who fall in battle against the uncircumcised.

"It is opposed to monarchy, the military form of government, and if there is to be a king, forbids him to multiply horses, the almost indispensable instruments of conquest. It discourages the existence of a military profession by prescribing that the 'captains of the armies' to lead the people shall be chosen only when the people are actually in the field. It almost absolutely precludes wars of mere ambition when it prohibits forced service, by which the great armies of eastern conquerors were raised. He that has built a new house, he that has planted a new vineyard, and the newly-married man, are to be exempted altogether; but besides these, every one that is 'fearful and faint-hearted' is to be allowed to return to his home.

"The keynote of Jewish history is not military or territorial greatness, but righteousness, which is identified with loyal obedience to Jehovah.

"We might deal with other points of comparative civilization or morality in the same way. The Avenger of Blood is an institution universal in the tribal state before the introduction of regular justice: but the Mosaic law limits the privileges of the avenger to cases of wilful murder; it forbids the blood feud, ordaining that the fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither the children for the fathers, but every man for his own sin: it also forbids the blood fine or money compensation for blood; inculcating with a unique clearness the sanctity of human life, and declaring that murder shall be punished with death.

"The right of asylum is universal, but the Mosaic law restrains its abuses, by limiting the number of cities of refuge and confining the privilege to cases of unintentional homicide; he who commits a murder with malice prepense is to be taken from the altar that he may die. The absolute power of the father over his children was universal; but while a Roman father might put his son to death privately, of which there was a case under the Empire, the Hebrew father is required to bring his rebellious son before the elders in the gate of the city, and the concurrence of the mother, who would be sure to be on the side of mercy, is required.

"The ordeal was universal, but the Mosaic law confines it to one case, the water of jealousy, which seems to be more a device for allaying domestic suspicion than a superstitious mode of trial. Sacrifices are universal, but there are no human sacrifices in the Mosaic ritual. Expiatory offerings for national sin are universal, but among the Hebrews the offering was a goat, among the Athenians it was a man.

"Slavery is universal, but of all slave-codes, ancient or modern, the Hebrew is the mildest; its tendency is to do away with slavery altogether, and in Hebrew history there is no trace of servile insurrection or discontent. Hereditary priesthood is common, but the Levites are prevented from becoming a caste by being consecrated in the general assembly, and by the laying on of the hands of the whole people.

"Laws of war in the tribal state hardly existed, no common bond of humanity being known; but the Hebrew is enjoined to summon a city regularly before attacking it, not to destroy the fruit trees, which the Greek always destroyed, and to show at least some tenderness for the sorrows of the captive women. All tribes think themselves the chosen people of their tribal deity, but in place of legends of national pride, the Hebrews were taught that a Syrian ready to perish was their father, that they had been brought out of bondage by a God who executed the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and that they were to love the stranger, for they had been strangers in the land of Egypt. Finally, the character of the tribal deity was such, and such his worship, that in the best and most spiritual part of the nation they passed naturally, though not without a crisis, into universal Fatherhood and a religion of Humanity." (pp.568-72)

His fixation on the menace of Jewish tribalism -- as represented by circumcision and by their attitude to intermarriage -- dictated his views on Renan's The Very Words of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as he reviewed the book in his Bystander of July 1883.

His own war against the Jewish Bible lasted long. As late as 1909 he published his collection of short essays, No Refuge but in Truth, (2nd enlarged edition. N.Y. Putnam, vii, 93 p.) consisting of letters he had written to the New York Sun.

As a Christian he had trouble accepting even the New Testament as divine revelation. The Old Testament is a tribal document, full of situations which indicate an inferior morality or none at all, at best a part of the history of a group of men, sometimes redeemed by poetry and prophecy, a praiseworthy book only in relation to the writings of its contemporaries.

In a long essay on "The Old Testament and the Church", included in Guesses at the Riddle of the Universe, and other Essays on Kindred Subjects, (New York, Macmillan, 1897, pp. 49-96) Smith set out all the faults, flaws, errors, contradictions, immoralities and horrors he could find in this foundation of the Jewish and Christian faiths and called for its dethronement. Even though Christ himself seemed unaware of the low estate of the Written Law which was the basis of His teachings, to Smith, the teachings of the Old Testament culminated in "the perpetuation of tribalism of the most hateful kind by a vast cosmopolitan race of usurers wandering over the world without a country, treating, in their pride of race, their fellow men as gentiles and unclean, preying on all the nations, and inevitably hatred by them."

The Montreal Jewish Times teased the local missionaries who directed efforts at local Jews,

"To Rev. Mr. McCarter and those good people who support him in his self-elected mission for the conversion of Jews to Protestantism, we commend some observations which have lately fallen from 'A Bystander,' in the Toronto Weekly Sun." There Smith had written,

"All these disputes about the exact nature of a sacrament, the proper forms of ritual, or even ecclesiastical dogma, are matters of comparatively little interest to most of us in any case, and, unless the fundamental facts and doctrines can be proved, matters of no interest whatsoever. What are the sources and what is the authority of the Gospels? Was the founder of Christianity divine or human? These are the questions to which theologians are now called upon to address themselves in a plain and straightforward manner, if they wish to satisfy the minds of men."

The Jewish Times continues to note,

"As the points contained in the above extract do not affect Judaism either in its faith or practices, we will leave to the theologians the task of replying to them, merely premising that Mr. McCarter will have to settle them to the satisfaction of 'A Bystander' before he can presume to approach a Jew with his 'plan of salvation.'" (January 6, 1899)

"MAN OF POLAND" ALARMS

His attack on Jews as a civic liability to any country in which they live was a forerunner of horrors which grew in the half-century following his publication; even more shocking, Smith -- the unhesitant apologist for the brutes -- who translated the measured sympathy of his Victorian press into hatchet and rape language. With Satanic prophecy he directed his advice, in Nineteenth Century (vol.18, 1881, p. 510) to the Germans whom he urged that they face "the great compactness of tribal organization and corporate activity on the side of the Hebrew." He was confident of his analysis and program. "All these centuries of aspiration and of upward effort...are not going to terminate in the ascendancy of the Jews."

Smith's attack on the Jews in Nineteenth Century evoked another point-by-point reply from Rabbi Herman Adler in the issue that appeared at the end of November, 1881. (Editorial in Jewish Chronicle of Dec. 16; and "First Notice," Dec. 2, 1881, p. 10 and "Second Notice," Dec. 9, 1881, pp. 16-17)

Smith's anti-Semitic article disturbed Joseph Bernstein, Montreal correspondent of the St. Petersburg Hebrew Hamelitz. He detected all too familiar continental tones in this savant from the heart of Anglo-Saxon culture, and an indication that security for the Jews is not absolute, even in the New World. (vol. 20, no. 3, 1884, pp. 511-13)

Under the signature of "Man of Poland" he wrote in his quality as new immigrant, "In recent years the migration movement has come to grow among our brethren in Europe, and their eyes turned to distant lands in the thought that they might find a place of peace even at the ends of the world, so that they may cease from fleeing before the menace of anti-Semitism which has begun to spread in European lands in the past three years. But where can our unhappy brethren flee? Where can they find that rest which has eluded them so many times?

"It would be a mistake for them to say: 'We shall go to America, the new land which is offering us a refuge, for there we shall have peace and serenity; for there, there is no distinction between the son of Japheth and the son of Shem, and in this land the wolf lives side by side with the kid, and the leopard rests with the sheep.'

"No, my brethren, the sons of my people, look into matters very carefully and examine the condition of your brethren in the lands of America, as well as in other countries before you uproot yourselves and begin your wanderings.

"You will see that you have erred in your first judgement. If you come to the New World you will quickly learn that you are leaning on a hollow reed. Here, too, we are considered as strangers in a land that is not ours; here too we will meet the incarnations of Haman, of Stoecker and of others who are waiting impatiently for the day when they can make nothing of the Sons of Shem and pour their anger upon the Jewish people.

"It is indeed not long since a new anti-Semite by the name of Dr. Goldwin Smith has come forth in The Nineteenth Century magazine to undermine the condition of the Sons of Israel in this country, to make them seem unworthy in the eyes of the people, and to turn the heart of its residents against the Jews who live among them. Thanks to the Lord who is on high, this wicked man has come to realize that his words did not strike root in the heart of the inhabitants of this country and that he had few listeners, and they had not been able to find occasion to attack the Jews as in other countries. This indeed had been the hope of this anti-Semite, and it was in this direction that he had moved.

"But who can assure us that his hope can be maintained for the future, particularly if our numbers will increase in this country? We cannot in good faith say to ourselves: 'We have established a covenant with the people of this country, and the storms and floods of other places will not reach us.'

"For who would have believed ten years ago, even in Russia and in Germany, that the devil of anti-Semitism would arise again to renew the crusades of Europe and to awaken in the 19th century the horrors of the Inquisition at a time when civilization reached its peak? Who could have told us that the leper of anti-Semitism, who appeared to have passed from the face of the world, would once again seize upon the heart of the peoples and cause them to fall upon us?

"What source of strength can there be in this country which might turn the trend into another direction? For Russia is like the New World and Germany is like the other countries of the globe; both here and there we live among scorpions; here, too, as there, the fanaticism of faith, the national hatred and primitive opinions rise against us to destroy us.

"Let those who scorned the sacred and sublime concept of the settlement of the Land of Israel come here and they will become convinced that, unless there is a freehold of land which bears our name, the Land of Israel, we can have no assurance among the nations of the world among whom we live, and that every device and aid we may seek to remove from us the burden of anti-Semitism will be foiled; they will then realize that only in our hands lies the possibility to bring our people out from darkness into light and from enslavement to eternal redemption."

TO FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

Publishing voluminously as he was in the most prestigious journals and from the most reputable houses, Smith, nevertheless, asked his New York friend, George Freeman, "Is there such a thing as a paper or a periodical which is not controlled by the Jews?...They seem to be behind the press everywhere, or at least are able to muzzle it." (May 26, 1906, in Arnold Haultain, Ed., A Selection from Goldwin Smith's Correspondence, Comprising Letters Chiefly to and from his English Friends, Written between the Years 1846 and 1910. Toronto, McClelland and Goodchild, p. 462)

In his Goldwin Smith, His Life and Opinions, Haultain, Smith's literary executor, draws a caricature from the black comics (London, Werner Laurie, pp. 125-26),

"Today the Professor rode his anti-Semitic hobby, but rode it with a snaffle.

