

305.8924071
R7631c
1977
v.1

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

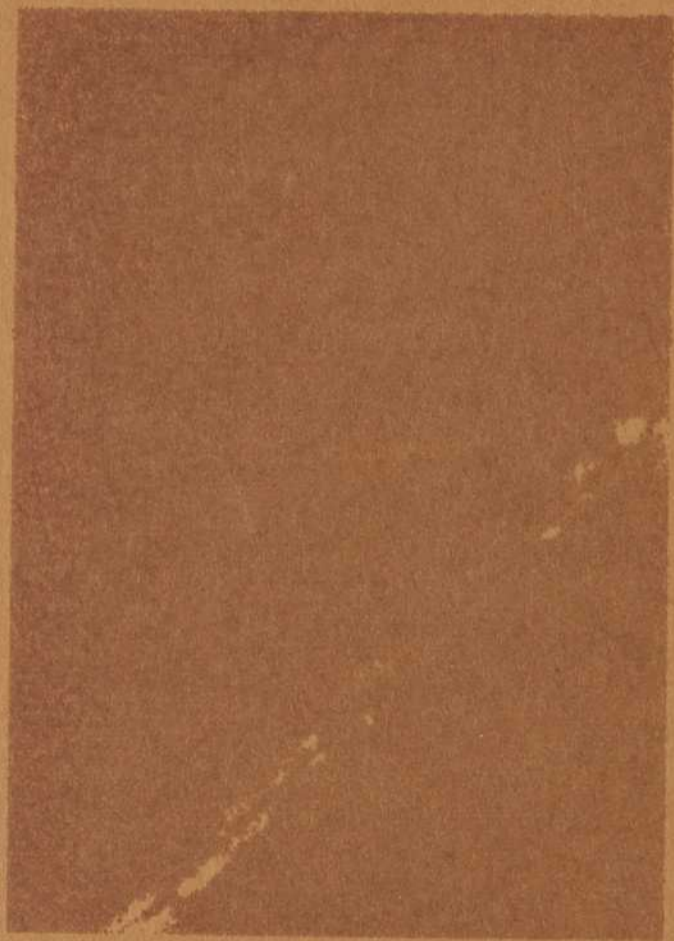
On Antisemitism In Canada. 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

**By
David Rome**

Section 1

Montreal, 1977



CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Antisemitism In Canada.

1929 - 1939

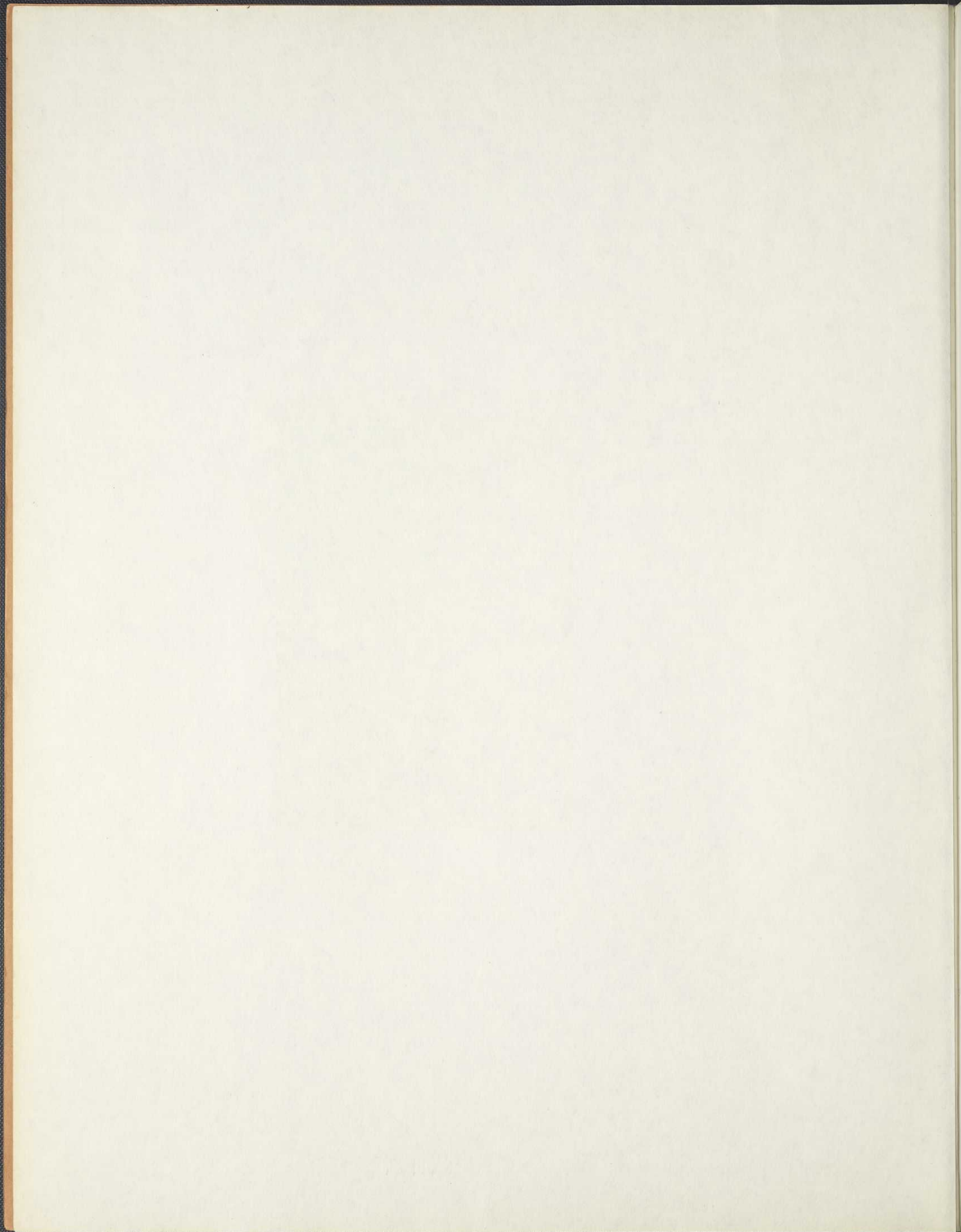
(A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History)

By

David Rome

Section 1

Montreal, 1971



BY THE SAME AUTHOR

ON THE JEWISH SCHOOL QUESTION IN MONTREAL 1883-1937
1976 Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31

THE H.M. GARDNER BOOK
By David Rome, 1967

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

THE FIRST TWO YEARS
A
A REFLECTED BLOOD
OUR ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1933 HITLER'S YEAR 1938
Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31)

On Antisemitism In Canada. 1929 - 1939

THE CONGRESS ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1934 1938
Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31)

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

JEWISH ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1932 1938
Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31)

THE EARLY JEWISH PRESENCE IN CANADA
A Book Lovers' Name
1971

**By
David Rome**

JEWS IN CANADIAN LITERATURE
A Bibliography, 1912
Second Edition 1964

RECENT CANADIAN JEWISH AUTHORS 1978
Supplementary to JEWS IN CANADIAN LITERATURE
Edition 1964

Section 1

EARLY DOCUMENTS ON THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS 1914-1937 1978
Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31)

Montreal, 1977

INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS ON THE JEWISH SCHOOL QUESTION 1883-1937 1978
Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 31)

BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

ON THE JEWISH SCHOOL QUESTION IN MONTREAL 1903–1931.

1976 Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series No. 3)

THE H.M. CAISERMAN BOOK

David Rome and Bernard Figler
with AN ESSAY ON MODERN JEWISH TIMES
by David Rome. 1962.

THE FIRST TWO YEARS

A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific
coast, 1858–1860. 1942.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEWISH CANADIANA. 1959.

OUR ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1933, HITLER'S YEAR. 1976.

Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No.5).

THE CONGRESS ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1934. 1976.

Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 6).

JEWISH ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1935. 1976

Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 7)

THE EARLY JEWISH PRESENCE IN CANADA

A Book Lover's Ramble Through Jewish Canadiana. 1971.

JEWS IN CANADIAN LITERATURE

A Bibliography. 1962.
Second Edition 1964.

RECENT CANADIAN JEWISH AUTHORS. 1970

Supplementary to JEWS IN CANADIAN LITERATURE Second
Edition 1964.

EARLY DOCUMENTS ON THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS 1914–1921. 1974.

Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 1)

INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS ON THE JEWISH SCHOOL QUESTION 1903–1932. 1975.

Listed by David Rome
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series No. 2)

DS
146
C3R6
v.1 f5

D7900013

CONTENTS

Introduction P. 1

The Context P. 12

- Bourgeois and the Pope, 14.
- International review, 15.
- Quebec Journalism, 17.
- Action catholique, 17.
- Revue religieuse de Québec, 18.
- Arche Québec Huron, 19.
- Abbé E.-Valère Lavigne, 21.
- Action française, 25.
- Abbé Louis Groulx, 27.
- Revue de l'Église, 33.

The State of the Nation P. 37

- Confederation, 38.
- Disquiet in the '30's, 41.
- A Jewish party, 43.
- George's party, 44.
- The White Star, 45.
- Jews and Communism, 48.
- Arcand's attack, 51.
- L. J. Paré, 55.
- Abbé Huron, 57.
- Action catholique, 61.
- David Bell, 62.
- Jews in a Christian country? 63.
- Mrs. George Gauthier, 66.
- The Jewish Question, 70.
- The consequences, 75.

Arcand Enters Politics P. 87

- His beginnings, 88.
- Patriotic Order of Canada, 87.
- First attack on Jews, 90.
- Arcand, Catholic, 93.
- Writing Jewish history, 95.
- Journal, 100.
- Testimony, 101.
- Finance, 111.
- R. B. Stewart, 115.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

ON THE BRITISH SCHOOL-GARDENS IN SCOTLAND, 1821-1831
Edinburgh, 1904

THE H.W. LACROIX PAPERS
Edinburgh, 1904
WITH AN ESSAY ON SCOTTISH SCHOOL TEACHERS
by David Laing, 1882

THE FIRST TWO YEARS
A Study of the Early Years of Childhood
Edinburgh, 1904

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION, 1800

OUR ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914
Edinburgh, 1914
(Canadian Journal of Education, New Series, No. 1)

THE SCOTTISH ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1915, 1916
Edinburgh, 1916
(Canadian Journal of Education, New Series, No. 2)

SCOTTISH ARCHIVAL RECORD OF 1917, 1918
Edinburgh, 1918
(Canadian Journal of Education, New Series, No. 3)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SCHOOLS IN CANADA
A Study of the First Fifty Years, 1763-1813
Edinburgh, 1918

EDUCATION IN CANADA IN THE 19th CENTURY
A Study of the First Fifty Years
Second Edition, 1921

RECENT CANADIAN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1910-1920
Department of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1921
Edinburgh, 1921

EARLY EDUCATION ON THE CANADIAN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1811-1821, 1826
Edinburgh, 1921
(Canadian Journal of Education, New Series, No. 4)

INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS ON THE BRITISH SCHOOL-GARDENS, 1821-1831, 1875
Edinburgh, 1921
(Canadian Journal of Education, New Series, No. 5)

24
145
0386

0386

CONTENTS

Introduction:	P. 1
The Context:	P. 12
Bourassa and the Pope, 12.	
International racism, 16.	
Quebec journalism, 17.	
<u>Action catholique</u> , 17.	
<u>Semaine religieuse de Québec</u> , 18	
Abbé Antonio Huot, 19.	
Abbé E.-Valmore Lavergne, 24.	
<u>Action française</u> , 25	
Abbé Lionel Groulx, 27.	
<u>Revue de droit</u> , 33.	
The School Question:	P. 38
Confederation, 38.	
Disquiet in the '20's, 41.	
A Jewish panel, 43.	
Bourassa's stand, 44.	
His antisemitic credentials, 46.	
Jews and freemasons, 48.	
Arcand's attack, 52.	
L.J.Papineau, 55.	
Abbé Huot, 59.	
<u>Action catholique</u> , 61.	
David Bill, 62.	
Jews in a Christian country? 63.	
Mgr. Georges Gauthier, 64.	
The Jewish Commission, 76.	
The consequences, 78.	
Arcand Enters Politics	P. 84
His beginnings, 84.	
Patriotic Order of Goglus, 87.	
First attacks on Jews, 90.	
Arcand, Catholic, 92.	
Writing Jewish History, 98.	
Fascism, 100.	
Testimony, 101.	
Finances, 111.	
R.B.Bennett, 114.	

	Introduction:	
4. 12	The Context:	
	Business and the Press, 11	
	International factors, 15	
	Gender journalism, 17	
	Action journalism, 17	
	Special religious coverage, 18	
	Local factors, 19	
	Anti-Semitism, 21	
	Action journalism, 23	
	Anti-Semite, 23	
	Risks in print, 23	
2. 28	The School Question:	
	Conclusion, 28	
	Dispute in the '50's, 41	
	A Jewish panel, 43	
	Rosen's stand, 44	
	His anti-Semitic credentials, 45	
	Jews and Communism, 45	
	Accord's view, 47	
	L.J. Pappas, 47	
	Rube Rube, 48	
	Action journalism, 49	
	David Hill, 49	
	Jews in a Christian country, 51	
	Mr. George Gershwin, 51	
	The Jewish Commission, 52	
	The consequences, 53	
2. 84	Armed Jewish Politics:	
	The background, 84	
	Political Order of Catholics, 87	
	First attack on Jews, 88	
	Armed Catholics, 88	
	World Jewish History, 88	
	Fascism, 100	
	Testimony, 101	
	Reference, 111	
	Bibliography, 114	

INTRODUCTION

During the preparation of this essay political events in Canada have altered the perspective in which the history of the country -- and particularly of Quebec -- is being read. The relations between Canadian groups have become more widely recognized as a delicate and as a fate-laden question.