"'I have heard from So-and So,' he said; 'hear what he says,'

"What So-and-So said was that the Jews were year by year gaining a greater hold upon the newspaper press and influencing public opinion through those channels. Not even the Times, he averred, was exempt.

"The Professor thoroughly endorsed this view in all its details. 'I have always said this,' he began. 'My friend Laister, who had excellent opportunities for knowing, told me the same thing. The Jews even got hold of Christian religious periodicals.'"

Another time, "These Jews hang together. There is a tacit understanding amongst them. A real danger lurks beneath their efforts. I don't like to say too much on this subject. I don't like to appear to be ventilating a craze; but that it is a fact I am convinced.... Milner, they say, is a German. I wonder ...I shouldn't be surprised... there may be Jewish blood in Milner's veins," and we pulled down several books to shed light on Lord Milner's pedigree, to no avail.

"It is a real danger," he went on, after a pause; "The Jews have one code of ethics for themselves, another for the Gentile. They never forgot the Levitical injunction which permits them to sell carrion to the stranger but not to each other."

Discussing "Perils of the Republic" in the North American Review in 1907, Smith found a symptom: a Jewish mayor of San Francisco!

His work on "The Jewish Question" in his Essays on the Questions of the Day, Political and Social (London, Macmillan, 1893, pp. 219-60) is to this day among the most seriously anti-Semitic writings to emanate from this country. The fact that a house such as Macmillan has published it should not be lost from sight.

When he was not attacking Jews openly, under his own name, or using his recognized pseudonym "Bystander," he would do so under less easily identifiable noms de plume as "A Reader" (e.g., in the Montreal Star of March 1899 when he criticized Bishop Usher's eloquent defence of the Jews)

The Jewish Times identified the anonymous "Reader" as Smith and found it not quite in keeping with his dignity to be quoting himself.

In its response to the "Reader" who is shown to be Smith, the Jewish Times chides him,

"The quotation attributed to 'somebody' is properly credited to 'A Bystander' who, as everybody knows, writes for the Toronto Weekly Sun. It appeared in that journal several months ago, and was repeated in almost identical language in subsequent issues. Curious it certainly is to see it coming up again in this guise as the utterance of 'somebody'. The writer of the letter is too modest, we think, but neither his modesty nor his personality is concealed by his mask. But we will let that pass. A literary free lance may be permitted, for he cannot be prevented, to fight Indian fashion from behind any bush or tree he finds handy. But he ought to buy a new gun and some smokeless power, if he does not want to be found out.

"The historical references in the extract are, however, worthy of passing notice. The phrase 'moral quarantine' is not well chosen. Quarantine is always for those who are supposed to lack a clean bill of health, while, as the correspondent shows, not the Jews but the 'surrounding nations were wrapped in heathen blindness and immorality.' The Jews, he says, were made the custodians of Divine Light, and he goes on to argue that now when --

"Other nations have accepted at the hand of the Jew "the Bible -- the foundation of the moral law of Christendom," why should it be regarded as the will of Heaven that these restrictions should continue? And, now that others than Jews not only practise the maxims of the Bible but seek through the world-wide circulation of that book to lead savages of the Antipodes to follow Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the paths of righteousness, is it just or generous to keep those who do so at arm's length socially, as if they were morally as leprous as the old-world heathen?"

"Other nations have not accepted the Bible as the Jews, to whom it belongs, understand it. They have only accepted it insofar as they can make use of it to support the claims of what they consider a later revelation and, having done so, they pronounce it superseded, and abandon it. Evidence is not wanting that at a period long anterior to Christianity other nations by whom the Jews were then surrounded did something of the same sort. They appropriated what suited them from the sacred books and held that what they thus accepted testified to the truth of their idolatries and worship of strange gods. Thus regarded, and considering the sublime fact that the Jews have to this day maintained the purity of the law throughout centuries of exile and persecution, may it not occur to the mind of 'A Reader' that his 'moral quarantine' still continues? What right has he to assume that the nations by whom the Jews are surrounded today are less wrapped in heathen blindness and immorality than were the nations of antiquity? Can Russia, or France, or sections of Austria, or parts of Germany be truthfully described as less blindly heathen than the ancient nations from whom the Jews were separated? Can Paris, or Berlin, or Vienna, or St. Petersburg, or London, or Montreal for that matter, be honestly proclaimed more free from immorality than was Egypt in the time of Moses, or Babylon in the time of the captivity? To these questions there is but one answer -- No! Hence it follows that there was never a time in the long history of Israel when it more behooved him to guard with utmost vigilance the inestimable treasure of his heritage."
(March 17, 1899)

The Canadian Application

As "Bystander" surveyed the Canadian scene in the Toronto Sun, and observed the flow of immigrants, he noted that Chinese can be useful to this country, but the Polish Jews, many of whom are on their way to this country, are "perverters of morals." It remained for the Jewish Times of Montreal to attempt to counter toxin with words, (Aug. 3, Sept. 28, 1900)

It is difficult to tell whether the Montreal Witness was influenced by Toronto when it, too, wrote that the Galicians from Austria and Doukhobors from Russia are very desirable immigrants, but that "the same cannot be said for any Jews who have yet to be brought here in numbers." And the Montreal Star reported that the Jewish immigrants from Rumania have "created a situation full of menace to every wage earner in the city. Already residents and householders of Montreal have been dismissed from their employment and deprived of a livelihood to make room for these Rumanians at a wage just about half that which has been paid to the French Canadian and English Canadian." (Jewish Times, August 17, 1900)

As we consider the phenomenon of this literate anti-Semite and his impact upon society, we find it difficult to measure the extent of his influence and the actual damage he inflicted upon his Jewish victims.

When the reader of another decade is reduced to reliance upon documentation, the problem is indeed difficult and is not confined to the case of Goldwin Smith. It arises as much in Quebec as in Ontario.

The reader in this case is faced with the subtle mechanism of the social force of political and intellectual function in the Anglo-Saxon world, and the particular role and status of the independent thinker, and often of his place in social class. The historian of British Jewry has this issue before him during the entire period before the death of Hitler.

In the Ontario case we can only note the highly placed group which was nourished for years from Smith's Grange, and his influence on Mackenzie King and on Bourassa which is documented.

Most tragically, we can measure it by the thermometer of Canadian anti-Semitism: the role these teachings played in the crucial thirties when they barred the gates of Canada to the refugees fleeing Germany and Poland during the months before Canada entered the World War in 1939.

His theories fed the Anglo-Saxon racists who were concerned with the future of a Canada shaped by immigration. Those who looked askance at the peopling of the west with east Europeans evoked the ideal of the superior Anglo-Saxon race and the pure vision of its civilization created in northern North America without the noxious interference of Poles, Hungarians, Galicians or Ukrainians.

As Stuart Rosenberg notes, he was so opposed to affording Jewish refugees from Russian persecution a haven in Canada that he sent an open letter to Thomas Greenway, the Premier of Manitoba who was friendly to the idea of Jewish immigration. This was published in the Manitoba Free Press on January 24, 1891:

"It seems that you are taking in a number of helpless Jews who are being driven out by the European population. These people, besides their want of agricultural aptitude, are as a rule not producers of native labour. It is on this account and from hatred of their financial practices, not on account of their religion, that the people of Europe, and especially the peasantry, be rising against them.'

"Smith's antagonism to these European Jews was shared by the influential editor of the Evening Telegram, and it is not surprising that together they helped implant a negative community attitude to non-English immigrants in general and to Jews in particular. This influence would continue to survive until the end of World War II." (The Jewish Community of Canada. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1970. vol. 1, p. 157)

Even more surprising was an attack from a McGill scholar who was much closer to the Jewish heritage. Dr. John Clark Murray had been on the faculty of Queen's and was professor of philosophy at McGill. He had become interested in Solomon Maimon through George Eliot's Daniel Deronda, and had issued his translation of the Jewish philosopher's Autobiography with his annotations in his native Paisley, in Montreal and in London. (Alexander Gardner, 1888, xi, 307 p., an edition which has since been reprinted by Schocken.)

This did not prevent him from writing in the International Journal of Ethics in 1889 that, to depict an immoral character in The Merchant of Venice, "Shakespeare had to go outside the community of Christians in order to exhibit an industrial character divorced from Christian inspiration."

Smith remained insensitive and hostile during his entire lifetime. At the end of the century he complained,

"We freely admit the Polish Jews...The Chinaman, though he may be vicious himself, is not a corrupter of the community. The Polish Jew unhappily is."

"They bring pogroms upon themselves by their exclusiveness," he wrote in the Weekly Sun on Sept. 20, 1899. (Jewish Times, Feb. 4 and April 1, 1898; Aug. 3, 1900)

The Canadian Jewish community of the 1870's and 1880's seems to have been too isolated from the nation's intellectual life to be aware of Goldwin Smith's vicious anti-Semitism and its prognosis of Hitler.

Only the remarkable Jewish Times of Montreal (which came on the scene in 1897) consistently followed his attacks, but there was no community reaction, and none from Toronto, the locus of the infection.

B.G. Kayfetz has observed that "they were utterly unaffected, being totally unaware, apparently, of this side of him (or behaving as if they were). They then had other distractions and concerns, and Goldwin Smith's polemics were carried on at a different level and in a different milieu than the one they lived in."

At least one Ontario voice, Klein of Brantford, wrote to Smith's Week to protest the "editorials on what is termed the 'Anti-Semitic Question' which have recently appeared in many of our contemporaries, and as far as we have observed the balance of opinion has been against the Jewish race; that people as a whole are set down as labouring under an increasing dislike in all parts of the earth; reference is made to the scene on Calvary; they are usurers of the most exacting and unfeeling disposition; they cultivate the habits of trade decidedly unpopular with other classes; they relentlessly insist upon the pound of flesh, and that all these and other charges inharmonious with public opinion render them aliens and enemies at all times, and so on, and so on.

"We have a word to say on these very serious counts of indictment; and although they have found acceptance, and punishment there-fore has been relentless for the last two thousand years or so by the self-appointed administrators of Divine vengeance, let us see how these other races that now claim a state of high civilization and privilege and who existed as hordes of mere barbarians hundreds of years after the brilliant periods of Jewish history, let us see how they, even now, compare with the race they delight to denounce.

"Had not the Semitic race been the most capable and of the highest type of intellectual organization of all the human family that race would never have been the recipients of the oracles of God. To no other people, canonically speaking, has the Divine intercourse been vouchsafed; hence, ecclesiastically, must all other races take an inferior position.

"If that deplorable and horrible scene on Calvary cannot be justified by any standard of equity, have the nominal followers of the Christian system been guiltless of equal intolerance?...