This attaches greater importance to the theme of this paper. But at the same time it emphasizes the need to read it in its context, which is historical and is strictly limited in time. It does deal with some elements in Canadian thinking which at this time entered deeply into the totality of the nation's cultural heritage, and therefore it cannot be ignored as skeletons in a closet. But these should be recalled as elements which at one time were prevalent and upon which the Canadian population has turned its back. Today's reader wants to know his past, of course, because it is the past of his people. He will also want to know to what extent its negative constituents are totally of the past, what of them remain operative today and whether any of their seeds are still extant. He will also want to be on guard against revival of the undesirable.

The context of this essay:

It is the second in a series of chapters out of the life of the Jews in Canada. (The first was On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-32, issued as the third in the new series of Canadian Jewish Archives, 1976).

These chapters tell some part of the story of a tiny element of the Canadian population; it has constituted 1½% of the Canadian people during all of Canadian history.

But, since the Canadian totality is composed of a number of such segments, this history may not be without some little significance for all Canadians.

For a variety of reasons the Jewish community may raise special points of interest for all readers of Canadian history, elements which make it a little more illuminating than the 1½% figure may indicate. Some parts of this essay may surpass the 1½% norm.

In another dimension: Canada's Jews form some 2% of world Jewry, reduced as it has been in the recent decades. The Canadian community, therefore, has its modest place among the smaller Jewries in the totality of the grander saga of lasting Israel.

Readers interested in the fate and in the deeds of modern Jewry in the free world may possibly find particular aspects of the Canadian branch worthy of a bit

more of their attention than the due 2-3%.

Certainly Jewish readers in the Canadian community will relate intimately to these annals of their own lives and to their own family tree; they will recall their own experiences and those of their quite immediate ancestry.

In our verbose world, so overrich in words and so poor in common definitions, it is important to be extremely incisive in selecting the meaningful from among the "facts" and the significantly truthful from the mass of "documentation." Archives, precious as they doubtless are, can most effectively entrap us --not in falsehoods, but in misleading irrelevancy. Here enters the legitimate function of the historian: he must decide which shall be the rods of his evaluation. The measure of his maturity and of his technique fundamentally apply here.

The reader of the history of the Canadians of Jewish origin is forced to approach the period between the two world wars of this century by measures which are those of all historians.

It is not always that the concerns of groups within Canadian society are so completely identical with those of total Canadian society and of total mankind.

Vast events loom which, by sheer magnitude, define themselves and establish their rank.

The foremost meaningful process and consequence of those years was the war that thundered the inter-bellum decades to an infernal end.

Secondly -- and not unrelated -- the unprecedented holocaust which defined the heart of the hell within the core of war and distilled the evil within the man, destructive of all that is positive in his nature and of all basis of hope, of trust, of value, beauty and of peace.

These events decided most violently "who shall live and who shall die" among the billions of all living men and women, and more specifically among those of Jewish origin. They decided whether and where the traditions and heritage of Judaism -- and of its offspring Christianity -- shall

continue. They decided whether the delicate creature of French and British civilizations shall continue in Canada and elsewhere; what freedoms and fulfillments shall be open to centuries of mankind ahead.

Even an ever-questioning, self-doubting generation, constantly re-examining its own conclusions, can find its historic outlook on certainty: Naziism has been all evil; that those who aided, encouraged and defended it share in the crime against its victims and against all humanity; that they deserve the obloquy of all who ever recall their names, the more so if they were sufficiently literate and informed to have their actions called deliberate and responsible.

One need only give rein to horrible imagination for a moment and imagine the fate of any person, any group or all mankind in the not impossible event of an unconditional German victory to be certain of the justice and sanctity of the war against Hitler. Our retrospect justifies as sound and historically beneficent guides those who opposed this totalitarianism and who sought to maintain the democracy, justice and traditions of Judeo-Christian compassion, those who condemned the policies and acts of the Nazis, who sought to prevent the spread of such ideas, to counter the effects of Nazi policies, to aid their victims and to sustain what the Nazis sought to destroy.

It was an elemental conflict between good and evil if ever there has been one in the history of mankind. It is not simplistic to view each person and each public statement and act with the eyes of a European victim of Hitlerism and with the perspective of a Canadian citizen enjoying or seeking the beneficences of our Canadian freedom and hope: did Person X or Person Y contribute to the survival of one or a million of the children and women and men who were burned or drowned or shot or starved or tortured in the decades between 1930 and 1945? Did X or Y defend Canadian democracy from the open encroachments upon this nation by totalitarian forces emanating from White and Red Russia, from black Italy, from brown Germany and other evil colours on the European continent.

The background of this Canadian anti-Jewish propaganda is complex and deeply rooted. It is oversimplification to relate it solely to the German development, or indeed, entirely to importation. This essay indicates that the crises of the thirties antedates Hitler's accession to power; nor was German Nazi support the major motive force of the Canadian antisemitic movement. The roots of the terrible toxin going back half a century in Canada call for a separate study.

What concerns us in this Canadian Jewish record is the spread of this moral pathology, particularly by the political and the "spiritual" institutions in the nation.

The propagators were many and resistance to them was remarkably weak. There was little outspoken opposition to the fascist and to the antisemitic agitators. Even the established institutions succumbed to pressure. There was scarcely any face-to-face programmatic attack upon the antisemitic organizations.

There are several saving elements that need to be noted for an evaluation of the decades:

The concept of violence was eschewed in Canada by all concerned, even by the preachers of race hatred, contradictory as this may seem. Unlike European parallels, there was little violence upon person or upon property here. Indeed, a glance at the police record during these tense Canadian years shows less anti-Jewish violence in Montreal than occurred in the summer of 1909, for instance.

To a large part this restraint had Christian religious roots; justice, love and moderation were meaningful terms even in the milieu of the fascists. Even those who disseminated contempt and suspicion of Jews often specifically limited their anti-Jewish preachments with warnings that violence and other unjust actions must at all times be avoided. These restraints were indeed serious in the eyes of their readers. It is not only that the level of street violence was remarkably low considering the violence of the propaganda. There is also the probability that this restraint entered deeply into the social attitudes of the Canadian population.

At this point it is only fair to record a comment by a critical reader,

"If there was a feeling of hostility towards the Jews in the French Canadian and Catholic milieu, it is unfairly exaggerated by relating it constantly to the ancient, virulent, bloody and often secular antisemitism of eastern Europe which has climaxed in Hitlerism. This is unfair.

"For French Canadian antisemitism was only verbal, partial and rather inoffensive, rather the fruit of the collective insecurity of our people than of visceral hatred. Those of us who are sympathetic to our national aspirations are not aware of any hatred of any type towards the Jews. If antisemitism was as aggressive here as this study would lead anyone to believe, it would be incomprehensible that it would not have found expression in violence, riots and pogroms.

"French Canadians and Jews, to start with, are minorities in Canada, and are consequently limited and are mutually involved with each other in their initiatives and in their collective expressions. Each of them, therefore, feels hampered and seeks to win a freedom of action which would correspond with its aspirations and its natural wish to live. Both are characterized and structured to be inassimilable. French Canadians have hitherto resisted all efforts to assimilate them into the anglophone continent. Jews have been unassimilable at all times and in all places, even in the heart of the Roman empire.

"It is inevitable that two such groups living on one territory, enter into conflict. But such a conflict between two minorities on the defensive has none of the character that it may have had in the Christian kingdoms of Europe, in spite of similarities in vocabulary....

"The problems derive their importance from the general framework (of the position of the Jews in Quebec) and not from international antisemitism. It is not sufficient to examine newspapers and magazines. We must ask what success the propagandists have had with the people. Have the Jews been isolated, snared, beaten, bludgeoned? This is what we need to know, for this is what truly

indicates the profound sentiment of the people, the fundamental attitude of French Canadian culture towards a group as distinctive as the Jewish."

This comment emphasizes another element in Canadian political psychology evidenced, not for the first or the last time, in the history of the country: a silent sophistication in the grass roots in the face of loud and long agitation -- not to be misread as lethargy -- which is slow to accept extremes and holds out long for common sense and for decency, all this without loud or lengthy justifications.

It was this widespread sophistication, sometimes expressed in a vote for moderation or in the eloquent language of the anonymous, that was the unremarked bastion of freedom-thinking in those fateful decades. Unhappily, this unarticulated expression is difficult to document, to analyse or to appraise.

Our times, and future times, will want to understand this epoch of world history.

The Canadian facts of that time are regrettable and frightening, shocking and painful. They need to be recorded and they need to be known.

There is no possible good, and there is certainly much possible harm, in sweeping them under the carpet.

Our self-respect as a nation forbids an image based upon incomplete truth about our past. A people needs true heroes and symbols, not idols whose past is a painted corpse.

The enormity of war and of holocaust is forcing many peoples into searing reexaminations and reevaluations. Without such a reconsideration we should find ourselves on the side of the torturers. There is already too much evidence around us that those who reject the record of the '30's are dooming the rest of us to a repetition of the '40's.

Inexorably we must judge the wisdom of each person and of each act of those years and the good will of each group in terms of foresight and of care for humanity. Was it for concentration camps or for their victims? Did it strengthen Hitler or Anne Frank? Was it with Goebbels or with Ben Gurion?

Two recent Canadian books concretize the basic issues of those two decades between the wars: Howard Roiter's Voices from the Holocaust forces us to hear all the men of the six million, and Mrs. Betcherman's The Swastika and the Maple Leaf; Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties recalls the nation's escape from the great and fatal epidemic of the time.

On the record there is much to make a Canadian unhappy. This land -- virtually a model democracy within peace, distant from the lands of exploding rooted tensions, fated to battle in defence of total civilization at the cost of precious lives and of much treasure -- spent the years confusingly, not by readying and strengthening for this conflict, but in an intense, corrosive debate which weakened its loyalty to its own traditions, to equality, to law and to openness.

This sad process began early, spurred by the losers of the first war, the White Russians who reinvented the Protocols. They were soon joined by the Germans and by the ungrateful winners in Rumania, Poland, Lithuania and other reconstituted nations who developed Nazi antisemitism long before the Germans heard of Hitler.

The Jewish history of this Canadian prelude to Hitler has not yet been told, but Richard Jones has more than adumbrated one important Quebec phase in his L'Idéologie de l'Action catholique, 1919-39.

The overwhelming fact -- which occupies much of the present work -- tells of the spread of antisemitism in Canada, largely in Quebec, during this period.

It is a saddening story of the active and aggressive propagation of anti-democratic ideas destructive of civic equality, of ethnic amity, of the rights of individual citizens, of religious freedom. This program was intended to destroy the Jews' position in society, for it fed upon the scapegoat psychosis which proposed to make the Jew ultimately responsible for all the ills of the world.

The process was already old in Canada when the inter-bellum period began, but it acquired new virility at this time from a variety of causes which do not interest us here; to know the social and political circumstances about the development of this evil is not to render the evil any the lesser, just as examining the conditions in Germany after 1918 is irrelevant in judging the ethical catastrophe of Hitlerism.

Denial is the natural immediate response to any reflection upon any of our own. It is easy to regard an exposition of painful facts as an attack to be rejected.

It would be ill-serving to read the record -- and to recall the words and documents -- as an attack upon Canadians or upon groups of Canadians. It would be a sad reading of this essay, diametrically opposed to the spirit and the intent animating the compilation, a frustration of the purposes and uses of historic reexamination and a failing of the processes of national development, to find in it anything except sympathy and respect for such Canadian elements as are involved in this record -- the nation, the churches, Quebec patriotism or the French Canadian cultural tradition.

But Canadians cannot live without a revision of the value of our national and moral self. This implies a factual review of our predecessors and of our ancestors which accords with our incisive beliefs and with the deepest principles of our national collective.

As Victor Teboul put it in regard to Quebec in Voix et images du pays, issued by the Presses de l'Université de Québec, "Clearly the current attitude which consists of denying or minimizing the existence of antisemitism in our past seems sterile and dangerous to any analytical study. In any wider perspective, psychologists and sociologists will benefit from formulating a clear view of the image of 'the others' in our imagination." ("Antisémitisme, mythe et images du Juif au Québec, essai d'analyse," in no.9, 1975, Pp.87-112)

There are villains in this story who need to be identified and understood. There can be no durable, meaningful Canadian moral peace which is based on ignoring those in our midst who abetted the suffering and the death of so many. There can be no virtue of any category in shutting out the liaison between the Germans of Dachau and of Auschwitz and the Canadian teachers who sought to excuse, to minimize and to justify the violence of the Germans and of the Poles, of those

who spread the same hatred and contempt in Canada which the Endeks and the Nazis were propagating in their own homes.