"We deny that the Jew is held in increasing dislike in all parts of the earth; to take the cruel and despotic policy of the autocrat of all the Russias as being an argument in point is unreasonable. In respect to the residence of Jews in that slavish country the fact is that they present there a state of civilization in perfect contrast to the swinish, arrack-drinking, gluttonous, mixed race of northern barbarians, who willingly dispose of all their substance to this better class of people for the means of indulging their vices, and then seek to exterminate the race in question by way of payment...

"And what of their cosmopolitan influence? Does not war or peace rest on the fiat of their financiers? Have not the English generously ennobled many members of this race? And well are they warranted in their liberality, as the enlightened and wise policy of the late Lord Beaconsfield added more lustre and advantage to British supremacy than the present generation of 'grand old men' can appreciate...

"We contend that much of the bitterness that has ever been shown and existed in regard to the Semitic race greatly springs from the common hatred and jealousy that has ruled in all ages of the world in the minds of the bad against the better, in every race and country, and is still prominent in the ignorant, brutal and meretricious, against the superior and refined, from the time of Sodom and Gomorrah to Daniel, and from him to the present period of the world's history."
(The Week, Sept. 12, 1890)

AHAVAT ISRAEL

Nineteenth century Ontario provides us with several examples of an important phenomenon of Christian-Jewish relations which has not always received due attention: the Christian phase of the moral-theological quality known by its Hebrew name of Ahavat Israel. (The Love of Israel)

This very distinctive characteristic, which is even ascribed to God in the Hebraic ritual, is one of the specific virtues in traditional Jewish ethics developed in ethical investigation and in biography and folklore. Quite separate from group patriotism and group dedication, it is based upon the belief that the divine choice of the Jewish people, the Hebrew language and the Holy Land for revelation and for alliance and its subsequent religious, cultural and national history places the Jewish people in quite a different context from other sectors of humanity.

Anyone who accepts the monotheistic reading of the history of the race must, on these premises, see its past, its present and its future in dimensions beyond those that define other faiths and peoples. Such a person, who accepts one God and respects the contents and the contexts of the Bible, the bearers of its traditions and the land to which they are so bound by the words and annals of the divine word, is obliged by the integrity of his beliefs to action for harmonising the present to these pasts and its future.

Their thread runs through the post-biblical history of the western world. At least two such Ontario men have left an important record.

JUDEA FOR THE JEWS

Jews seemed to be oblivious of the Rev. J.W. Beaumont who had a vision of the early restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine, preceding Herzl and Ben Gurion. They did not even show any particular interest in their fellow Jew from the ghetto of Poland, Isaac Hellmuth, who had become the second Church of England bishop of Huron.

In 1876 Beaumont, Anglican minister at Mitchell, Ontario, issued Judea for the Jews under a Joint Protectorate of the Great Powers of Europe, a Letter Addressed to the Rt. Hon. Benjamin D'Israeli, Her Majesty's Prime Minister. (Toronto and London, Ontario, 11 p.) in which the precursor of Herzl and of Henry Wentworth Monk and of Clarence de Sola wrote,

"The point to which I presume to direct your attention stands intimately connected with the probable break-up of the Turkish Empire, and relates to the position to be assigned to that portion of it known as 'The Holy Land.'

"As a clergyman of the Church of England, it might rightly comport with my official position to say something on the subject from the standpoint of the prophetic passages of the Holy Scriptures. But I refrain, and wish to deal with it principally on political and international grounds.

"A small section of Turkish territory, included in the Province of Syria, belonged anciently to a people who have exercised a mightier influence for good upon the human race than any other nation of ancient or modern times. By the name of Hebrews, Israelites or Jews, this people has been known to the world for considerably more than three thousand years. Their history during the whole of this lengthened period has been one of unparalleled marvel and of thrilling interest. They were originally called and set apart for a special purpose in connection with the world's welfare; and a special Providence has ever watched over them from the commencement of their national existence. Their monarchy was at the zenith of its glory before the foundation of Rome: They were contemporaneous with the most ancient empires in the world. Their nation was comparatively old before even the great empire of Babylon reached the full development of its splendour. They saw the rise of the Persian dynasty, and its subversion by the more famous empire of Macedonia, under Alexander the Great. Some ages later, they also witnessed the gradual rise of the Roman Power, and the amazing development of its iron strength. In an evil day they became involved in a deadly antagonism with this mighty Power. In the year 70 of the Christian era, their chief city and their Temple were utterly destroyed, and the Jews lost their position as a nation.

"While, however, all their contemporaries of ancient times have passed away, without leaving more than a trace behind them of their ancient grandeur, the Jews still continue to exist. For more than three thousand years they have not only witnessed the rise and decline of empires, but have been more or less disastrously concerned in all the great revolutionary changes that have swept over the face of the civilized world. Yet they have survived all, and are still a distinct people, numerous and indestructible. They have outlived the splendour of Babylon, the might of Rome and the culture of Greece. They have witnessed the birth and growth, the decay and death of great empires, whose people have been gradually exterminated, and whose very languages, once spoken by unnumbered millions, are now forgotten or known only to the learned world. Amid all these sweeping changes, the Jews are still a living, active and thriving people. No parallel can be found on earth to their wonderful history. Their amazing preservation as a separate and distinct people is a standing miracle, that calls loudly for the regard of thoughtful men.

"The Babylonians, Greeks and Romans of ancient times, the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and other peoples of more modern date, have all been scattered, merged into other nations, or altogether lost. But the Jews, who have seen all these in turn arise and pass away, still preserve their own peculiar identity, with the same distinctness that characterized them at the time of the Captivity or at the advent of Christ. Though mixed and mingled with all nations, they are still separate and distinct; though scattered and dispersed throughout the world, they have never yet been lost.

"They are at present a people without a country. They are wayfarers and wanderers over the face of the earth, and yet are sighing to return to the land of their ancestors, now held in the grasp of the upholders of the Mohamedan superstition. Their total numbers probably amount to ten millions. They are everywhere aliens and foreigners -- merely tolerated, and unwillingly protected by those amongst whom they live. They have everywhere been harassed, robbed, ill-treated and plundered. The great inducement to these liberties was that they were rich and defenseless. The Turks have been notorious for the ferocity with which they have oppressed the Jews. And shall this state of things be permitted to continue, when an opportunity occurs for relief? Will the Christian Powers of Europe look with indifference upon the hardships endured by a people to whom they are more indebted than to any other on earth?

"An opportunity, such as has never occurred before, now presents itself, for the re-settlement of the Jews in the land of their forefathers -- the land which is theirs by right, if such a thing as rightful ownership there be on earth. Long as they have been expatriated from it, it is still theirs by original title, and by the inalienable right of Divine gift.

"From age to age they have been kept forcibly out of it; but the day is perhaps not far distant when they shall again return and possess it as their own. Let your illustrious name, Right Honourable Sir, be associated with active measures for bringing about an event so just, so righteous. The Great Powers of Europe ought indeed to be foremost in generously aiding the attainment of this desirable end. They owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the Jewish race. They have been helped out of their financial difficulties from time to time by the assistance of Jewish financiers. Jewish money has raised them up in times of adversity, and has sustained them till brighter days have dawned. The massive loans that have been raised have been derived largely from this source. Jewish capital has also largely helped on all the grand undertakings which are the pride of the age in which we live. There is not a nation in Europe that is not more or less indebted to Jewish capitalists. And shall all these important services go unrequited, and be ungratefully ignored?

"But the Christian world is under a still greater obligation to the Jews than even that of pecuniary and material aid. Whatever may be the diversities existing in the Universal Church, Christians of every name and creed are bound in one common debt to the Jews for the possession of those sacred records on which their 'most holy faith' is founded. It was to Jewish hands that the Inspired Oracles were committed, and from Jewish hands the Christian Church has received them.

"The Scriptures are not only the final authority in spiritual matters to millions of devout people, but they are also the very foundation of modern civilization. The world is vastly more indebted to the Bible than it is willing to own. The ancient world, too, owed much of its civilization to the influence of the Old Testament Scriptures. The philosophers of Greece and Rome derived their most admirable maxims from the Sacred Writings. Some of the most sublime passages in classical literature were derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, and especially from the poetical books. The most equitable laws of the Roman code were directly or indirectly derived from the Jewish law contained in the Pentateuch written by Moses six hundred years before the birth of Homer, seven hundred years before the foundation of Rome, a thousand years before the time of Herodotus, and fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. In the whole range of literature, ancient and modern, no such poetry, no such history, no such law and equity can be found as are contained in the Old Testament Scriptures.

"But whatever may be the worth of the Old Testament, the New Testament, in point of moral excellence, far surpasses it. Even infidels have been known to inculcate the study of the character of Christ as the faultless paragon of moral perfection. The crowning excellence of the New Testament is the clearness with which the question of a

future life is settled, and the simple and intelligible means by which 'peace with God' may be secured by the perfect work of Christ on our behalf. For all these, and many other inestimable truths, we are indebted to the instrumentality of the Jews. Let the Christian world, then, avail itself of the opportunity which now presents itself of making some substantial recompense to them for what they have done in the interest of civilization and religion.

"For many years, Right Honourable Sir, my closest attention has been directed to ill-governed Turkey. For many years the elements of decay have been working more and more deeply into the very vitals of the nation, and must end in ultimate dissolution. The final collapse is assuredly imminent. Turkey must succumb! In her own language her 'kismet' -- her fatal destiny -- is sealed! Ere long her dismemberment will ensue.

"Her internal policy, which has always been bad, has been especially severe on her Jewish subjects, who some years ago amounted -- and perhaps do still -- to a larger number in the Turkish Empire than in any other single nation in the world. These defenceless people, in the very land of their forefathers, have been more cruelly oppressed than any other of the various nationalities in the Turkish dominions.

"Is it not possible at this juncture to set on foot some scheme which shall secure at least justice to this ancient and industrious people -- some scheme by which they may be protected in their own Judea? And by the term Judea I do not merely mean the small Biblical province of that name, but, in an enlarged sense, the land of the Jews as a whole -- the 'Holy Land.' I do not at present propose the establishment of a Jewish Monarchy, but as a commencement the formation of some kind of popular government. But the grand point which I venture to suggest is, that Judea be placed under the Joint Protectorate of the Great Christian Powers of Europe, with full permission to elect its own time-honoured laws. England and Prussia have for many years jointly kept up the Protestant Episcopate of Jerusalem, the Bishop being consecrated according to the forms of the Church of England. What hindrance, on the same principle, can there be to their bringing about, in co-operation with the other Great Powers, the re-settlement of the Jews in their own rightful country, under the guarantee of the Joint Protectorate proposed?