There is a connection between each of the million murdered children in Europe, the dying women in diabolical Treblinka, the gassed in Auschwitz, the men tortured in Polish chambers, the families driven into caves and sewers, the orphaned, the bereft, the widowed, the crippled, the despoiled and the ravaged -- and the Canadian preachers, the journalists, the nationalists, the officials, the mayors, the voters, the athletes, the internes and the prime ministers who are mentioned in this essay.

The one recurrent appeal from the dying in the Holocaust is "Remember Us," echoing the theme of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, "Remembering is the first step towards redemption; Forgetting leads to Hades."

Whether the Canadian record is of approval of the evil ones, whether it is an apologia or justification of the tormentors, whether it is the intent to introduce the same inhumanity into the peaceful and unravaged soil of Canada, whether it is preaching the philosophy and the premises that underlay Hitler's inflammation, whether it is a common contempt for the Jews in Europe or of Europe's Jews in Canada, whether it is the barring of the gates to those who sought to flee the flames and catapulting them from our Atlantic ports back to Hamburg -- the searing facts are there.

Not for the first time in history, and not only in Canada, a nation has to rethink its sincerest beliefs and values and its record in building its own New Jerusalem on its own soil. Not for the first time is there distortion of ideals and creeds.

Persons and institutions entrusted with high missions appear to have acted in contrary directions. The record does not spare persons who are still dear to Canadians for many reasons. Some of these are ancestral institutions and patriarchal persons whom we had reason to revere, of a morality we had respected. Now we see some of them touched by the unspeakable evil of centuries and of this century.

Nor is it the first time that le fait juif is fundamental in such a historic revision. The Holocaust repeats the Abrahamic centrality in the annals of mankind. Christians

will recognize this as freely as Jews, even if only from the history of their creed.

The implications of the record of the decades is general, not sectional. The restatement of ultimate re-dedications called for, the casting away of dross, the reformulation of the abiding essence of each sector of our nation is the function of the entire citizenry.

The historic facts are such that not one group or institution comes under criticism, to be defended in all its acts and words of the past by its continuators and heirs.

All Canadians need to review their past and know that their neighbours are engaged in parallel reformulations; it is a national condition in which each Canadian must assist his fellow citizen in a spirit contrary to recrimination.

As always, such processes result in a more humane patriotism, in deeper respect for fellow-Canadians, in inter-responsibility for fellow-men.

The Jewish citizen is more centrally involved in the civic process than other Canadians. In addition to re-reading his own record in the country's past, together with other Canadians, the Jewish citizen can advance a conception of Canada which has lebensraum for its component groups, including the Jewish. He may put forth and defend a conception of Canada's international position that would help to ensure space and peace for the Jewish people beyond the borders of Canada.

Such are some of the uses of history.

THE CONTEXT

Probably the most illuminating approach to the history of the Jewish community in Canada between the wars emerges, remarkably enough, from a meeting between the prophet of French Canadian nationalism, Henri Bourassa, in 1926, and the Pope in Rome.

Bourassa was on his tour of the continent in the ancient aristocratic tradition, in search of the cultural roots of his past and of inspiration for the future. The intellectual teacher and statesman of Quebec nationalism had won reverence by asserting the primacy of the French language even over the church: "faith, the guardian of the tongue". But he was nevertheless a man of the most unreserved Catholic faith, profoundly convinced of the truth of the tenets of the church; of intense and secret experience of the supernatural, of profound respect for the institutions of the church and for its leaders. This man of deliberate thought did not bear lightly the role of mentor for generations of dear youths who looked to him for guidance; but restlessly, not meekly.

The man whom Bourassa met at Rome was bearing great responsibilities for hundreds of millions of faithful in many lands, living the faith under various and fluctuating conditions, in a world suffering cataclysmic changes after a vast war, and clearly before another slaughter; and the changes and shiftings were not all favourable to the church.

In their private exchange on their responsibilities and on the deepest swells and currents in the light of their philosophic and historic experience, in the longest interests of their followers - an onerous concern they both shared - the Pope revealed to Bourassa the fundamental nature of their common and immediate enemy.

It was the unbridled new nationalism that was beginning to sweep the world, the national idea - ancient and valid, but now uncontrolled by any moral limitation on objective and on the means of achieving its goals.

Robert Rumilly's account of Bourassa's day in Rome, based on Bourassa's recollections a decade later in his notable address of May 9, 1935:

"Mussolini receives him and describes for him the social aspect of his programme.

"Officials offer him an audience with the Pope - a private audience which Bourassa had not sought. They insist, 'The Pope will be perfectly informed about you; he will offer you directives'. In fact, Pius XI is aware of the influence of the Canadian journalist, of his position as nationalist leader and of the evolution he has undergone in recent years. He has been told of Bourassa's attitudes, of his tendency to subordinate the defence of the nation to religious discipline. He has seen the text of the address on 'Patriotism, Nationalism, Imperialism' with the key sentence,

" 'In his encyclical Ubi arcano Dei, the Sovereign Pontiff has denounced 'immoderate nationalism' as one of the principal causes of to-day's evils. There is no exaggeration here'.

"Bourassa accepts the invitation, on Nov. 18, 1926. Received alone this time, he prostrates himself at the feet of the Supreme Head of the Church. Pius XI has him rise, asks him to sit, and begins - abruptly, calmly, inflexibly, calmly - what Bourassa was himself to call the most powerful lesson in his life. It was the trial of nationalism.

" 'You direct a newspaper. The influence of the press is immense, for good or for evil. The first duty of a Catholic journalist is to defend the causes of God and of the Church. Other causes, even legitimate causes, are secondary, and should be subordinate. A Catholic must never put them first...'

" 'At the present time, the principal obstacle to the work of the Papacy and of the Church in the world is the predominance of racial passions in all lands, the substitution of nationalism for Catholicism'.

"The lecture lasts an hour. When it is ended, the Canadian again throws himself at the feet of Pius XI. 'Holy Father, the world more than ever needs the Pope, the light of the Pope, the guidance of the Pope'.

" 'Yes', the Pope continues, 'The world needs the Pope; the Pope also needs the world. For his words to bear fruit, they must needs be heard, understood and applied. Above all, Catholics who profess to believe in the Pope and to obey him must hear his word, understand his thought

and apply it in their own countries. The first duty of Catholics is to become Catholics again.'

"The long audience ended, Bourassa secluded himself, took the first boat home and returned home, scarcely leaving his cabin throughout the voyage. Kneeling at the foot of his bunk, he opened all the windows of his soul to the beam of blinding light which clarified the good, the fair and the evil in his own past. He recalled, in turn, each of the great hours of his career, and wove them into a crown of thistles to wear the rest of his life.

"He rose ready for any sacrifice. He regretted -- and he would disavow -- everything in his career which did not clearly respect the primacy of the rights of God and of the Church over the rights of race and language....

"Back in Canada, Bourassa disappears. Not an interview, not an article." (Henri Bourassa, Montreal, Editions Chantecler, Pp. 692-93)

Bourassa listened, heard -- and his life was changed. He applied this test to the Quebec scene, to the personal relations surrounding him, to the trends in Quebec, and he was deeply altered. It may be that he was not changed, only that he was confirmed in earlier feelings, judgments and prejudices.

He had sinned the sin of Jew hatred. He had defended the Czar's pogroms early in the century and had been the advocate of the Russian Black Hundreds. He had fought to prevent Jewish Sabbath observers from earning their bread on Sundays, even in private. He had called them "the class which sucked the most from other people.... They lived as vampires on the people," in the Sunday Law debate of 1906. His Le Devoir had libelled Mr. Clarence I. de Sola and he had sought to injure the poor clients of the Baron de Hirsch Institute. He had argued, together with Toronto's antisemitic Goldwin Smith, that Jews do not acquire land, they do not assimilate; they are parasites who oppress the poor.

But by 1912 he found such antisemitism on the pages of his Devoir repugnant, and apologized to S.W. Jacobs for such views as having slipped past him without his notice. By 1924 he was opposing the anti-Jewish boycott. "It is one thing to encourage patronage of French-Canadians and quite another to exclude all commercial enterprise with people of another race."

Of his Rome experience of 1926 Bourassa later wrote, "the audience was quiet...I need not state that I came out of it strengthened, comforted, enlightened for the rest of my life".

"The creator of a new nationalism had listened for an hour to a lecture on what is legitimate and what is not legitimate in contemporary nationalism", to quote from Laurendeau's recollections of his own criticism of Bourassa.

It was certainly a shock; but Bourassa was prepared to listen to the head of Christendom.

He had always kept a private distance from his sergeants and privates; being a Papineau had helped Bourassa. Now his privacy was justified by the private possession of riches of wisdom and of vast perspectives. He was larger and more distant from the street arabs at the fringes of his national movement. Some of these wore clerical garb.

It was probably not mentioned at the Vatican, but the issue at the heart of their discussion was also tearing at the entrails of world Jewry.

As the two Catholic gentlemen looked at the world and at Canada, the central concern was, as always, the continuity of Christian teaching menaced by the new version of patriotism. As the Jews looked at the same world in which they were seeking, as always, to survive, their overwhelming concern was the holocaust again launched on the horizon by the new shirted patriots. After Torquemada and Chmielnitzky - now Hitler.

The forces of which the Pope warned Bourassa, in their new European manifestation, were preparing to destroy the Jewish people.

In the Soviet Union the red nationalistic imperialism, in its steamroller levelling of societies and nations, was crushing century-old Russian Jewry, its religion, culture, nationalism, institutions, loyalties, relationships. The Russian emigration had concocted the Protocols and were poisoning the world, from Cairo to California, with the insanity myth of a Jewish conspiracy to destroy civilization. In Poland and Rumania, pogroms and boycotts were starving millions to death. In Germany the confusion of defeat was solaced by finding coordinates in beer-born racism and antisemitism. All over Central Europe the minority rights guaranteed to Jews after the Versailles Peace Conference became the target of attack upon both Jews and upon Versailles.

Everywhere the insistence upon "racial" homogeneity within national boundaries created a pressure upon the Jews. Suddenly an "unassimilable Jew" became a crime against "100 per cent loyalism". At the same time these lands became the goal of refuge for the Jews fleeing the holocaust so near. This "nationalistic" hostility, identifying itself with race, was pressing shut their gates. The key words became the nations' homogeneity, sovereignty, minorities and quotas, all adding up to exclusion, discrimination, hatred, persecution, pogrom, holocaust.

In Canada, and in Quebec in particular where Bourassa returned, nationalism became increasingly anti-semitic in tone. It came to teach contempt of the Jews living in the country and a new opposition to the admission of Jewish immigrants. This just when such immigration meant ever more clearly saving the life of the man at the gates from the axe-armed pogromist close behind him.

One of the dangerous sources of Quebec antisemitism were the great newspapers of the province in whose columns an unbridled hatred was constantly preached.

Great names of Canadian journalism are on this roll of dishonour, including Omer Héroux, Georges Pelletier, Tardivel, Eugène L'Heureux, Louis Philippe Roy.

They were consistent in their contempt of their Jewish neighbours, in seeking to foil their political and their economic equality and progress, in opposing the entry of more Jews, in rejecting the restoration of Jewish Palestine.

Many of them shared -- more or less explicitly -- the concept of Jewry as an evil force, sometimes identified with other evil forces such as communism, freemasonry, conspiratorial high finance. They justified and supported antisemitic groups overseas and ridiculed the Jews' efforts to defend themselves. Concomitantly, many of them have fought all movements to provide a social foundation for the peaceful coexistence of Jews, and others, in Canada, or elsewhere.

It was significant of the Quebec scene that several of its highly respected voices - otherwise widely appreciated for their high literary level, for their disinterestedness and for their devotion to high religious, cultural and national ideals - included antisemitism in their credal and social philosophy.

They were the Canadian peers of the nineteenth-century continental ancestors of Hitlerism. There were clear intellectual links across the ocean. Léon de Poncins, Edouard Drumont, Charles Maurras, François Coty and L'Univers were sources of enlightenment for these editors and their readers. (Dom Besse. "La puissance anti-chrétienne", in Action catholique, Dec. 2, 1918) as were Libre parole (Albert Monniot. "Les programmes de la vague de fond", in Action catholique, Jan. 3, 1920, and "La Pologne livrée aux Juifs" on Sept. 25, 1919.)

Although all of them devoted and scholarly Catholics, and although many of them sought to establish their teachings of contempt upon theological grounds and upon a Catholic reading of history, Richard Jones notes that "most of the editors of Action catholique have gone beyond the official antisemitism of the church, to the point of accepting the myths of Jews being the agents of disorder and of destruction of all societies". (L'Idéologie

de l'Action catholique, 1917-39. Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974. P. 70. We are indebted to Jones for many of the citations in this work.)

Jones has formulated clearly the intellectual and political circumstances that led to the development of the devil-view of society by leaders of the Quebec church.