"A re-distribution of Turkish territory, however distasteful to those who tremble at the thought of disturbing the so-called 'balance of power,' seems from the tendency of things, inevitable. Whatever, in such an event, the Great Powers in their collective judgment may think most conducive to the interests of the Turks themselves, let the Jewish subjects of Turkey and the Jews throughout the world receive justice at their hands; and let Judea be again assigned to them.

"The re-union of people speaking the same language, or bound by the same social and religious ties, is an accepted principle in modern international politics. The present generation has witnessed the consolidation of the formerly divided Provinces of the Italian peninsula into a 'United Italy.' The various German States, so long severed asunder, are now happily consolidated into the Empire of 'United' Germany. Let justice proceed on her righteous course and concede to the Jews the principle and the privilege for which modern Christian States have so valiantly fought! Let the world witness their consistency by exacting from Turkey the re-settlement of the Jews in their own country and their consolidation into a United Israel! Let them have their own separate government, their own civil laws, and their own undisputed religious privileges, under the Protectorate of Christian Europe! No people on earth are so devotedly attached to their own fatherland as the Jews. The prospect of death itself would be deprived of its gloom, in the estimation of the Jew, if his remains could but rest in the land of his forefathers. While the Jews resident in Jerusalem spend much of their time at the tear-sprinkled 'wailing place' in the Holy City, bemoaning their oppressions, millions of their brethren, dispersed over the face of the earth, are sighing for the beloved land from which they are excluded, and praying for the day to dawn when they shall once more be gathered together into one nation and when each shall again sit under his own vine and fig-tree in the enjoyment of security and peace.

"Without further length of words, I appeal to you, Right Honourable Sir, as the illustrious head of Her Majesty's Government, to give your earnest attention to the suggestion I have ventured to make.

"In the name of Justice and of Right -- in the name of the ten millions of expatriated Jews scattered over the face of the wide world -- in the name of Religion and in the name of God -- I entreat you, Right Honourable Sir, to take the initiative in this important matter, and endeavour to bring about the formation of a Jewish State in Palestine, with its own independent government, and with the free exercise of its own laws and privileges, under the Joint Protectorate of the Great Powers of Europe."

HENRY WENTWORTH MONK

The remarkable story of H.W. Monk has been fully told by Richard S. Lambert in his For the Time is at Hand, An Account of the Prophecies of Henry Wentworth Monk of Ottawa, Friend of the Jews and Pioneer of World Peace. (London, Andrew Melrose, 1947, 168 p; also his "Forgotten Peace Prophet" in Maclean's Magazine, March 1, 1945, p. 18)

This idealistic Canadian devoted his life to awaking the western world to the growing dangers it was developing and to the injustices it was committing and continuing because it failed to read seriously the import of the Bible, particularly in regard to the place of Jerusalem and its nation in the context of the organization of nations: The correction of this perilous orientation lay in the integral program for the establishment of a united nations of peace centering on Jerusalem, the capital of the restored Jewish state.

His is a biography to be read seriously, in the context of his premises and of his serious Victorian civilization.

"The grand objective was the abolition of war, not by pacifism but by the establishment of a new world order. The grand pre-requisite of success was the solution of the Jewish problem, the elimination for ever of anti-Semitism, by the restoration of the Jews to Palestine.

"The method was to be the persuasion of the British Government to acquire Palestine -- the whole of Palestine -- from the Sultan, and the opening up of the country to Jewish immigration through capital provided by rich Jews and Christians."

As Lambert detailed it further,

"Here is the story of a man who, a century ago, foretold the outbreak of the maniacal world wars of today; who warned civilization, then prosperous and complacent, of the doom ahead of it; who named the concept 'United Nations' and outlined the form it must take; and who linked world-order with its essential pre-requisite world-justice, to be expressed by righting the ancient wrong done to the Jews and restoring to them their national home, Palestine.

"This man was Henry Wentworth Monk, a Canadian whose character was compounded of elements we find in William Blake, Walt Whitman and Leo Tolstoy. He was an Anglo-Saxon forerunner of Theodore Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement...

"He took part in the first attempt at a Zionist agricultural settlement in Palestine and foresaw that country's political and economic importance. For over forty years he pleaded for the restoration of the Jews to their national home and, with Hunt, carried on an energetic campaign against anti-Semitism, and in favour of the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe. At the end of his life he wrote to Lord Balfour, in 1896, a remarkable letter which contributed to the thinking that led up to the issue of the Balfour Declaration on Palestine twenty years later...

"'Shall we take the necessary precautions now,' he asked in 1873, 'against such a terrible calamity threatening Europe and the world, before the evil actually comes upon us? Or shall we rather wait a little while, and then take precautions against the repetition of the evils after Europe is desolated? The circumstances of the world are entirely changed now from what they were in the last generation, and if we are wise we shall accommodate ourselves to the present changed condition of affairs.'

"The millions of young heroes killed or maimed in two World Wars, the five million murdered Jews of Europe, and the tortured peoples of Asia can supply the answer to Monk's query.

"When asked what action he proposed to take to stave off the evil, Monk pointed to Judaism and Christianity, the twin forces that had built up the world's moral order. Begin, he urged, by obliterating the race hatred, the religious intolerance, that has kept these two forces from cooperating. Make a gesture of altruism, a purgation of guilt. Destroy the spirit of persecution at its source. Atone for the crime of anti-Semitism that has fouled Europe for centuries, and that symbolizes all the hatred and rivalry that have torn Europe with recurrent wars.

"The only way to expiate this crime of anti-Semitism was to restore the Jewish people to their national home in Palestine. Once this had taken place, he believed, Jewish and Christian energies combined would create in Palestine a model state which would set an example to the rest of the world in education, science and social justice.

"On this foundation of an act of international justice, Monk proposed to erect his new international order. Jerusalem was to become 'the peace city' of the civilized world. Britain and America were jointly to summon thither a great international convention, at which all governments would be represented...

"In the prophet's mind a monstrous terrible spiritual fire was raging across the fair domain of civilization -- the fire that had first smouldered through the undergrowth of anti-Semitism, and now was blazing up into war that threatened to devour all that was highest and holiest in man's heritage. Monk's terror for the Jews as the touch-hole of the European powder-barrel was not exaggerated. He was psychically sensitive to currents of prejudice that were running far below the surface of European thinking. In this spiritual underworld, even his own benevolent teachings were being malevolently manipulated.

"Already in 1864 and 1868 the secret foundations of modern anti-Semitism had been laid. The old Christian anti-Semitism of the Middle Ages, centring round the legends of the Wandering Jew, the ritual murder of children, the Passover blood-sacrifice and other folk tales, had been slowly and painfully brought under control by modern enlightenment. In the Near East -- Russia, the Balkans, Syria -- the flames of persecution flickered and crackled in intermittent pogroms.

"But morally, liberalism was in the ascendant, justifying the optimism of Monk that the time had come to solve the Jewish problem by giving them again a national home.

"In the muddled popular mind: the two ideas of Jewish nationalism and establishment of world order. Now these two ideas became the subject of treatment by separate writers, who had no idea that their works would later be combined for the resuscitation of anti-Semitism. In 1864 Maurice Joly, a French lawyer, published a tract, aimed at Napoleon III, entitled A Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, or the Politics of Machiavelli in the Nineteenth Century, in which he satirized the idea of world dictatorship, through the manipulation of modern scientific inventions, such as the electric telegraph. And in 1868 the German, Hermann Gödsche (under an English pen-name, (Sir John Ratcliffe the Younger), published a novel, Biarritz, in which he described a secret gathering of Jewish rabbis in a cemetery at Prague, for the purpose of discussing how to bring the world under their control through Jewish gold. Put together, these two books crated a picture which made a horrible parody of the truths propagated in A Simple Interpretation of the Revelation...

"Monk believed in making to the rich Jews the appeal to put their religion in practice, and sacrifice some of their material wealth to achieve a spiritual aim.

"On 1st October, 1863, he addressed a letter to the London Jewish Chronicle, which was published early in the following month.

"'Yesterday,' he wrote, 'my attention was called to your editorial of the 4th ult. by Rabbi Sneersohn, who at the same time requested me to try and explain why the poor Jews in this country have not yet succeeded in earning an independence by the cultivation of the soil, as poor people in other countries generally do to some extent. He supposes that I ought to know something about it, as I have been brought up to farming in Canada, where poor people generally do succeed in earning a good living by agriculture; and for about two years I also had some experience in reference to agriculture in this country, where it must be admitted that lately it has been far otherwise. The cause of the great want of success hitherto, it appears to me, is, because people have not fairly considered the great magnitude and importance of the object to be accomplished, and seriously gone to work to build a railroad, or engage in any other great undertaking which they have decided would conduce greatly to the advantage of the public, and for their own profit also...When the Greeks are making efforts to become a people again, and the Italians or Romans trying to restore something of their former greatness, shall Israel alone be totally indifferent as to whether they are a nation or not? The poor of Israel have done their part -- they have come here in thousands to live or die as God or man shall permit. Let the rich and enterprising do their part, and then let us see whether we shall eventually succeed even better than did the remnants of the Greeks and Romans.'

"The Prophet's appeal was not entirely vain, for a year later the veteran Sir Moses Montefiore paid another of his visits to Palestine, to bring succour to his distressed fellow Jews. But not the kind of succour Henry Wentworth had in mind, for it brought no nearer the restoration of the Holy Land to its own people, or the setting up of the Kingdom of God upon Earth.

"And then, by a strange irony of fate, he who appealed so loudly on behalf of the poor Jews, himself now experienced something of their martyrdom. Monk had come to Jerusalem without funds; and this time there was no sympathetic friend on the spot to help him realize his ideas...

"Frederick David Mocatta, fifty-two-year-old bullion broker and wealthy Jewish philanthropist, who had helped to establish the Charity Organization Society, given large sums to London hospitals and Jewish charities, interested himself in working-class housing, and written a book on The Jews and the Inquisition, considered Monk's scheme quite impracticable because 'for now and for centuries to come, the Jews will be thoroughly unfit to govern a state for themselves. More than half of the Jews at the present time,' he wrote, 'are languishing under persecution of a very galling nature, and consequently are in a depressed and uneducated position, as well as in the depths of poverty. The rest of the race has but too recently attained its freedom to be able to understand the science of government...I am afraid, too, the rest of the world is equally little prepared to leave off warfare, and to submit to an arbitrament, of any kind whatever, the great questions which are so absurdly and wickedly decided by brute force.'

"The prophet made a perfectly fair retort to his argument: 'Is this any good reason,' he asked, 'why we (who are so much better off) should still quietly look on and allow them to continue yet longer in so deplorable a condition?...Suppose a few of us should now determine to begin in real earnest the work of the Restoration of Israel and the abolition of national warfare, why should we not at once begin by acting precisely as we find the practical men of our day act whenever they are in earnest about any of their great enterprises? If we did this, should we not very soon enlist in our favour all the advanced minds in Christendom -- the intellectual and moral force of the world? Then which of the difficulties would long prove insurmountable?'

"Let a Jewish National Fund be raised...If this be done, I will immediately pay to a fund, at the Consolidated Bank (where I keep my account), or at any other bank, £50 as an earnest of my intention, and at intervals within five years I will pay in what shall amount to one tenth of my whole worldly means. Let other men do this, and we shall have a practical beginning of what at the lowest expectation will be one important item in a movement belonging to this century of a just and necessary readjustment of nationalities. At the commencement, let nothing divert consideration from the actual needs of the people in distress; but as these are provided for, let all the resources of modern intelligence be exercised to set an example of perfect government -- a rule of peace such as in the old countries, with all their vested interests in operation, it would be impossible to effect -- and I think Syria may indeed soon become the "glory of all lands", and a blessing to the whole earth.'

"The response to this eloquent plea was disappointing. Not a single wealthy Jew came forward to follow his example and offer his 'tithe' for the restoration of Palestine."

To see him as a crank is to do an injustice to the perceiver, for all that there may be supportive in the social context. It is also to forget that he did invent a United Nations, however distorted and perverted from the original and basic proposals. Indeed, at one moment in its annals it did resolve the restoration Monk dreamed.

This long-haired man who so often sat on the bench opposite the Ottawa Parliament had stirred some of England. He had ploughed Israeli soil, established a Jewish national fund, lived there as a Chalutz in the conviction that through tithes and personal application, sincerity, exaltation and moral suasion, men of faith would abolish anti-Semitism and would re-establish the Jewish state, the continuum of the Abrahamic promise, the conquest of the Judges and the dedication of King Solomon.

For the Canadian reader of the Monk story it is significant that he knew of Maj. Mordecai Noah, but in his lifelong search for associates in his biblical and Jewish national venture all over the world, he had not sought the Rev. de Solas or Lazarus Cohen. It says much of the isolation of the Jewish community in Canada of his day.

With the benefit of hindsight we can note the profound Canadian roots which fed Monk's idealism and note the vigorous plants which grew in the same spiritual space. As we read William L. Hull's The Fall and Rise of Israel, the Story of the Jewish People during the Time of their Dispersal and Regathering (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1954. 424 p.), the story of Judge Ivan C. Rand in the making of Israel, the documentation on Lester Pearson in this epic, the Canadian career of Sister Marie Noelle motivated by the same tradition, we are reminded of another phase in Jewish-Christian contacts on the soil of Canada.

MARITIMES

There were other events during this period that were disturbing.

In Halifax the Jewish manner of Shechitah -- an ancient refinement of painless killing of animals for meat and a proud symbol of the faith's abhorrence of animal suffering -- was condemned by a police magistrate. The delicate index of Jewish historic experience has always recognised this form of attack by animal lovers as a sure instrument of cruelty to Jews.

At the appeal trial the SPCA summoned its inspector, a veteran of the Royal Horse Artillery, and a veterinarian graduate of Ontario College. However, Rabbi Glazer of Montreal, Prof. D.F. Harris of Dalhousie University and veterinarians testified that the Jewish method of slaughtering was more humane than the Gentile. Judge Wallace did not hesitate to sustain the Schochet's appeal and affirmed that the Jewish procedure was free from unnecessary cruelty and was at least as humane and preferable to the other methods. (Jewish Chronicle, April 18, June 13 and August 1, 1913)

THE EARLY ONTARIO STORY (cont'd)

The early labelling of the time ticketed Smith as a Liberal, and Saturday Night was also thus classed.

This only lent colour of decency to its partnership with the Czar of all the Russians when it editorialized in September 1903,

"It seems harsh to speak of the Hebrews as a race inclining to the purchase of 'abs and bots,' or the selling of suspenders and collar buttons and things in which no commercial catalogue deals. But it is true. The average peasant Jew has no place in the agricultural catalogue of the world; he is commercial, and his commerce is mostly directed to legitimate enterprises which can be forced into what must be considered illegitimate channels. To talk of putting the Jew back in Palestine is to converse with regard to a topic which would land an unagriculturally disposed hybrid on soil which could not possibly be made to produce him a living."

And again in September 1906,

"The Canadian Government notified Israel Zangwill, the writer, that it will not be possible to set apart a tract of land in the West for the occupation of Jews as desired by a European organization... Those who come to us from countries where they have endured centuries of oppression, have had beaten out of them almost the last vestige of self-respect, and they are poor material for use in the big job of nation-making that we have on our hands. Their sole idea of making a living is to barter in refuse, skulk through city lanes and operate on a business level that the native race will not descend to."

Another occasion for expression of anti-Jewish attitudes displayed by many of the Protestant denominations in Ontario and elsewhere came in the controversy over the Lord's Day Act in 1906. At this time the aggressive clergy of the Alliance for the defence of the Sabbath revealed a hitherto concealed hostility towards the Jews that surprised many. Indeed, the Montreal associates of the Lord's Day Alliance continued to inject their antagonism for years into the Montreal school question. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no.14)

In a Yiddish letter of complaint from several Jewish farmers at Hirsch, Sask. dated Sept. 11, 1907 we note the mischief created by the Lord's Day Act in that remote Jewish farm settlement. The list of harrassments: "the Levys and Besner seek only strife and always want to make us trouble. They report that we work on Sundays, and seek to bring all kinds of evil upon us colonists."

Equally menacing was the much more widespread, if milder, form of the same vicious phenomenon -- the amused contempt towards the Jew, towards his appearance and towards his way of life.

During those years that seem -- or were -- simpler, it sufficed for a respected citizen to draw the attention of an editor to an existing evil. Even the Monday morning press excerpts from the rabbi's sermon appeared useful, if only as an assurance that the temple is in many regards not unlike a church. The articulate and reasonable citizen or rabbi who could thus reach the editor was performing a useful function which fortified his status in the community, and this in turn added the weight of representation to his letters to the publisher.

Although those infected with this murderous bacillus which could develop an Auschwitz may not have realized it at the time, this was the very early stage of dehumanization of the image of the Jew which later prepared Germans and other European peoples to treat Jews as they presumably never would have treated beings whom they recognized as human.

This snobbish contempt of the living European-born Jew frightened Canadian-born Jews. They instinctively sensed the threat to themselves, to the Jewish race and to the Jewish concept. This naturally affected the form and the measure of their Jewish affiliation very profoundly. The very construct of the immigrant society downtown seemed a warning to the young Canadian Jew. It smacked of what the Canadian future was bound to reject.

In 1907 the Hamilton Herald, a local paper printed a scurrilous article, stating that "The Hebrews had no bath houses; we often read of Ikey going to the Temple to pray, but never heard of Ikey going to a Bath house to take a wash, and this is why Titus, fresh as a daisy from his tub, laid the walls of Jerusalem low."

A correspondent in an American Jewish paper reacted,
"Of course, I wasted no time and wrote a letter in defense through one of his contemporaries, The Spectator, and the succeeding day I received an apology. Now the Hamilton Spectator, under the caption of 'Jacob the Jew,' very much insulted us." (Hebrew Standard, March 1, 1907, p. 8)

L. Samuel, the president of the synagogue was not amused when the Telegram published its police report under the heading, "Jews in Trouble." He wrote John Ross Robertson, the publisher,

"From ignorance apparently, entertaining views which would have done credit to a member of the Spanish inquisition, take the opportunity of bringing Jews prominently before the public when they are unfortunately associated with anything that can be viewed as derogatory to their religious belief. The term Jew refers to a man's creed, not his nationality. Therefore, on the same principle you could report that a certain individual, a Roman Catholic, Methodist, or Episcopalian, was arrested &c, or that the absconder was of a certain religious faith, and the forger ditto. These sort of things would be anything but agreeable to members of the sect to which your notice would particularly direct the public's attention. How would it appear if the press had taken the trouble to inform us that the Presbyterian directors of the Glasgow Bank 'who erected churches and wrecked homes' were sentenced to so many months' imprisonment?" (In Return, pp 40-41)

This was the experience of Edmund Scheuer over several decades.

But Scheuer lived long enough to see a more complex and dangerous age. In 1940 he wrote Caiserman,

"Ceased writing letters to the press, in defense of the Jews against anti-Semitic charges, since the 1933 Swastika incident in the city. Contradictions, to have any effect, must contain the repetition of the charges. The latter will be read by hundreds of thousands of people who had not noticed the original; and, on the other hand, will be overlooked by a vast number of those who had, thus giving the wider publicity, welcomed by the Jew haters.

"Instead of using the pen I interviewed the managers of the papers, and I say now, with the help of God, and unbeshewn I succeeded gaining the sympathetic ear of the chief editors of the Globe & Mail, Daily Star, Evening Telegram and Saturday Night. It took me fifteen years to convince the deceased John Ross Robertson, proprietor of the

Telegram, of the injustice of using Jew, swarthy Jew, Polish Jew, Russian Jew, and Hebrew in any police court case report in which one of our people was the accused. My latest convert is the columnist McAree of the Globe and Mail. I interviewed him after he had published an anonymous letter describing the silly, fictitious, contemptible doings of two Jewish coffee merchants of Toronto. I am pleased indeed that, from the time of our rather stormy conversation, he has been fair to our people; all I ever asked for."

The young Montreal Le Devoir, just founded by Henri Bourassa with Omer Héroux as its managing editor, reported on October 26, 1910 that in St. Catharines, Ontario,

"Jewish teacher was dismissed. A school has just closed. Miss Epstein, a Jewess, had been engaged as teacher some time ago. Now there are complaints that her teaching did not conform to the feelings and beliefs of taxpayers. Furthermore, it was discovered that she was not competent, and it was decided to dismiss her."