"Many Catholics felt increasingly threatened by hostile ideologies such as democracy, liberalism, anarchism, socialism, communism and anti-clericalism. Tending to confuse religion with superstition, they felt attracted by the idea of a world conspiracy. They took refuge in a more convenient interpretation, rather than meet the modern world on new ground, admit an adjustment to an evolving society, or admit that the established order they knew no longer holds...Freemasons, Jews, Bolsheviks are responsible for all revolutions; they sought to foment wars to overthrow society; they supported anti-clericalism in order to destroy the church; they encouraged vice -- divorce, free love, alcohol, cinema -- to disintegrate society and to lead to its complete disappearance.

"It is difficult at times to admit that thinking men, educated men, could maintain such theses. Nevertheless, it is true that a good many who were neither illiterate nor fanatic were sincere believers in secret conspiracies which could explain political, economic and social developments. It was a theory that easily fitted into the Catholic theology of the time: humanity was being chastised for disregarding the teachings of the Almighty. Freemasons, Jews and Communists were the instruments of this punishment.

"The religious phase of this myth was not essential, and it could adapt to other conditions by a secular version. One could, without being a Catholic, believe in a plot by universal Jewry to dominate the world." (Pp.52-53)

The conflict with the Jews, then, was on countless fronts, and the antisemites rejected any attempt to limit the virulence of the confrontation or to minimize the issues that created this hostility.

It needs also to be noted, in spite of the strong imported influences upon this movement from parallel European antisemitism, the Canadian mania was largely just that - Canadian. Its own scholars developed its world view and dogma and preached it by virtue of their own authority. Msgr. Paquet and Abbé Huot needed no foreign

references. It was to Canadian nationalism that they attached and from Canadian history they sought their examples.

What gives additional importance to these constant antisemitic teachings is that they all have the approbation of the entire church.

Not only do their editors and journalists call themselves Christians and Catholics, but their periodicals are described as Catholic. In the case of Action, Action sociale and later Action catholique, the term in the name and phrase is a meaningful program of deep, world-wide Catholic activity.

In this case there is a clear, formal relationship between the newspapers and the archbishops.

Any ordinary in the country could, with a word or gesture, have mitigated the sin of this antisemitism. Yet the hatred had unanimous and continuous support. It was not until the ageing Bourassa lifted his weakening voice in the early 1930's that we hear dissent in the Catholic society. The few anti-antisemitic voices, such as Asselin's, had to find expression elsewhere than in the religion-motivated periodicals of French Canada.

In Quebec City the official Semaine religieuse was spewing filth which will long stain the church. Issue after issue brought antisemitic poison to faithful readers who transmitted it to their own credulous audiences.

What is remarkably significant for the social scene in Quebec and for the history of sanity in the province is the unanimity in hatred and in mania. Of the millions of citizens and of the scores who fashioned its consensus there was not a voice of dissent or even of moderation of tone. There was no voice for charity or for moderation. The most charitable observation that could be made is that in some cultural centres there was silence where virulence might have been expected in the Quebec circumstance; e.g., the publications of the Jesuit Ecole sociale populaire and the proceedings of the Semaines sociales. There are also the little-known circumstances under which Cardinal Villeneuve withdrew his imprimatur from Jean Baptiste Beaupré. La réponse de la race et c'est ça.

Among those breeding these bacilli which led to millions of Jews dying, other millions being uprooted

and an ancient Jewish civilization being destroyed, was Abbé Antonio Huot, editor of the Semaine.

Father Huot did not need to take this anti-Jewish stand. The classic ultramontane, J. P. Tardivel, editor of Vérité, who attacked freemasonry bitterly (Mélanges, ou Recueil d'études religieux, sociales, politiques et littéraires, 1887, vol, 2,3) did not associate the order with Jews. Brother Guet, O.P., presumably as loyal a Christian as Father Huot, also wrote on La Francmaçonnerie et la conscience catholique (new, revised and corrected edition. Quebec, 1910. 32 p.). He was careful to make a distinction between the case of freemasonry and the Dreyfus case.

In 1906 Huot wrote, while at Pass Christian, Miss., Le fléau maçonnique, with a chapter on "The Jews and Freemasonry", in which he identified the order he called satanic with the Jewish people. Later Mgr. Cyrille Labrecque, who wrote the eulogy of Abbé Huot in the Semaine of Quebec on April 25, 1929 - himself no mild antisemite - appreciated "his perspicacity and discernment in foreseeing the activities of the Jews a quarter of a century before they became clear to all".

We need only read the title of his 1914 lecture before the Association canadienne de la jeunesse catholique at the Académie St-Joseph to know the teachings of the Quebec church: La question juive, quelques observations sur la question du meurtre rituel; published by Action sociale catholique (37 p.). At very great length the good father reaffirms that Jews commit ritual murder.

Among other aspects of the question, Abbé Huot faced the report submitted by Cardinal Ganganelli to the Holy Office which discredited the horrible libel, and which had always been accepted as the Catholic quietus on one of the shameful stains on Christianity.

But not to the satisfaction of the Quebec priest, who was armed with support from Les cahiers romains of 1913: the cardinal was only expressing a personal opinion, not at all binding upon others; indeed, an opinion that ran counter to the views of others and, above all, counter to the historic record. In truth, it is a testimony to the lively conscience of the prelate that he told what he personally felt to be the truth so boldly when the facts argued strongly in the other direction. He spoke his conscience even though it ran in favour of the worst enemies of the church. "Here is sparkling proof of the love of truth and of justice as we find it in the Catholic church. But that is all. The historical question about the existence of the ritual crime will not be decided by the personal opinion of Cardinal Ganganelli."

It was Cardinal Bégin who gave the nihil obstat for the publication.

Abbé Huot had early raised a cry of alarm over Zionism. On Jan. 24, 1918 he had written in the same weekly on "La prise de Jérusalem, et les Juifs" (Pp. 322-26).

Father Huot was concerned that Zionism would endanger the Jerusalem sites which are sacred to Christendom. He was comforted by the division on Zionism among Jews, finding a rabbi in New Orleans who opposed a Jewish state, and the Anglo-Jewish Association of England taking the same position.

Again he wrote on Nov. 27, 1919, "Où en est le Sionisme?" (Pp. 194-97) of the pope's concern for the Holy Places. "It would be a cruel pain for us and for all the faithful without exception if the unfaithful in Palestine were placed in a privileged position, all the more if those so venerable monuments of the Christian faith were turned over to non-Christians."

Later, in 1928, Abbé Huot visited Palestine and wrote a long series "En Terre Sainte, notes et impressions d'un pèlerin," in the Semaine, vol. 40, no. 45, July 5, 1928, Pp. 706-9; no. 46, July 12, Pp. 722-25; no. 48, July 26, Pp. 758-63; no. 49, Aug. 2, Pp. 770-74; no. 50, Aug. 9, Pp. 786-90; no. 52, Aug. 30, Pp. 834-37; vol. 41, no. 3, Sept. 20, 1928, Pp. 34-38; no. 4, Sept. 27, Pp. 51-55; no. 11, Nov. 15, Pp. 162-66; no. 12, Nov. 22, Pp. 178-82; no. 13, Nov. 29, Pp. 194-98; no. 14, Dec. 6, Pp. 210-14; no. 16, Dec. 20, 1928, Pp. 242-48; no. 18, Jan. 3, 1929, Pp. 279-83; no. 19, Jan. 10, Pp. 292-97, and no. 21, Pp. 323-26.

Among the uglinesses he found there -- the schismatics, Protestants and Moslems -- was that of "this mass of Zionist Jews, some of whom stare audaciously at the Catholics; and their young women, with their ultra-modern bearing, seemed even more brazen than the men."

During his visit to Ein Kerem on the Canadian Day of the pilgrimage plan, he saw a painting of the baptism of Jesus by St. John the Baptist by the Montreal painter, M. A. Rho, gift of Abbé Provancher.

It was there that he first saw the houses of the new Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, so American in style, so red of roofs. "A symbol? Of the bolshevism of these colonists from Russia?" Recalling the growth of Jewish farm settlement, of Tel Aviv, of the University with its

bright-eyed students, he remarked on the current depression and the fall of Jewish support for Zionism. He concluded that the movement had spent itself, having been based on mendacity in the first place. Failing the Christian illumination, Jews could take great steps, but along the road, they would fail.

For Abbé Huot it mattered little whether the Protocols were authentic or spurious; what was important for him was that they contain many observations on current Jewish practices and were based on indisputable facts.

In 1921 he had written a series of four articles on the doctrine of "How to be Oriented on the Jewish Question" for the Semaine religieuse de Québec.

The first of these dealt with "The Jewish Fact". The existence of the Jews was justified only as witnesses to the Christ epic. The essay was a peroration on the perfidious Jews -- perfidious because they adore the blasphemous Talmud, because they have plotted for centuries against the Christian states, because they founded the socialist movement and its press, because the Bnai Brith is associated with freemasonry, because Jewish bankers have financed the Russian revolution, because of their part in the Dreyfus case, because they criticise Poland and accuse that country of pogroms, etc. (vol. 33, no. 34, Apr. 21, 1921, Pp. 542-44).

The second article in the spring of 1921 series also concerned "Le sionisme" and was correct and mild, stopping to note only that the chances of Zionist success were not great in view of British reserve and Catholic opposition. (vol. 33, no. 35, Apr. 28, 1921, Pp. 557-60)

The third relates the Protocols accusation of a Jewish conspiracy to utilise the public prints for an anti-Christian program of inveigling Catholics into accepting freedom of speech, freedom of the press, equality of religions, the predominance of civil law in all domains and the sanctity of modern liberations. (no. 36, May 5, 1921, Pp. 573-76)

His final article was "in support of serious movements of anti-Jewish and anti-masonic reaction in just and opportune measure". (no. 37, May 12, 1921, Pp. 589-92; reprinted by Action catholique on May 13 and 20 as an editorial.)

Abbé Huot devoted an unusually highlighted political editorial on May 6, 1926 in praise of the Hon. Alexandre Taschereau for slapping the hand of the American Jews by tightening the censorship of American films, a menace to "the religious and national traditions Quebec seeks to have respected by its guests. Whether they are Jews or Gentiles, whether it is school or theatre, public morals or industry, we do not want our Christian spirit of broad and generous hospitality to be exploited by newcomers... The Hon. Mr. Taschereau has well told this to Nathanson & Co." (Semaine religieuse de Québec, vol. 38, no. 36, P. 562.)

One remarkable document spread out innocent information culled from a Jewish periodical in France and "demonstrated" that the Jews were "the true victors in the war". The Restoration of the High Priesthood, an attempt at a Jewish Government, the Jewish Imperialism -- all this in the decade before Hitler, the years of mounting persecution in Poland and Rumania and the inexorable closing of the gates of refuge to Canada and to the United States.

This article in the Semaine religieuse de Québec entitled "Jewish Centralization" (vol. 37, no. 16, Dec. 18, 1924, Pp. 242-48) was allegedly written by an anonymous eminent Catholic publicist of France. But the final paragraphs, dated in Paris, refer to Jews "seeking rights on the soil cleared by our ancestors" and to "sincere patriots blinded by a generous faith in modern ideas nevertheless stretching out a hand to this often undesirable Ahasuerus of another blood and another soul". They were clearly written in Canada.

He closes, "But to refuse to see Israel, profiting from the wide open gates in the walls of the City, coming in waves to us, not even covering the ardent dream of imperialism which is devouring him like a neurosis ever since he was dethroned at the foot of the cross; it is another inexcusable blindness, unworthy of a Catholic who is determined to defend -- without brutality and without weakness, in the true spirit of charity -- the same cross that our ancestors erected at the forepost of a civilization and of a world". (Pp. 247-48)

The author "discovered", in 1924, that seven years earlier the British had issued the Balfour Declaration and that since then Sir Herbert Samuel had been named High Commissioner for Palestine. "A superstate of no particular denomination has been openly established whose spokesmen have been received at the Versailles Conference and the

League of Nations. A veritable statute of the diaspora has been sanctioned under the pretext of protecting ethnic and religious minorities. A force more positive and more powerful than armies is watching over the implementation of these conventions wrenched or snatched from the uncertain independence of the new states - that of the clandestine Supreme Jewish Bank which rules and thwarts nearly all states of the nations of the world by loans, and imposes terrible reprisals".

The author finds evidence in l'Univers israélite of Paris (Aug. 22, 1924) that Israel is making a supreme effort to complete the domestic unity of its government as a mystic centre and as a nation enthroned definitively into the community of nations. The nub of the Jewish effort lies in Jerusalem and in the ruins of the temple, the heart of all the avenues of its thought, the image that shines there, brilliant like the hope in the soul of the Eternal Outcast.

"An ancient Christian tradition has it that the temple cannot be rebuilt except at the end of time. But the Jews, on the contrary, only dream of taking up again the work miraculously interrupted under Julian the Apostate, and put up again, defiantly, as a sign of their triumph, these walls marked by the blood of Christ.

"Our ancestors have long smiled at this chimera. But the unexpected hour of Israel has come. Recently the Chief Rabbi of Palestine, Rabbi Cook... has proposed that the chief rabbinate of Palestine be established and recognized as the chief rabbinate of the world. This would be the beginning of the reconstitution of the Sanhedrin.