The Toronto Telegram for decades voiced contempt and worse of the Jewish citizenry; it was the publication of Victorian racism at its worst. An editorial of June 5, 1919 was quite characteristic,

"The alleged massacre of the Hebrews in Poland stirs up indignation in hearts that were mightily indifferent to the actual massacre of British and allied soldiers in France and Flanders. The pro-German Hebrews of Petrograd had a large hand and a great part in the withdrawal of Russia from the war. That withdrawal added five years to the duration of the war. British casualties averaged almost 100,000 a month. The Russian Hebrews rewarded the kindness they received from Britain by permitting their leaders to play Germany's game at Petrograd. The down-trodden Hebrews were joint authors, if not chief authors, of the treachery that took Russia out of the war, postponed Germany's collapse for two years and added 2,400,000 casualties, including 250,000 deaths, to the sacrifices of British manhood."

Its comments on Jewish immigrants have seared into the awareness of Ontario readers.

Toronto Presbyterians concerned with converting the Jews imported Dr. L. Meyer from Cincinnati in 1912 to frighten them with the prospect of Jews being diverted to Canada, now that the United States was considering restriction of immigration from southeastern Europe. He told them,

"The extent of the influx might be estimated from the fact that during the past ten years nearly 1,000,000 Jewish immigrants had arrived in the United States. Wherever part of a city the Jews settled in speedily became a closed quarter; so that unless the Christian churches acted at once the menace would be very great. At the present time there were fourteen abandoned Christian churches in the Jewish quarter of New York City.

"Statistics showed that a larger percentage of Jews reached positions of influence in public life than any other class of immigrants, and the menace of their success lay in the fact that a great majority of the Jews today were practically infidels. This was strikingly demonstrated in a recent census of New York City school children which showed that of 181,000 Jewish children only 40,000 were receiving any religious instruction. The evangelization of the Jews, looked at from this point of view, was obligatory as a matter of sheer self-defence if for no other reason.

"Rev. J. McP. Scott remarked at the conclusion of the address that of 486 pupils in the Elizabeth Street School, 430 were Jews. Principal Gandler, of Knox College, quoted the chairman of the Protestant School Committee of Montreal as estimating that of 46,000 children in the Protestant Public schools of Montreal the majority would soon be Jews." (Mail and Empire, Feb. 13, 1912; Globe, Feb. 13, 1912; Telegram, Feb. 13, 1912)

An index of uncomfortable inter-group relations rather than anti-Semitism came to the fore in the 1912 case of Queen's University.

When the charter of this University at Kingston was being altered by the Commons from a denominational institution to a general Canadian college, the Jewish community fought to keep it from becoming a Christian university where Jewish teachers and students would have no place as of right.

A summary published in 1916 reported,

"Two or three years ago a great outcry was raised in the Jewish camp when a bill was introduced in the legislature by the senate of Queen's University, Kingston, just after the university repudiated its sectarian affiliation in order to benefit from the Carnegie Fund, containing the clause that no one but a Christian is to be engaged in the teaching staff." ("Jews in Canada," in Cincinnati American Israelite, March 2, 1916, p. 1)

Stephen A. Speisman surveyed the condition in Toronto in his The Jews of Toronto,

"For the most part, Jewish doctors were excluded from hospitals. Indeed, no Jewish doctor was to have a clinical appointment at the university or an indoor staff position at a teaching hospital in Toronto until after the Second World War.

"Jews encountered difficulty in some public hospitals and schools as patients and students as well. Nurses often treated immigrants with indifference.

"In the public schools, although in theory Christianity was not officially taught, many of the teachers were children of clergymen; religious indoctrination was often the tacit policy and Jewish children were punished for refusing to read from the New Testament. This situation was not universal, however; some schools had enlightened principals who did not emphasize Christianity in predominantly Jewish classes. In regard to elementary school children, this was rare. At the University of Toronto there were no entrance restrictions, and Jews were freely admitted to the excellence clubs at University College. However, extra-mural social activities, especially when they involved the opposite sex, were difficult.

"Anti-Jewish behaviour also manifested itself in less subdued forms. Outside the Ward it was not uncommon for a bearded Jew to be attacked on the street at the turn of the century and even as late as 1917. Indeed, the danger of assault was so real in some areas of the city that East European Jewish schoolboys were instructed by their parents to make themselves inconspicuous. Jewish peddlers were especially in danger of being dragged from their wagons and pelted with stones and garbage. 'Why are Jewish peddlers viciously assaulted on our public thoroughfares,' Rabbi Jacobs inquired in a sermon of 1909, 'and passersby look on smiling and often join the savage act?'

"Violence against Jews was not restricted to native-born elements. In 1913, for example, a Jew was attacked by Macedonians, drenched with dirty water and thrown into a rubbish heap. Other immigrant groups, especially Italians, experienced discrimination as well, but in few cases was it as vehement as against the Jews.

"The anti-Semitism experienced by the Jews in Toronto was characteristic of that manifest throughout North America. It was not, as a rule, national anti-Semitism like that of Russia." (P. 121)

Leah Rosenberg recalls Toronto before the First World War,

"One Saturday, as I accompanied my father to a circumcision, I had my first encounter with anti-Semitism. Father had a long beard like all orthodox men. This made him easily recognizable as a Jew and an automatic target for Christian children who threw stones at Jews. While I watched him shield his eyes, the rage at this injustice welled up in me until I felt very close to choking." (The Errand Runner, Reflections of a Rabbi's Daughter. Toronto, Wiley, 1981, p. 50)

The recollections of Lou Ronson and Ben G. Kayfetz of Ontario conditions before 1939 are valid for anglophone Canada. The Quebec story takes other forms,

"Lou Ronson studied chemical engineering at the University of Toronto and also at the Lawrence Institute of Technology just outside of Detroit. In his graduating year at the U. of T. in 1938, there were six Jews. Two ranked first and second in marks. Despite a shortage of chemical engineers in Canada, not one of them got jobs in industry.

"In 1939, one year after Ronson graduated, Ben Kayfetz received a BA in Modern Languages at the U. of T. In 1940, he received a teaching diploma from the Ontario College of Education. Despite an occasional teaching assignment, Kayfetz got nowhere in Toronto because, in those days, 'Jews were as rare as hen's teeth in the teaching profession.'

"During a 1-year stint at a private school in Niagara Falls, Kayfetz was advised by the headmaster, a non-Jew, to say he was a Czech rather than a Jew because 'the Czechs are gallant allies in the fight against Nazi Germany.' A year later, after a teaching assignment in Huntsville, Kayfetz felt he had reached a dead end and said goodbye to teaching.

"Kayfetz recalls: 'In the '30s and until the end of the war, bias was open and widespread. If an employer turned you down because you were a Jew, it was acceptable; it was the employer's prerogative.'

"Statistically, there were about six Jewish teachers in the primary schools in Toronto, about three or four in the high schools and exactly one-and-a-half professors at the U. of T. -- Jacob Finkelman in the faculty of law in 1932, and woman assistant lecturer, Sasha Krieger, who left after a short spell.

"In the other professions, anti-Semitism was also the rule. In medicine, finding hospitals for Jewish interns was next to impossible, Kayfetz recalls. In 1929, the Toronto General Hospital 'opened its doors,' and allowed one Jewish intern a year, a quota that lasted until the '40s.

"In law, the large firms were Judenrein. But even when Jews formed their own law practices, they found they were unable to rent in choice business locations downtown. Many moved to Spadina, Kafetz says.

"In most places of work, application forms asked for religious affiliation and Jews were effectively closed out of banks and insurance offices. In retail stores, it was slightly better, but not much. Kayfetz recalls his own sister, Rose, had put down her religion as Unitarian -- or United Church -- 'in those days who knew the difference?' -- but when Yom Kippur came, the ruse unravelled and she was fired.

"In his search for employment, Ronson got nowhere either in chemical engineering or business for a whole year. Finally, he landed a job in the soil department of a dry cleaning store. It was the job in which he ultimately catapulted to the forefront of uniform rental and manufacturing in Canada...but at the time he was deeply discouraged.

"Not only in employment, but public accommodation in apartments, resorts and hotels was closed to Jews. In the '30s, Jewish refugees were encountering housing discrimination in various parts of downtown Toronto. Signs on lawns were seen saying: 'No dogs or Jews.' The Queensway and St. George and Bloor were two areas where there was total exclusion." (Canadian Jewish News, February 11, 1982)

On the higher levels of society the experiences of David Lewis (The Good Fight, Political Memoirs, 1982), and those of Louis Rasminsky, as analyzed by J.L. Granatstein, confirm the persistence of anti-Semitism long after Arcand and the Hitlerite influence.

-31-11-

INDEX

- Adler, H., 141, 186
Albany, 86
Albencelli, C., 83
Album des pères au concile, 72
Alleyn, C., 44-47, 51-52
L'Américanisme et la conjuration anti-chrétienne, 83
Anglo-Israel, 166
Antisemitism in Modern France, 16, 18, 141
Aubert, R., 73
Autobiography, 192
L'Avenir, 54
- Baig, M., 118
Baillargeon, C.-F., 55-57, 61, 63-64, 71-72
Balfour, A.J., 202
Bank of Montreal, 2
Baron de Hirsch Institute, 121
Barsky, K., 127
Le Bas-Canada, 98
Beaumont, J.-W., 196-200
Bédard, J.-B.-C., 84
Bélanger, A., 76
Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly, 180-81
Bernard, H., 83
Bernstein, J., 186-87
Biarritz, 203
Brély, J., 113
Le Bien public, 54, 75
Birnbaum, P., 18
Bord, G., 83
Bourassa, H., 13-32, 210
Henri Bourassa, 132
Bourget, I., 23-25, 28, 32-33, 37, 55-56, 63, 72, 83-92, 103
Brantford, 117
Braun, A., 41-42, 63
British Columbia, 113-20
British Israel, 118
Brodey, A., 5-9
Bronfman, S., 122-23
Brown, M., 58
Bruno, J.-E., 72
Byrnes, R.F., 16, 18, 141
Bystander, 130, 134-37, 143-45, 152-66, 177-80, 184