"Jewish successes are leading towards the setting-up of a Jewish Agency, a state unique among all others, extraterritorial yet sovereign, with two Canadians on its Jewish Council of 190; the commencement of the restoration of the sceptre to Judah. With the priesthood reestablished according to the Law, Israel is turning towards a King, son of David, who will dominate the nations."

The author is not certain how these remarks accord with the Canadian reality, where Jews boast of entering and of establishing themselves without resistance. But there are advance signs of the greatest revolution of modern times, and possibly all time -- the Jewish revenge over Christendom.

"When Jews here or there defend their fellow Jews against the fury of Russian pogroms, or organize a universal campaign against discrimination in Central Europe, when they demand the right of asylum in the lands surrounding the Russian hell such as Rumania... when all the forces Israel can muster are bent to ensure for the least Jewish vagabond the triple rights on the soil cleared by our ancestors -- the rights of an alien defended by the Zionist consul, the rights of a member of an ethnic minority protected by the League of Nations, the civil rights of an allegedly assimilated citizen guaranteed by the constitution -- whoever stretches out a hand to him as to all other men is indeed blinded."

Abbé Edouard-Valmore Lavergne, cousin of Armand Lavergne, wrote that Jews are responsible for the popular corruption exemplified by cinema and fashion. In his eyes this is the best explanation of the growing dissoluteness of our manners. ("Will the Jews Dominate Over Us?" in Bonne nouvelle, reprinted in Action catholique, Oct. 4, 1932.)

The abbé, subscribing himself editor at the Action catholique, in 1924, issued a very popular booklet, Sur les remparts, from the Imprimerie of Action sociale at Quebec, with the imprimatur of Cardinal Bégin, which conveys the substantive teachings of the church in regard to the Jews as well as to other matters.

Basically a pietistic call for the cause of a faithful Catholic press, as exemplified by Action catholique, it draws the battle lines between God and Satan. The latter is incorporated in free masonry which he identifies with Jews.

The Protocols are illustrative documentations of his thesis. In particular, the Jews who people the lodges control the press. "They bear prime responsibility for the Russian, Hungarian and Bavarian revolutions: the Jewish question remains among the most disquieting problems of our age of the masked face.

"To speak truly, we must in all loyalty concede in all fairness that there are individual Jews and Jewish families who live in good faith in their secular error and pay homage to the true God from their sincere hearts. But these are few. In its innocent majority the Israelite people has passed from the adoration of the true God to the adoration of Satan... The Jewish peril, therefore, exists, and we must understand by this the hate of Christ and of the Christian peoples."

In Lavergne's nightmare world of an insane man there exists a "literature" supposedly written by Jews who expose or confess this Jewish conspiracy. (A dozen years later some ignoramus in Montreal compiled a pamphlet of these "citations" and circulated it from Quebec all over the world under the title of the Key to the Mystery.)

Like dozens of others who manufactured or believed this documentation, the priestly editor of Action cited these admissions to confirm the validity of the Protocols. A sample:

"We the Jews are nothing less than the corrupters of the world, its destroyers, its arsonists, its executioners."

Jews not only control a vast press for their ends, but are also active in preventing the establishment of sincere Catholic publications. He suggests, "have we not seen something similar to this attempted against the Action catholique in our own country? (P. 15, note 1.)

For years the journalist-priest was to sully the air waves of Canada with his anti-Jewish preachments.

Another source of infection:

In 1913 the Ligue des droits du français was formed on the model of the French movement of the same name which was directed by Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrès; later it became the Ligue d'action française.

Anatole Vanier, general secretary of the Ligue des droits du français, wrote a number of antisemitic articles in Action nationale over the years.

In July 1924 the precursor of Action nationale, in its nightmares of the antisemitic devil-myth, saw "numerous Jewish members in the House of Commons, in the provincial legislature and in the city council". Its A.V. saw Jewish postmen in a Montreal branch speaking Hebrew and doing their work as if in a Jewish land. (Action française, vol. 12, P. 59.)

In October 1925 Action française editorialized with mere statistics. Under the heading of "The Jewish Question" the editor said, "to understand its importance, some statistics will suffice". Followed the Jewish population figures for each province in the years 1901, 1911 and 1921, and the number of Jewish immigrants in 1851,

1861, etc. to 1921. The implied conclusion: too many.
(Vol. 14, P. 260.)

Similarly, next month, under the heading "A Jewish Fief", the number of Jewish returning officers in the Cartier division in Montreal, which was 44% Jewish by population (Vol. 14, Nov. 1925, Pp. 318-19).

Very much more serious in its implications was a pseudonymous article in Action française of January 1927 (Vol. 17, Pp. 25-27) in connection with the "Judeo-American cinema". It is significant that the reaction of this sector of Quebec society against Hollywood was so strong that it evoked the harshest comments and threats.

It was the more timely because of a terrible catastrophe which had occurred in a Montreal movie house, the Laurier Palace, and cost the lives of some 70 children.

We need to relate the article to the satanic view of mankind which connected the silent screen with Sarah Bernhardt, fashion, entertainments, music - and the Jews - as institutions of demoralization. The article, menacingly entitled "Veut-on nous pousser au fascisme?" signed by Jacques Brassier, was written by Groulx, vigorous contender for the role of pontifex maximus of French Canadian youth.

"All who observe the movies closely and observe its effects agree in proclaiming: it is an instrument for brutalizing the people; together with the yellow press, the worst to have come here. It spares nothing; not the brain, nor the heart, nor the body. It attacks youth and infancy, and prepares a generation of stupefied animals for us for the morrow. In our so-called Catholic country, we permit this vast school of demoralization next door to our churches and to our Catholic schools.

"In the face of this corruption we have the indifference of the public authorities, their scandalous surrender and their seeming complicity. There are laws for the protection of hygiene, of morals and of children. These laws are violated, consistently violated. Honest people, thinking fathers of families - they still exist - have the feeling that the morality of our children, our best living force, is brutally assaulted. They have no illusions about the future of the coming generation, and can have none: a school of stupefaction can only produce stupefied persons. The law is a mockery and the authorities are on the side of the corrupters.

"Here is a singular symptom: the present campaign of public opinion is not directed at punishing those guilty for the Laurier Palace affair but at reaching the authorities who protected the guilty men of the cinema.

"We warn all those who are responsible for law: If the authorities surrender, there are still others in this province - many more than is usually believed - who will not surrender.

"Among peoples with the desire to live, the negligence or the surrender of the authorities gives birth to fascism. Do they want to push us that far? Do they want to force the Montreal fathers of families to police the theatres? Do you want our stirring youth to take this up?

"A people with vigor and courage can readily find the elements of fascism."

Here is a remarkable warning that is a threat, a self-fulfilling prophecy. For the youth inspired by the Abbé Groulx was to come close within the decade to its own form of fascism.

The Vatican condemned the Action française movement in France, seeing, as early as 1926, that its nationalistic extremes, even in Catholic terminology, were leading to an abyss dangerous to the church as well as other social institutions and to many moral principles.

In France and in other European countries the Vatican condemnation of extremist nationalism influenced the new religious associations, limned along the lines of Catholic Action, and they abandoned the nationalist ideology completely. They insisted on the universal nature of Catholicism, on humane fraternity and on the human obligation, rather than on national particularities and on patriotic values.

But this did not deter Abbé Groulx and his numerous friends, many of them priests of the church, and they continued under the title of Action canadienne-française.

Abbé Groulx (who had replaced Omer Héroux as editor of Action nationale) was a highly gifted man of eloquence, both as a writer and as an orator.

Mason Wade and Blair Fraser have both said that the Abbé had come under the influence of disciples of the Comte de Gobineau, the eminent nineteenth-century French

racist whose doctrines so strongly affected Houston Stewart Chamberlain in England and the Nazi racists who derived from him, a statement he took pains to deny. (J.-P. Gaboury, Le nationalisme de Lionel Groulx, P. 26; G. Frégault, "Le mythe de M. le Chanoine Groulx", in Action nationale, vol. 24, no. 3, Nov. 1944, Pp. 163-73).

Groulx was greatly influenced by the anti-democratic romantic nationalism of Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras, and from these sources were borrowed many of the ideas, as well as the name, of the Canadian Action française movement. "This was a much narrower and headier doctrine than the broad traditional nationalism of Bourassa. Among the bases of this integral nationalism were a cult of the homeland and of the French language, folk hero-worship, Catholicism as a national unifying force, a tendency towards Cesarism or monarchism, and corporatism."

Later André Laurendeau's Action nationale was to detail somewhat the nature of Maurras' antisemitism. Auguste Viatte wrote in April 1938 (vol. II, Pp. 286-86) on Maurras and Abbé Bremond, "Deux maîtres de la pensée contemporaine."

"During the Dreyfus case his anti-semitism assumed certain racist aspects; the Revolution for him stemmed from Geneva, from Jerusalem, from the Germanic forests, 'the crossroads of barbarisms.'

"So he reached a formula: classicism is identical with the French spirit, which is identical with Catholicism, which is identical with monarchism -- a simple and seductive formula; and Maurras' criticism found its centre in nationalism. This could very well displease the church which scarcely loves being exploited for temporal ends, nor having its truth, its absolute truth, assimilated with political régimes or literary schools.

"Besides, Maurras' 'realism' is that of a pagan.... If he praises the church, it is for the concept that a celestial hierarchy 'organizes the idea of God' and because the authority of Rome and of the bishops prevents the anarchy that would result from the conflict between the divine law and the written law; he is gratified that we know the Bible, 'these turbulent Oriental writings,' only as extracted, composed and explained for us by the Church in the miracle of the missal and of the entire breviary.'

"We know his rally against the venom of the Magnificat. In his earliest stories his admiration of

ancient societies is such that he even regrets that Christianity has abolished slavery and that its charity helped the survival of the incapable...

"He could not understand his condemnation by the Church. He sought to explain it as a political act, contrary to all likelihood. This deviation and a maniac fear of 'conspiracies' pushed his admirers to revolt.

"We need to appreciate those who submitted. They had to alter their perspectives, to bend before discipline, reluctantly, to do violence to passions which they confused with patriotism.

"Some refused. But at the very least Action française no longer won recruits among Catholics. The date of 1928 marks its decline."

It is not surprising that Maurras' biography continued with his collaboration with the Nazi enemies of France, with his sentence in 1945 to life imprisonment for this treachery, and his ignominious death in 1952.

As it developed both in France and Quebec, this nationalism was a breeder of hatred of alien influences: Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish, Masonic, liberal, republican and socialist.

In Canada the clerical leaders carried on the movement in the same tradition, which was a logical development from the old Castor ultramontane tradition, continuing to be sympathetic to Maurras' doctrine, and merely changing the name of the group to L'Action canadienne-française without shunning the ideas condemned by Rome." (Wade, Pp. 866-68.)

The Abbé developed a theory of French Canadian nationalism which was Catholic in character and tribal, not to say racist, in the sense that its vision of society on the St. Lawrence excluded anyone not Roman Catholic from "the rights of the City". "Catholicism constitutes an invaluable source of adherence and solidity for the French Canadian nation, even an essential element of the nation... One cannot conceive of a French Canadian who is not Catholic", in the formulation of J.-P. Gaboury (P. 20).

As Groulx wrote in 1937, "None among us has deserved the confidence of the crowds and has profoundly moved the soul of the race who did not add to talent and nobility of character the higher greatness with which the faith of his compatriots has endowed him." (Notre maître, le passé. Montreal, Granger, 1937. I.218, cited by Gaboury, P.20.)

To what extent is the church, or the bishop of a diocese, responsible for the political positions of a priest, in the event Abbé Lionel Groulx?

In the annals of the Public Assistance in the province in the 1920's we have a revealing precedent.

In July 1924 the abbé, director of Action française, has published an article by Anatole Vanier in which he compared the provincial welfare law to the policies of Heriot of France whose relations with the Vatican were strained. Premier Taschereau complained to Mgr. Georges Gauthier (Archives nationales de Québec, Aug. 15, 1924).

The archbishop coadjutor agreed that, since the problem had become militantly political, "I would consider quite inopportune for one of my people to take any position on this before I authorized him to do so. Aside from this I do not know that any political party in this province had had occasion to complain of speeches or acts of our priests during the twenty-five years that I have been close to the administration of the diocese of Montreal." (Archives nationales, Aug. 21, 1924).

Whether for this reason or for others Abbé Groulx removed his name from Action française at this time.

On the other hand, Mgr. Emanuel A. Deschamps rejected the premier's complaint. He would be troubled "if the existence of a project as useful to the general public as an institute for incurables depended upon the expression of opinion of one of the contributors of the review published over his initials." (Archives nationales, Aug. 22, 1924. These letters are cited by Antonin Dupont, Les relations.... Pp.94-96)

The abbé was not too distant from Ménard who later argued, in a controversy with J.-F. Pouliot, M.P., that, in the views of a Catholic, freedom of religious

worship is a false principle and that only the Catholic faith is the true faith, and only this faith should be permitted. And Ménard was able to call upon the ever useful Mgr. L.-A. Pâquet in his support.

Abbé Groulx, however, was deeply concerned by this sudden change which he considered a betrayal. In effect, the new form of apostolate which was thus proposed condemned a master-principle of his life. He never missed an occasion to criticize this "idiotic formula" of Catholic Action which is the cause of "our deep troubles". (Gaboury, Pp. 24-26.)