- Caiserman, H.M., 209-10
Canada and the New Nation, 121-22
The Canadian Mosaic, 119
Le Canadien, 42, 75, 90, 96
Cartier, G.-E., 45-48
Causeries sur le protestantisme, 96
Cayoosh, 113
Cazeau, C.-F., 57, 62-63, 71
The Central European in Canada, 125
Charland, T., 71
Chevrette, L., 33
Chiel, A., 105, 114, 119, 126, 128
Church and State, 102-3
Civil Liberty in Lower Canada, 102
Civilta Cattolica, 41
Clouds in the Thirties, 122, 128, 131-32
Cohen, Lazarus, 205
Cohen, Lyon, 138
Colber, J., 116-17
Collins, R., 167
La Comédie infernale, 37, 83-88
Le Complot mondial judeo-maconnique, 83
Les Conciles provinciaux de Québec, 16, 57, 64, 67, 86, 92
La Concorde, 55
La Condition de travail, 89
Connolly, T.L., 72, 92, 103
La Conjuration anti-chrétienne, 83
La Conjuration juive, 83
Conroy, G., 24, 106
Conspiration révolutionnaire, 83
Le Constitutionnel, 54
Contemporary Review, 133-37, 140
Contre-poison, 89
Cooke, T., 72
Correspondence, 181
Couillard Desperes, A., 1-2
Le Courrier du Canada, 63
Cremieux, A., 59
Cristal, A., 128

Dallas, 150
Danger in Discord, 112
Daniel Deronda, 155, 192
Daniells, R., 131
Darmstetter, J., 17-18
David, A.H., 3
David, D., 2

- Davies, R.A., 100, 149
De Biez, J., 15
De Boissandre, A., 15
De Cassagnac, P.
Decelles, A.-D., 140
De Cosmos, A., 115
Le Défricheur, 54
De Lingneaux, J., 15
Delassus, H., 83
De Lotbinière Harwood, A.-C., 53, 130
Demers, M., 72
Denis, 49-50
La Dernière correspondance, 26, 87
Dessaulles, L.-A., 26, 86-89
De Tryon, C.-F.-R., see Montalembart
Deutsch, G., 168-76
A Dialogue in Hell, 203
Dialogue sur une question importante, 88
Discours sur le libéralisme, 107-8
Disraeli, B., 131, 133-39
Benjamin Disraeli, 130
Documents concernant l'histoire constitutionnelle, 9-14
Le Don Quichotte montréalais, 87
Doughty, A.G., 9-14
Doutre, G., 25
Drach, D., 16
Drault, J., 15
Driedger, L., 119
Drumont, E., 15-16, 141
Dufresne, J., 48
Du Modérantisme, 76
Dupanloup, F., 54, 56-57, 61-62, 71, 81, 83

L'Echo de la France, 65, 71
L'Echo du cabinet de lecture, 83
Edmonton, 128
L'Eglise catholique au Canada, 106
L'Electeur, 55
Eliot, George, 192
The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 141-42
England, R., 125
The Errand Runner, 213
Essays on Questions, 189
Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et l'immigration, 89
L'Evénement, 55, 75-76
Evening Telegram, 192

- Hart, Aaron, 12-14
Hart, Adolphus M., 72, 100
Hart, B., 2
Hart, Ezekiel, 3, 9, 11, 114
Hart, S., 2
Haultain, A., 137, 188
Haultain, F.W., 43-49
Helbronner, J., 70
Hellmuth, I., 196
Herald, 209
Heroux, O., 210
Hershkowitz, L., 12
Higgins, D.W., 116-17
- Hill, R., 100
Hirsch, 121, 208
Hirschfelder, J.M., 129
Homes, C., 133
Hommage aux jeunes, 96-97
Horan, E.J., 72
Hull, W.L., 205
Hunt, H., 202
Huot, L.-H., 59
Hyman, W., 2
- Ideologies au Canada français, 1850-1900, 60
Independent, 168
Industry and Humanity, 131
Inglis, C., 10
In Return, 209
Ivry, 59
- Jacobs, S.W., 116, 138
Jerusalem, 201, 204
Jewish Chronicle, 180, 186, 204
The Jewish Community of Canada, 192
Jewish Foundations in Canada, 58
Jewish Spectator, 141
Jewish Times, 138-39, 168-76, 185A, 189-91, 193
Jewish World, 177
The Jews and the Inquisition, 205
The Jews in Manitoba, 105, 114, 126
The Jews of Toronto, 140, 212
Joly, M., 203
Joseph, A., 2
Le Journal de Québec, 55, 57, 75, 83
Le Journal, St. Hyacinthe, 54
Le Journal des Trois-Rivières, 33, 56
Judea for the Jews, 196-200
Le Juif, le judaisme et la judaization, 69
Juifs et catholiques français, 41

- Kantrowitz, J.I., 3-4
- Kayfetz, B.G., 193, 213
- Kilbourn, W.M., 131
- King, W.L.M., 130-31
- King's College, 129
- Klein, A.M., 70, 122-23
- Klinck, C.F., 131
- Krieger, S., 213

- Laflèche, L.-F., 33-34, 55-56, 72, 87
- Laframboise, J.-B., 13
- Lambert, R.S., 201-5
- Langevin, J., 72
- Langlais, J.-A., 96
- La Lanterne, 54
- Laperrière, G., 70
- Larocque, C., 72, 78
- Lartigue, J.-J., 24
- Laurier, W., 107-8, 132
- Lazar, H.M., 118
- Leacock, S., 122-23
- Leader, 122
- Lewin, H., 113
- Lewis, B., 133
- Lewis, D., 214
- Lebon, U., 62, 64
- Lémann, A., 16
- Lémann, J., 16
- Lettre sur le futur concile, 72
- Le Libéralisme, 93
- Le Libéralisme cathoïque, 42, 90
- Le Libéralisme dans la province, 75
- La Ligue d'enseignement, 83
- Lindsey, C., 39, 56-57, 62-64, 84
- Lord's Day Alliance, 207
- Lynch, J.J., 63, 72, 101-3

- Macdonald, J.S., 46-48, 129
- Mailloux, G. V., 64-65
- Manitoba, 119
- Manitoba Free Press, 192
- Manning, H.E., 71, 101
- Marcoux, J., 84
- Marie Noelle, Sister, 205A
- Marion, S., 55
- Martel, J.-S., 57
- Maynard, F. Bruser, 128
- McGee, D., 46-48
- McIntyre, P., 72
- McLynn, D., 124

- Medicine Hat, 127
Medjuck, S., 118
Ha-Melitz, 186-87
Mémoire succinct et confidentiel, 62
Mery, G., 15
Meyer, L., 211
La Minerve, 56, 83, 86
Mitchell, 196
Mocatta, F. D., 205
Moncton, 118
Monière, D., 25
Monk, H.W., 201-5
Montalembart, Comte de, 54, 56, 78, 81, 83
Montefiore, M., 204
Morin, A.-N., 78
Murray, J., 1-2
Murray, J.C., 192
Myerson, H.M., 58-59
The Mystic Spring, 116-17
- Nathan, H., 113, 116
Le National, Montréal, 54, 75
Le National, Québec, 54
Nationaliste, 132
Neuvième lettre, 89
New Orleans, 141
Niagara Falls, 213
Nineteenth Century, 163, 173, 177, 180, 186-87
Noah, M., 205
No Refuge but in Truth, 185
Les Noces d'or, 86
North American Review, 189
Nos Faiblesses et nos forces, 77
Nouveau monde, 56, 63, 88
Novi Kraj, 124
Novoye Vremya, 167
- Oppenheimer, D., 113
- Pagnuelo, S., 33
Pall Mall Magazine, 180
Papineau, L.-J., 24, 26, 54
Pâquet, B., 39-41, 62, 92-95, 106
Pâquet, L., 39, 95
Paquin, L.-P., 42, 90-91
Parkes, J., 141-42
Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of Confederation, 43-53
La Patrie, 55

<u>Le Pays,</u>	54
Pearson, L.B.,	205
Pelletier, Alexis,	41, 54-56, 59, 61-64, 71, 75-76, 84-87
Pelletier, André,	61
Pentland, H.C.,	60
<u>Petit catéchisme du Syllabus,</u>	32
<u>Pièces justificatives,</u>	85
Pierce, A.,	128
Pierrard, P.,	41
Pinsonnault, P.-A.,	37-38, 56, 62, 78
Plante, H.,	106
Poliakov, L.,	69
<u>Political and Civil Status of the Jews,</u>	9
<u>Political State and Condition,</u>	100
Poole, W.H.,	166
Price, M.,	113
Prince, J.-C.,	78
<u>Le Principe des nationalités,</u>	25
Proulx, F.-H.,	60, 63
Provencher, J.-N.,	84
Qu'Appelle,	121
Queen's University,	214
<u>Quelques considerations,</u>	90
<u>Raisins and Almonds,</u>	128
Rand, I.C.,	205
Rasminsky, L.,	214
Ratcliffe, J.,	203
Raymond, J.-B.,	56, 78-82, 88
<u>Le Grand-Vicaire Raymond et le libéralisme,</u>	78
Regina,	128
<u>Reminiscences,</u>	137
Renault, R.,	15
<u>Réponse honnête,</u>	89
<u>La Revue canadienne,</u>	83
Richardson, J.,	9
Rioux,	84
Roberts, C.G.D.,	130
Robertson, J.R.,	209
Rohling, A.,	18
Rome, D.,	113-5, 122, 129
<u>Rome in Canada,</u>	39, 56-57, 84
Ronson, L.,	213-14
Rosenberg, Leah,	213
Rosenberg, S.,	192
Rosenfeld, J.A.,	150
Rosser,	127
Roth, C.,	130
<u>Le Rougisme en Canada,</u>	59
Routhier, A.B.,	57, 63
Rumilly, R.,	39, 55-56, 78, 81, 86, 131-32

- Sack, B.G., 124
St.-Aimé, G., see Pelletier, A.
St. Catharines, 210
Samuel, L., 209
Samuel, M., 177
Sanborn, 50
Sandy Hill, 86
Sargent, R.J., 96
Saskatoon, 124
Saturday Night, 207, 210
Savaète, A., 32-34, 132
Savard, P., 56, 70
Sax, P., 75
L'Abbé Sax et ses souffleurs, 75
Scheuer, E., 209-10
Schultz, S., 113
Scoble, J., 52-53
Scott, J.M., 211
Ségur, Mgr., 96-97
A Selection from Goldwin Smith, 188
Sellar, 100-1
Semaine politique, 65
Shortt, A., 9-14
Sills, S., 13
A Simple Interpretation of the Revelation, 203
Smeulders, H., 106
Smith, G., 128-94
Goldwin Smith, His Life, 188
Goldwin Smith, Victorian Liberal, 133
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 206
Les Soirées du Casino, 37
Sokolski, D., 113
Solomon Maimon, 192
La Source du mal, 54, 61, 85
Spectator, 209
Speisman, H., 140, 212
Stadacona Bank, 2
Starkman, M., 129
Stern, S., 117
Stoecker, A., 141, 159-60
Sun (Toronto), 130, 150-51, 191
The Sun, (New York), 158, 185
Sweeney, J., 72

Taché, A., 72
Tardivel, J.-P., 70
Jules-Paul Tardivel, La France, 56, 70
Taschereau, E.-A., 62, 71, 85, 92, 106
Taschereau, T., 106
Telegram, 209-11

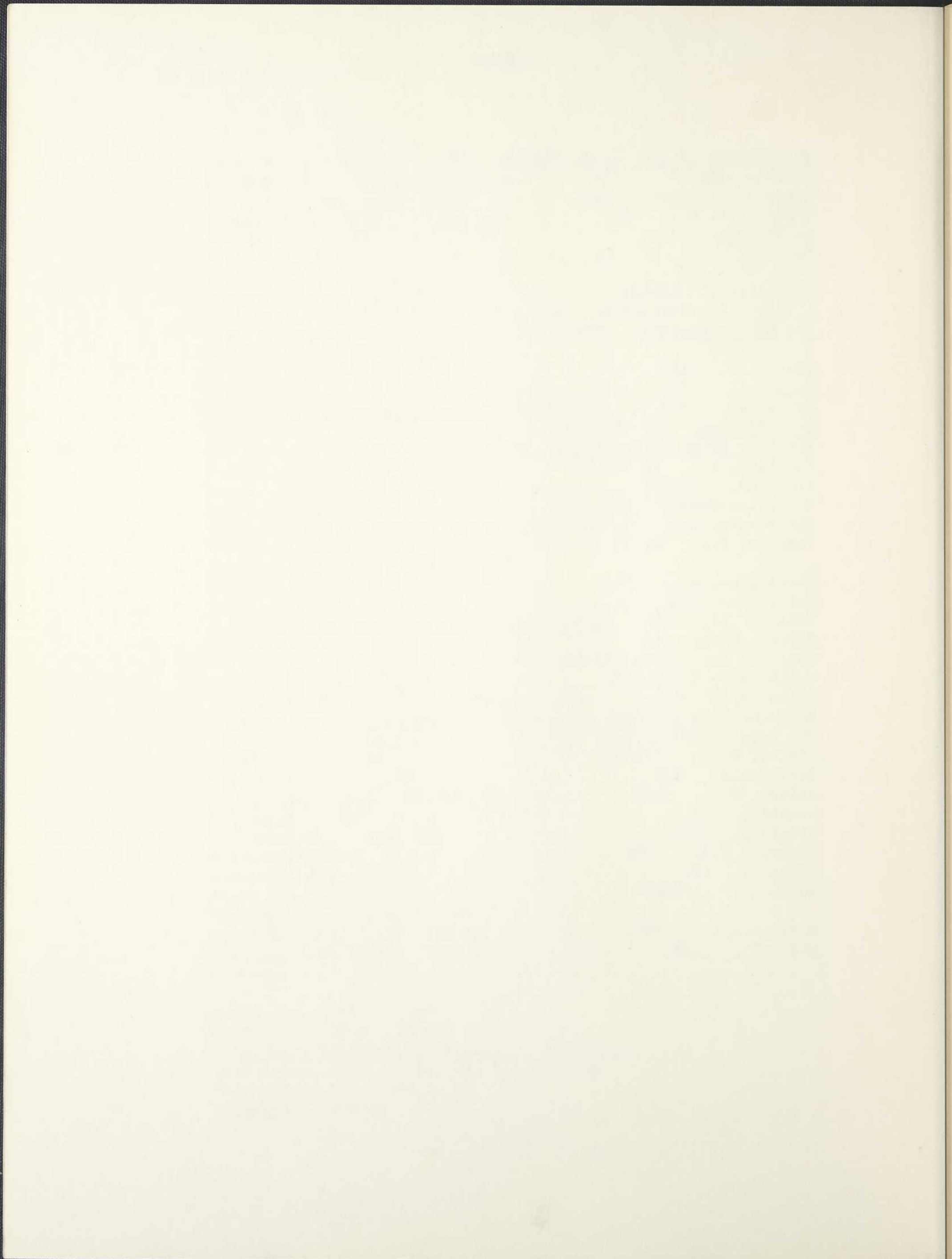
- The Thought of Mgr. L.-A. Pâquet, 96
Trachtenberg, H., 128
Tragedy of Quebec, 100
Treitschke, H., 141
La Tribune, 55
Turgeon, 62
- Ukrainians, 124-25
L'Union, St.-Hyacinthe, 55
The United Kingdom, 161
- Vancouver, 113
Vatican I, 73
La Vérité, 132
Vers l'abîme, 32-34, 132
The Very Words of Our Lord, 184
Veillot, L., 34-36, 69
Victoria, 113-17
Victoria, Queen, 133
Villeneuve, A., 56, 75, 77-90
Voisine, N., 72, 85
- Waddington, A., 114
Wade, M., 132
Waite, 117
Walkem, W.W., 13
Wallace, E., 130, 133-34, 140
Wallbridge, T.C., 52
Walsh, J., 72
Wedderborn, A., 10
The Week, 130, 193-94
Whates, H.R., 121-22
Whitemouth, 127
Wilder, H.E., 127
Windsor, 37
Winnipeg, 114
Withrow, W.H., 166
Witness, 191
Wolf, L., 177-80
- Zangwill, I., 207
Zolf, L., 128

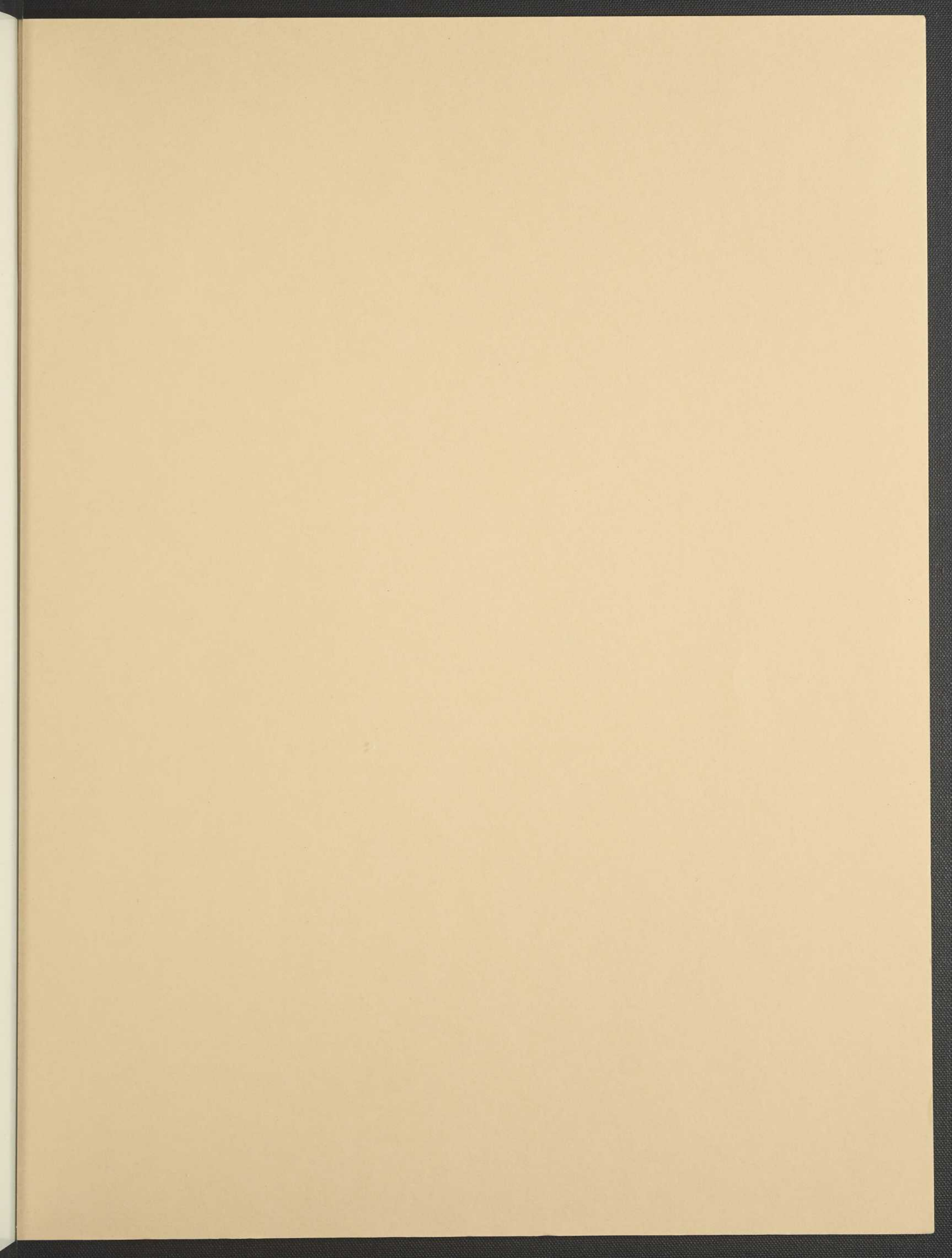


The Thought of Mr. I. A. F. 98
 Trachtenberg, H. 118
 Tragedy of Quebec 100
 Trachtenberg, H. 141
 La Tribune 22
 Turgenev, 62
 Uxatians, 124-25
 L'Union, St.-Hyacinthe, 22
 The United Kingdom, 161
 Vancouver, 113
 Vatican I, 73
 La Vieille, 122
 Vera I. Epina, 22-24, 122
 The Very Words of Our Lord, 184
 Veillette, L., 24-26, 29
 Victoria, 113-17
 Victoria, Queen, 123
 Villeneuve, A., 26, 27, 28, 29
 Voltaire, N., 22, 23
 Waddington, A., 114
 Wade, N., 112
 Wain, 117
 Wain, W.W., 12
 Wallace, E., 120, 121-22, 140
 Walbridge, T.C., 22
 Walsh, J., 72
 Wodheworth, A., 120, 121-22
 The Week, 120, 121-22
 Wharfe, H.A., 121-22
 Whitcomb, 122
 Wilder, H.E., 122
 Windsor, 22
 Winnipeg, 114
 Winton, W.H., 120
 Witness, 121
 Wolf, L., 117-20
 Young, J., 120
 Zoll, J., 128
 Zola, A., 72
 Zola, J.-F., 70
 Zola, J.-F., 66, 70
 Zola, J.-F., 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000









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