He was nevertheless hailed by his Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve. "I have come here this evening to manifest the friendship I bear for Abbé Groulx, to bring him my feelings of appreciation, at the risk of scandalizing the weak. M. l'Abbé Groulx is one of the masters of the hour; he is one of those to whom our race owes most." (Un Auditeur, in Action nationale, vol.9, no.5, May 1937, Pp.269-72.)

"Under the editorship of the brilliant interpreter of Canadian history Abbé Lionel Groulx from 1920 to 1929, Action française evidenced the progressive development of anti-Jewish hostility in Quebec. Particularly from 1925 to its demise in 1928, this nationalistic journal directed attention to the Jews by such means as quoting statistics on the increasing Jewish population in Quebec, denouncing alleged corruption in Jewish electoral practices, and asking for efforts to contain that influence of the 'cinéma judéo-américain' which would push French Canadians into fascism." (William David Kennaghan, Duke University thesis, 1966, on Freedom of Religion in the Province of Quebec.)

There is much academic discussion as to the refinements of Abbé Groulx' racism and xenophobia, but he left no doubt about his views on the Jews, and in the Quebec context.

What is remarkable about his letter to M. Lamoureux (cited by J. P. Gaboury, Pp. 35-36) is the date. Written in 1954, when he had long had occasion to assimilate the Hitler experience; the abbé writes in primitive anti-Jewish terms that would have been too simplistic for him half a century earlier: the mania of the Jews, the hypocritic clothing of hatred in Christian garments, the Jew as revolutionary, unassimilable, usurer, unscrupulous, pornographic, corrupter through the cinema, monopolist, chain store operator, etc.

The full text of Abbé Groulx needs to be read to be believed. 1954!

"You are right to approach the Jewish problem with fear and trembling, so complex a subject...

"Clearly Christian charity forbids us any form of antisemitism. On the other hand, does this mean that in regard to the Jews we must deal imprudently and indifferently?

"History and daily observation have shown us all too clearly his revolutionary tendency. Poorly rooted wherever he may be and refusing all assimilation, the political and social order about him leaves him quite indifferent. Doubtless that is why he finds himself involved in all revolutions, when he is not their principal agent.

"We must also consider his innate passion for money, a passion often monstrous, and one that removes all scruples from him. He will do anything for money. So we find him at the bottom of every shady affair, of all pornographic works: books, cinema, theatre, etc. He shows no moral scruples in business, in the professions. Doubtless you will have noticed, among other facts, how often, when one of our own French Canadians is caught up in some rotten deal, he throws himself into the arms of a Jewish lawyer.

"Furthermore, I need not tell you what problems the Jew raises in our economic life. His passion, or rather his ambition, to dominate in this realm excites his extraordinary hunger for monopoly. He is not content to be a competitor. His lack of discernment makes him a crushing conqueror. You have an example of this in the recent institution of grocery chains which are ruining the little French Canadian merchants.

"What solutions can we bring to the Jewish problem? Here, too, there is no easy answer. Strong peoples may be able to absorb or assimilate the Jew, at not too great a cost. Is this also true of little peoples like our own, still so poorly equipped in economics?"

Possibly this fossil view of the Quebec situation can be understood in the light of his description of the condition of the Quebec citizen. This classic formulation of the myths of the Canadien as victim and of the Jew as the villain, which is included in his Constantes de vie (Montreal, Fides, Pp. 62-63, cited by Gaboury, Pp. 83-84), was also issued, surprisingly, as late as 1967.

He describes "the very general misery of our little people, its frightful slide into the proletarian condition during the last fifty years... the resignation of our people to this condition of miserable serfs... the loss of the spirit of labour, the too widespread admiration of the lazy hedonists who are envied because they have made their fortune by the time they are forty -- enough to spend their days doing nothing, the helplessness of our small businessmen, of our petty merchants, before the least competition, before the stranger who came here without a cent ... our youth wastes its earning on frivolities, on trifles, and does not put a penny aside for a home, to found a future".

In his Revue du droit Léo Pelland was developing a jurist's philosophy of Quebec society in which the legal rights of Jews were minimized. The two major lines of attack were: the 1906 law permitting Sabbath-observing Jews to work on Sundays under certain conditions (E. Philbert, "La loi du repos dominical", January and February 1925), and the emerging school question (Pelland, "Notre législation scolaire et les Juifs", April, May and June 1925, February 1926, February 1928 and March 1928; "Education des enfants juifs à Montréal", April 1929).

Eugène L'Heureux spelled it out in Action catholique:

"Is it right to accord to minorities which we cannot assimilate all political rights, even as we accord them civil rights?

"If a sense of humanitarianism suggests that we grant civil rights to everybody, an element essential to civilized life, on the other hand national prudence warns us against too large a generosity in regard to political rights. For, after all, political rights mean the right to influence politics -- that is, definitely, the life of the nation.

"But can we be sure that elements that have not been assimilated and that cannot be assimilated can improve our policy making? This seems impossible in theory and in practice.

"What is involved may not be only granting them the political rights accorded to others but a veritable privilege, such as the tradition of an easy election in a constituency in which they are a minority. We might well act prudently, especially as we know that this element is

not accustomed to sacrificing for others, and their traditional solidarity which contrasts with the divisive traditions of French Canadians.

"It is imprudent, if not insane, to allow such a perpetual concession to an unassimilable element whom the constitution gives no special prerogatives in letter or in spirit." (Reprinted in Jeunesse, Nov., 1938.)

Even the name of Judge Pagnuelo, historian of religious freedoms in Quebec - and of freedom and equality for the Jews - was invoked as limiting Jewish rights. He was cited by the Patriote of Oct. 19, 1933:

"Public right in Canada is based on religious freedom for the Christian denominations. (Judaism enjoys this freedom only by virtue of a special law).....Since the expressions Religious freedom and Freedom of worship are often used in this book, and as I invoke them in favour of the Catholic Church in Canada, I declare that I do not understand them in the sense condemned by the Encyclical and the Syllabus of 1864."

Here was a political philosophy which would add to the political structure of the country the legislative authority of the church, which would diminish the rights of all not subscribing to the Christian creeds, or even to a particular creed. It would certainly arrest the movement of centuries of western thought and action towards truer and wider freedom and equality. Jews were again on the front of this battle.

It is not difficult now in retrospect -- as it was not difficult at the time -- to place antisemitism, the Jewish community, Hitler and the archbishop's office on the coordinates of the graph of historical developments.

The dissenting views of French Canadian statesmen, such as the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, premier of Quebec, and of Catholic thinker and militant Henri Bourassa were dismissed without any consideration of their position.

We have here a programmatic statement of a very dangerous position.

It was now assumed that in Quebec, a Canadian province, Jews were not the equals of others, of Catholics; that the constitution, the law and the policy viewed Jews as of a lower class. It implied a reading of history which, if followed to a conclusion, which the editors and their

spiritual and ecclesiastical associates were not reluctant to pursue, would place the Jews in a second -- or third, or fourth or inhuman, or no -- position. It was an authorized, orthodox stand for which Arcand and any bully boys he could muster would take into the streets and which legal minds would present to the courts.

How far could it go?

A difficult question, to be answered in part by the developments outside Canada, catastrophically by war.

Here were Canadians prepared for a Hitler victory over the minds of mankind, in the editorial offices, and over the body of mankind, on battlefields extending over continents.

If we anticipate by turning the pages of history ahead, we note: to neutralize any natural sympathy -- or even any Christian love of fellow man -- Mgr. Gauthier delivered an address at the shrine on the top of Mount Royal warning against surrounding the Jews with an undue sympathy.

In this international and Quebec context Bourassa quietly and slowly matured his own Catholic approach to the questions of the new day dawning ominously, even as, in the Quebec political universe, those yelping at his hem were quick to attack the now more vulnerable prophet.

Bourassa was becoming dissatisfied with the ethical tone of those he led, and began to sense the violence and the injustice they were prone to.

A changed relationship with other thinkers, spokesmen and organizers in the movement led to his isolation. He was not one to manipulate and to polemicise with his own. Rather to withdraw, to meditate and to explore. He was aware of the anti-Jewish sentiment gathering in the lowest reaches of his people. The school question seemed the core about which this hate movement was crystallizing.

There is a continuity in this sad history.

The Montreal Croix edited by Joseph Bégin, saw "Le Péril juif" in Sept., 1904; it was frightened by the

visit of M.H.Marks of the Jewish Emigration Bureau of London in connection with the settlement of Jews in Canada. "Even as Jews are being driven from Europe it is America, and particularly Canada, which open their arms to them. And we French-Canadians, like good sheep, will be letting them shear us, as did our cousins in France. I am curious to see what we shall have become in twenty-five years."

Bégin links to Abbé Antonio Huot who quotes Rouillard in his Le fléau maçonnique.

Eugène Rouillard of the Quebec Bureau of Statistics had cried havoc at the coming of so many Jewish immigrants. After reviewing the position of Jewry -- a sorry state in Russia, promising in England and in Germany, by and large good in France, excellent in the United States -- he warns about the progressive invasion of Canada by Jews, especially in Quebec. (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Dec. 12, 1903, Pp. 261-63)

Links to Abbé Huot, who in the following years support the blood libel against Jews, later to fight the Jews on the school question; Canon Labrecque who signed the nihil obstat for Huot's pamphlet and then became director of La Semaine religieuse which he turned to active antisemitic propaganda; to Mgr. Paquet who might well teach Hitler a lesson in Jew hatred; to Arcand-Ménard who became the defenders of the bishops against the Jewish menace, etc.

The Jews in Canada were stunned to find themselves isolated in the realization of how the basis of the society -- theirs and that of all Canadians and, indeed, of humanity -- was being threatened. They were nearly the only ones to see it so clearly. Suddenly they realized that they could not count on the automatic and certain support of any sector of society -- not liberal, not academic, not clerical, not proletarian.

The anti-Jewish propaganda was at its most frightening when it grew at the grass roots. An endless flow of publications, often illiterate, poorly backed but

spontaneous and sincere, indicated that the hatred, fear and threat had penetrated deep into the awareness of the people. Incoherent, unworthy of intellectual debate, logically below all discussion as they may have been, one is tempted to ignore their significance, but for their sheer quantity.

In many cases this dissemination was mimeographed or copied by hand. But its social importance is obvious to any examination of that society. It established the operative norms of the people and their readiness for action -- or their tolerance of action -- in frightening directions.

The Jewish community -- only beginning its organization at this time -- was but dimly aware of the extent of these manifestations. The walls between the Canadian solitudes contributed to this mutual non-awareness.

By the same token there were several equally spontaneous efforts opposing Fascism. Here, too, they were often equally anonymous, poorly produced and also not followed up with any continuity. Of these, too, the Jewish community was scarcely aware, and it gave them no support. The name of L'Autorité ought to be recorded in defence of the French language and of the province. Jean Charles Harvey courageously defended democracy against its subverters, unmasked the Hitlerite sympathizers within the Ordre Jacques Cartier and opposed antisemitism.

And an unexpected voice dissented from this chorus of enmity. At the height of this propaganda in the summer of 1935 Cardinal Villeneuve spoke on race hatred being disseminated in the name of patriotism,

"I am pained to observe at this period so critical for our future, when we feel a patriotic awakening in our midst, that so much energy is being devoted, possibly the largest measure of activity, towards destroying each other. We must defend our positions, but we must not deprive others of the right to live." (Cited by I. Medres, in N.Y. Jewish Morning Journal, Aug. 4, 1935)

THE SCHOOL QUESTION

It was the school question that shattered the relative quiet of the antisemitic rage in the 1920's.

It is remarkable that such a question ever came to exist in Quebec.

The seeds were planted at the making of Confederation when the Quebec educational system was founded into the Canadian constitution. How did it happen that when the existing rights of Catholics and Protestants were guaranteed, the place of Jews and of non-Catholics were left in limbo?

It was not that the existence and the political rights of Lower Canada Jews were forgotten in the debates. Repeatedly Quebeckers referred, in the emancipation decades earlier, to the Jewish citizens in their midst. Sir E.P. Taché spoke in this vein, as did Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, on "the liberality of the inhabitants of Lower Canada -- a liberality of which they gave proof long, long ago, by enacting the emancipation of the Jews before any other nation in the world had dreamed of such a measure". (Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. Quebec, 1865. Pp. 183, 286)

Mr. Taché also referred to the legislation of 1832 as an assurance that the English minority in Lower Canada need not fear for their rights at the hands of the Roman Catholic people of Lower Canada. This colony "I believe, was the first portion of British territory to give political freedom to the Jews. I believe that a person of this persuasion sat in the Lower Canada Legislature thirty years before the same privileges were accorded in Great Britain. People who charged the French Canadians with intolerance should remember this with some degree of favour." (P. 432)

In setting forth very impressively the long Catholic record of tolerance in recent decades all over the world, Mr. Alleyne recalled that "in Lower Canada a Catholic

Legislature gave equal rights to Jews a generation before enlightened England emancipated Catholics." Although he recalled that "the history of the Jews gave a terrible warning to all who persecute for belief's sake. They, God's own people, set that bad example. For belief they crucified, and during a thousand years for belief they were oppressed as no nation has ever suffered." (Pp. 672-73)

Yet, in the shaping of the constitution of Canada and in making provision for the education of Quebec and other Canadian children they failed to clarify the position of Jewish and of other children who were not Catholic and not Protestant.

By the same token, how did it happen that the Jews of Montreal disregarded their interest in the central and decisive debate of the age?

It is not that there were no Jews in Canada at the time. There were nearly 1,300 of them in the country in 1867, twelve times as many as in 1832 when Lower Canada gave them political equality with Christians, and three times as many in 1857 when similar legislation was passed in the broader Assembly of the United Province of Upper and Lower Canada. They had three congregations established by colonial charter time (two in Montreal and one in Hamilton, not to note the Victoria congregation charter under B.C. law in 1864.)

By 1867 it was a Canadian community with a long-standing awareness of constitutional rights and of the need to assert such an awareness.

In the days of Benjamin Hart -- and even of his brothers Ezekiel and Moses and his nephew Samuel Becancour Hart -- such a remarkable lapse of assertion and determination of full status could not have occurred.

When, by 1846, Montreal found itself in a polity different from 1829, the community sought a restatement of the legal position of the Spanish Congregation and an affirmation of the not yet fully formed Congregation of English, German, and Polish Jews, later the Shaar Hashomayim.

But in 1867 leadership in the Jewish community was undergoing a brief crisis of transition. The 1850's were the years when the Harts -- personified by Benjamin who faded from the scene after the Rebellion Losses Bill against which he rebelled so violently -- were retiring from vigorous leadership.

The name of Dr. Abraham de Sola naturally springs to mind in a review of the Jewish community.

But it fades when we examine more closely the implicit conditions of his long tenure, even after his marriage into the Joseph family. Twice he nearly failed of reappointment to his pulpit within a decade of his arrival in Canada, and ever since he remained meticulously at a distance from public -- as distinct from ritual and cultural-concerns in the small community.

By 1867 the early Lithuanian immigrants exemplified by the Cohen and Vineberg and Jacobs families had not yet come to Montreal from their initiatory years in eastern Ontario.

So it happened that the Jewish children came to attend the English-language schools run by the Protestants without these pupils being assured of any status or protection of the law, or, on the other hand, the Protestant schools having any settled instrument for the continuity of their linguistic or cultural tradition. They, too, had no clear delineation of their powers or resources in educating the children who came under this purview. It was never clear -- indeed, not even to this day, sensationally -- which children they may or must accept.

So the story of these Protestant schools has been a century of unrest, and the story of the Jewish children in these schools has been one of restlessness within the storm.

It must be affirmed: it is a story not without a heaping measure of stability, good will and respect. Indeed, within this history there is included the story of total Jewish schooling maintained by public funds. We might recall that fine moment of 1903 when the Protestants were unhappy to win their court case establishing their powers against young Pinsler; they then moved of their own

volition to have Jewish rights enacted so that there may never be another Pinsler case.

But history moved on -- it never reverses -- and a quarter of a century later the issue exacerbated into crisis and anger.

With the growth of the Jewish population in Quebec, the question arose: how shall Jewish children be educated in a country where public education was confessional according to the constitution?

It was a sensitive question, extending far beyond the importance of education in society. Education, together with public welfare, was one of the few areas of government and social action in which the church as such had an official and direct status in law.

Even if only symbolically, there is significance in one fact out of the history of Action sociale, precursor of Action catholique of Quebec City.

Its first reference to Jews, after months of publication, came on February 21, 1908, from Omer Héroux in his editorial comments on remarks by the Hon. M. Weir, treasurer of the province, in regard to Jews and their place in the school system. ("Etrange déclaration")

To summarize: the questions came to concern the organization of the public schooling of a number of Jewish children residing in parts of the city of Montreal. Those outside the shifting ghetto were not affected. Curriculum was not in question. Taxation was not in question. Religious instruction and proselytism were not involved. The constitutional status of the school boards or of the governmental organization were not involved.

The naming at the proper moment of a Jewish liaison representative to the Protestant schools could have defused the explosive issue. This did not happen for reasons largely psychological.

There were fears in the air, all about. These proved self-fulfilling, even though experienced leaders on all sides warned of the consequences. In this sense, the heroes without a following proved to be Alexander Taschereau on the government side, and Henri Bourassa in the Catholic Church; H. Marler among the Protestant.

They did not prevail, and events took the course that

is familiar by now. (Maxwell Goldstein. "The Status of the Jew in the Schools of Canada," in Arthur Daniel Hart, The Jew in Canada. Toronto, 1926. Pp. 497-98; Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 3, "On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-31." 1975. vii, 141 p.; and no. 2,

The Protestant became suspicious of the Jews' political activities in the Jewish sector soon after the Jewish school question was raised. The Jewish community was not only a religious community but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one.

The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one. The Jewish school question was not only a religious question but also a political one.

"Inventory of Documents on the Jewish School Question, 1903-32." 1975. V, 118p; Draft paper, "The Political Consequences of the Jewish School Question of the 1920's" presented by David Rome at the Quebec 1976 Conference of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society. 17p.)

During the decade of conflict the tension between Jews and Protestants brought to the surface a grave bitterness as many Jews came to feel that they as citizens and their children as pupils were not welcome -- and were not becoming more welcome with the passage of time -- in the schools, on the educational administrative bodies or in the total society which the schools represented.

The Protestants became suspicious of the Jews' political intentions in seeking seats in the educational structure. They feared the ultimate cultural intentions of the Jews and the influences of the Jewish sectors upon the Anglo-Saxon environment. A society that has been traditionally reserved in expression suddenly became vocally hostile.

In the search for a resolution of the essentially minor problem many venues were explored, including the legal and constitutional -- reaching to the Privy Council itself. What emerged was the possibility -- not greeted with universal enthusiasm -- of a separate and parallel educational structure for the Jewish residents of the area in question. The Liberal government seems to have been genuinely interested in finding an answer that would satisfy all contestants. It was finding none; not even a unified stand from the Jewish community. The able Jewish politicians, Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen, proved no more than that. Neither of them spoke for any particular resolution of the issues, attempting as they did to be all things to all men -- to their political partisan chieftains, to the rich men of their community and to the poor of the down-town who elected them.

Premier Taschereau found himself forced to the separate Jewish panel to which the Privy Council opened the door as the only solution even though it did not have the support of the Jews to whom he was closest.

He found the Jewish panel a just solution to which Protestant leaders had often agreed, which would fulfill broad Jewish aspirations and which -- after much amendment -- seemed acceptable to the hierarchy.

Significantly, the measure came to bear the name of Athanase David, provincial secretary since 1919, generally in charge of the provincial concerns in matters cultural and educational. He is credited with reforms in teaching at all levels as well as with instituting annual grants to classical colleges, scholarships for university graduates wishing to pursue their studies in Europe, the David literary prize, founding the Ecoles des beaux-arts and the Public Assistance Act of 1921.

The separate Jewish panel was the only solution that protected Catholic interests. It took the Jewish pupils -- their numbers, their vigor, their influence, their taxes, their political outlook -- out of the Protestant universe. It would enable the Protestant network to remain fully Protestant and Christian. It would ensure that Jewish schools would be fully Jewish, and therefore religious, well under governmental, and even churchly, control.

It would prevent the Protestant school system from becoming virtually a neutral system.

For in the presence of a neutral school system, no Christian or religious system can survive as a parallel network.

The price: recognition of the Jews as a group and of Judaism as a religion.

Henri Bourassa, who was entitled to speak as a Catholic voice, agreed. He did not consider it a price.

Catholic Schools for Catholic children, Protestant schools for Protestant children, Jewish schools for Jewish children.

His position did not derive solely from his new orientation developed in Rome in 1926. A year earlier he had taken his stand on the Jewish school question.

As he said later, in his historic address of May 15, 1935, "It is better to have religious Jews than atheistic Jews, or irreligious Jews without belief." The Jew, like the Catholic, does not stop half-way, or a quarter way, like the Protestant. Take away his religion and he will go to the opposite extreme. I have always understood that the right to teach the ordinary sciences is at least as legitimate as the right to teach religion which derives from the right to practice religion. (P.S. report in Devoir, May 16, 1935)

Bourassa had a right to speak. As one of the most potent political figures in the nation, a great orator, a magic personality, founder and director of the Devoir, a member of the premier aristocratic family of French Canada, a man of piety and devotion, personally known to the Pope, an ultramontanist and profound defender of the Catholic position on the world arena -- Bourassa the layman could credibly speak for Christian interests with an authority near that of cardinal or archbishop. Taschereau could be comforted by Bourassa's support.

Premier L.-A. Taschereau told the Assembly, "The province of Quebec is writing history. The question we are called to study does present disquieting aspects. Nevertheless, I consider it my duty to give the Jews their schools, because I do not believe in neutral schools. In fact, if we mix children of different beliefs in the same school, we have a neutral school. The best means of avoiding neutral schools is to give the three great religions who share our province their own schools.

"It has been said that in giving Jews their own schools we move towards a neutral school system. I have no hesitation in stating that the Jewish school will prevent the appearance of the neutral school. For five years the Jews have been telling the Protestants: We are prepared to attend your schools, but we want to have some say in the management of these schools; the Protestants have rightly said, with the approval of the Privy Council, that they cannot share their heritage." (Action catholique, Apr. 2, 1930)

But before the explosion it could not have been easy for the premier to guess that the school issue was to become a touchstone of Bourassa's career as of his own; that the leaders of the church in the entire province would so powerfully disavow him and Bourassa in terms of Catholic interests. A remarkable failure of communications; a critical failure that became a fateful landmark in the history of his relations with the church.

It was all impressively foresighted. If we are not reading too retrospectively, Bourassa was foreseeing the developments of decades ahead -- the secularisation of the Quebec school system, the fading of church influence in society, in education and in government. As a profound Catholic with friends in Rome, he was keenly aware of the danger which nationalism constituted for the Church. He was not impressed with the Christian piety of the demagogues pretending to defend the interests of the Church.

He knew the litmus test of antisemitism; he foresaw that the pro-Hitler Canadian nationalists would defend the Nazis even while the Church was being persecuted in Germany.

He was much more extreme in defending these Jewish rights than many Montreal Jews who were prepared to continue to entrust the education of their children to the Protestants, mainly out of fear of segregation. Bourassa found it amusing that he was "more Jewish" than some Jewish spokesmen, and did not hesitate to chide his friend S.W. Jacobs on this point.

The founder of Le Devoir, who had impressed English Canada with respect for the French Canadian position, saw no harm in granting school equality to the Jews. He now remembered that his grandfather, Louis-Joseph Papineau, had moved the measure for rights for Jews a century earlier. Now the grandson approved giving the Jews of Montreal the rights which he demanded for the French Canadians in the west.

Bourassa had the Catholic and even the anti-semitic credentials to be the lone supporter of the Jewish position.

When the Russians were (again and already) murdering Jews in 1905 and Canadians were outraged at the regression of humanity manifested in the land of the Slavs, Bourassa was the serious advocate of the devil, working "to clear the atmosphere of the fictitious sentiment which has been sought to be developed.... The Jews were at the bottom of most of the troubles which have arisen in Russia.... The Jews had prepared a conspiracy to slaughter the Christians."

Bourassa and Lavergne had objected to the nominal grant from the provincial government to the Baron de Hirsch Institute Charity Fund of several hundred dollars annually because this agency was, they said, importing immigrants and thus put it beyond the pale of Quebec generosity.

With a snideness that was to mar the pages of Bourassa's Le Devoir for many years, it joined Le Nationaliste

in an attack on Clarence I. de Sola, president of the Zionist Federation, who was also Belgian consul in Montreal. He had not flown the flag over the consulate during the Eucharistic Congress. De Sola instituted action for libel, and the paper published a complete and unreserved apology; the consulate was in a very big building; the newspaper had been wrongly informed. (Jewish Chronicle, March 31, 1911; American Hebrew, May 5, 1911.)

Bourassa appeared vociferously antisemitic on the debate on Sunday observance. He had called Goldwin Smith -- "one of the most illustrious of English writers," a vociferous and aggressive antisemite -- a friend, had been a guest at Smith's "Grange" in Toronto, and had utilized his letters of introduction on his first voyage to Europe, in 1901, to enter the distinguished homes of Britishers whose imperialism was moderate.

In 1903 Bourassa had published his French version of Smith's Before the Tribunal of History (Beauchemin) with a special introduction by the author.

All this in spite of Smith's well known anti-Catholic and even anti-French Canadian views. "Canadien" noted that many pages in Smith's works are replete with "odious impiety and crass ignorance. This allegedly Christian has blasphemed against Christ on several occasions in his writings. There is Renan and Voltaire in Smith. He was pleased to mock French Canadians and to belittle the work of our clergy. What he has said of French Canada and of Christianity mark this historian (?) with extraordinarily crude ignorance. How many other themes has he dealt with with such incompetence?.... He has spat in the face of Christ." (La Vérité, June 25, 1910).

Yet, he was anti-imperialist, had opposed the Boer War and Canada's involvement in the naval question. This had been sufficient base for Bourassa's friendship.

Bourassa had supported church interests in schooling in 1909 against Dr. Feenie and in its struggle against the growing power of the state, in its campaign against public assistance measures, on the inquiry on the cinema, (Dupont, Pp. 11, 87, 79, 81, 90, 126) as well as in the intense effort against the Ontario regulations which limited the teaching of French in the schools there.

In 1910 Bourassa had joined Bishop Bruchési and the mob of Champs de Mars in October to protest against the Jewish mayor of Rome, Ernesto Nathan, who had spoken unkindly of the pope. (Michael Brown, "France, the Catholic Church, French-Canadians and Jews before 1914," paper read before Canadian Jewish Historical Society, Quebec City, June 1, 1976, Pp. 37-40). He had then said that Nathan's attack was a mere variation of the 2000 year old battle of the enemies of Christianity.

An inflammatory booklet by Abbé Valmore Lavergne, Sur les remparts, elicited from Bourassa the one significant -- if mild -- dissent from antisemitism in the heart of French Canada.

In the Devoir of July 26, 1924, Henri Bourassa praised the 300-page work which was on sale at the Devoir extravagantly, but he added two reservations. The one on freemasons also applies to the one he made about the Jews:

"Too many Catholic journalists have become hypnotized by freemasonry, to the point where they see no other evil. Some hazardous accusations, some forged allegations have raised doubts about the real conduct of the three-pointed brethren. This has proven of true value to them.

"The same is true of Jewry. It is certainly true that there are some detestable and dangerous Jews; that the internationalist tendencies of the race, its financial power, its hold on the press -- created by the venality of too many Christians -- have multiplied the power of this category of Jews for evil and for social disorganization.

"But it is not exact to say that all Jews, or even a majority of them, are of this category.

"What is all too true is that crowds of people of all races and of all creeds, including alas some Catholics, are no better than the worst Jews.

"Above all, we must never forget that if anti-social Jewry is to be feared, it is because of the weakness and cowardice of so many Christians, of their readiness to snatch at any bait, their moral and intellectual corruptibility.

"Antisemitism has done much harm, in France and elsewhere, because it has taught Christians to look outside themselves for the causes of their defeat. Let us hope that this false spirit will not penetrate our society; we are all too readily disposed to beat the breasts of others for our mea culpa."

His sense of fairness to the Jews contradicted his diocesan church authorities and conflicted with the implicit views of the younger generation of the Groulx-led nationalists. "Bourassa no longer in agreement with the Bourassists," as his biographer put it.

For his word of justice to a Quebec minority Bourassa was exposed to lectures from a myth-ridden, young journalist, Adrien Arcand, who patiently explained to the tribune of French Canada the true meaning of a "minority." ("Bourassa et les minorités," in Le Goglu, June 27, 1930)

His juniors came to rebel against Bourassa. Their voice and their intent were the insane brutality of Le Goglu, the heralds of Hitler, his Canadian precursors. They were speaking for the Archbishop of Montreal.

The attacks in Le Goglu were but a stage in the tragic biography of Henri Bourassa and of the image and memory of this Canadian in the psyche of his people. The school question was his touchstone, too.

Rumilly states that the head of the Montreal church, with the support of Mgr. Courchesne, kept the columns of Le Devoir closed to its founder and editor on the Jews' rights to schools of their own. It was only when Bourassa delivered a public address at St. André that Le Devoir published his views on the question.

But before the explosion it could not have been easy for the premier to guess that the school issue was to become a touchstone of Bourassa's career as of his own; that the leaders of the church in the entire province would so powerfully disavow him and Bourassa in terms of a critical failure that became a fateful landmark in the history of his relations with the church.

Bourassa saw group awareness take the form of antisemitism, with the figure of Abbé Lionel Groulx often in the wings.

During an earlier visit to Rome and to France, in 1922, Bourassa had noticed the differences that separated him from the Paris Action française which was then being carefully read by such of his colleagues at home as Omer Héroux. Bourassa felt that Maurras did not support his religion with adequate faith; that Catholicism was considered only as part of the traditions and of the climate of France, almost of its political structure; Maurras' nationalism was excessively dominant in this movement; faith not at its heart. (Robert Rumilly, P.638)

In an address before the Canadian Association of Catholic Youth at the Monument National on November 27, 1928, which he entitled "Are We Christians?" Bourassa warned that racial conflicts were leading to extreme nationalism "which is the heresy of modern times." (Rumilly, Henri Bourassa, P.708)

As in the sensational Daignault case involving New England French Canadians, his pro-Catholic position against extremist nationalists had reduced priests and even bishops to tears of frustration. Then, too, he had shown that men of the hierarchy can be blinded to approve hostility to the church out of excessive nationalism. (Rumilly, P.712)

In his lectures and in his private conversations Bourassa riddled his new opponents with sarcasm. "They are patriots before they are Catholics....they seek to deify Race and Fatherland." The abyss between him and the best of his disciples deepened.

At the Université de Montréal, Father Lionel Groulx, professor of Canadian history, seemed to pick up the doctrine of integral nationalism which, for French Canadians, led to separations. As Rumilly saw, anxious to exert influence, but restrained by his soutane and without a real taste for public acts, Abbé Groulx neither can nor dares be a leader of action. He spends his time in archives, teaches history and leads a coterie. Bourassa mocks them for preparing a constitution for an independent Quebec while the little Father Villeneuve cries out

from a hilltop at Ottawa, "Abbé Groulx, Abbé Groulx, what are you doing to us?"

"The youth had long followed Bourassa out of their faith in ideas which were not really his. Now they tended to follow Groulx for the same ideas which Groulx never expressed but which were probably his." (Rumilly, P.719-20)

The successor to Bourassa's Canadian greatness, André Laurendeau, later analysed this phase of the nationalist conscience.

Bourassa, he noted, was impelled to speak out largely on religious grounds. His was a mélange of intuition and of illusion: an intuition of the menace of Maurras' thinking, and an illusion of the extent of its influence in Canada.... It is to be admitted that at the time the sharpness of tone, the real meanness of certain nationalists, parallel movements such as anti-semitism -- basically practised by persons who were not connected with the nationalist movement -- and the aggressiveness of the youngest members seemed to justify rigorous condemnation.

He dealt with this saga boldly in his "Le Nationalisme de Bourassa" in Action nationale, (vol. 43, no.1, Jan. 1954, Pp. 9-54)

"The young of the '30's were uneasy as they examined the record of Bourassa and of his generation, for these personalities seemed not to fit into their own legend.... Bourassa spent his last years destroying what he had built during his youth and maturity. At least, so it appeared.... The nationalists respected and admired his role too much to attack him openly and frontally.

"It was most painful; he had been the admired and virtually unchallenged leader of the movement; his talent was immense and his personality dynamic; his stature and character rendered any suggestion of unworthy motive or reversal of position inconceivable.

"Privately he was criticised on several grounds.... notably, his articles, lectures and private conversations which were often and easily divulged, in which the director of Le Devoir seldom missed an opportunity to denounce the excesses of French Canadian nationalism, especially that of L'Action française, in the name of a religious sentiment which was as sincere and valuable as it was ill-directed.

"These incomprehensible violences directed at his old friends and longtime disciples were contrasted with the directives which Bourassa had continuously given before 1920: At that time, the French Canadian imperative always enjoyed primacy.

"All this was happening in nationalistic circles in Montreal and in Quebec between 1930 and 1940....

"As a result, for us the life of Bourassa consisted of two eras. There was first the man of the Speech of Notre Dame, the struggles for the minorities and against imperialism, the founder of a movement which we followed. Then there was the man who came back from Rome, who was transformed, lost for us, who affirmed only religious duty and the Canadian homeland, and who undertook to destroy the crop he had planted.

"So in an address on Lavergne in 1935 I spoke without remorse of 'Bourassa who died in Rome in 1923' (sic).

"In the fall of 1937 I was quite irreverent about an aged man who spent the leisure of his later years devouring his grandchildren."

Arcand's attack on Bourassa was viciously personal, for he felt it necessary to destroy the far-reaching historic roots whence flowed the authority of the patriarchal and aristocratic leader of Quebec nationalism. So he stomped into the "bird of the soul," to resort to a Hebrew idiom. To assassinate the character of Henri Bourassa he set about to destroy the grandfather, Louis-Joseph Papineau.

Characteristically, out of the considerable library of spokesmen for the "blue" against the "red," the Patriote chose from the gallery of spokesmen for the "blue" in Quebec's past, its historiography, the near-anonymous 50-year old pamphlet, La source du mal de l'époque, par un Catholique, written by Abbé Pelletier.

Father Pelletier was one of the most unruly priests in Quebec history and the centre of pious scandals that reached Rome repeatedly. His conflicts with his archbishops of Quebec eventually led to his painful exile from diocese to diocese, and even to repeated censure from the Vatican.

Mgr. Jean Langevin of Rimouski "recommended" him to the next host, Mgr. Bourget of Montreal, "I owe it to my conscience to tell you in confidence that I have many reasons for considering him proud of spirit and feverish, capable of much evil to Religion under certain conditions, by sowing division among the clergy, by sapping the base of episcopal authority. It is largely this that leads me to dispense with the services of this young priest in spite of the urgent needs in my diocese and in spite of his undoubted talent.

"I must add that last May, when it became known that Mgr. L.J. Laflèche of Trois Rivières had written to me that Mr. Pelletier might be coming, several priests in the diocese became anxious about disagreements arising here if he were to come, and advised the bishop repeatedly against his coming. Upon the advice of his Council the bishop was forced to decide against it."

Continuous Roman disapproval of his writings eventually convinced him freely that, even though he had always argued for the sacred cause of the good, he had best "cease activities when the voice wise and authorized from Rome tells me that my works are evil and sometimes harmful. I shall cease writing on any question because hitherto my writings have brought no good results," (Thomas Charland, in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, September, 1947)

Nevertheless this truly humble abnegation by the querulous priest did not restrain the Patriote from citing him as its authority on Canadian history and on the life of Papineau, and treating him as spokesman for ultra-montane Christianity in Quebec.

During the period of Confederation, long before the days of Dreyfus and before the appearance of Mgr. Paquet and of the Semaine religieuse de Québec, before Action Sociale and the Protocols, the abbé already saw a conspiracy to destroy his Christian world. The Holy See is blinded as to the deterioration in Quebec advanced by Archbishop E.A. Taschereau and by the Gentlemen of the Séminaire de Québec, hypocrites or unweening toys in the hands of secret societies. In the past Rome had been deceived from twenty miles distance, leave alone from 2,000 miles. Historically his villain is Louis-Joseph Papineau, who introduced French impious and revolutionary ideas to the Canadian people.

"All who lead the Liberal Party in the province of Quebec work with persevering energy and with the prudence of serpents for the destruction of Catholicism. To retain confidence and to continue undisturbed in their criminal manoeuvres, they call themselves Catholic when pressed too hard or when their trends call forth serious questions. They do not even hesitate to sign professions of Catholic faith to put before Roman Congregations, hoping thus to lead Rome to think that they are being vilified and persecuted in Canada purely by party spirit.

"They seek the separation of Church and State, and even the omnipotence of the State. They plant defiance of the clergy whom they depict as seeking wealth and power. They believe any law which reflects the will of the majority to be just and binding, even if it directly contradicts the

ecclesiastical or civil law. They deny the Church and the Pope the right to intervene in political questions because they claim that religion is a stranger to these matters.

"They demand liberty of conscience, freedom of the press, freedom for anything on the political arena. They appear to act in concert with the bishops who were named to the Council of Public Instruction. On the other hand, they teach that the Popes, the bishops and the priests have become an empire which tyrannizes over the people and has kept them in ignorance and stupefaction for centuries; true progress consists of ridding the world of this humiliating servitude."

It is not surprising that, entertaining such ideas, compelled only by an avowed propensity to anonymous publications which he tended to half disavow with half truths, Abbé Pelletier was soon in trouble not only with his archbishop but with Rome itself. He was regularly ousted from such posts as professor at the Séminaire de Québec and at the Collège of Ste. Anne de la Pocatière at Kamouraska and from the diocese of Quebec, to find refuge, and some protection, in Montreal.

Abbé Pelletier had his distant admirers, among them Mgr. Fèvre, author of Histoire général de d'Eglise, who attested to the scrupulous accuracy of the accusations levelled by the priest. (Reprinted in La Croix and La Vérité of Aug. 13, 1910)

Not surprisingly, on his passing, on June 25, 1910, he was particularly deeply mourned by Action sociale and La Vérité (July 2 and 9 and Aug. 10, 1910), now edited not by the relatively less virile anti-Jew, J.-P. Tardivel, but by Paul Tardivel and his brother-in-law, Omer Héroux).

The Patriote paraphrased Abbé Pelletier:

As a result of the ideas emanating from France after 1763 "a number of leading personalities in Canada came to profess impious ideas, Voltairian and revolutionary, which contributed not a little to stimulate revolutionary movements here."

The prime author of these movements was Louis-Joseph Papineau, a veritable tribune whose word governed the masses of the people. Having put all Canada on fire, he escaped to France. There he aligned himself with the most impious and revolutionary persons. Then, when the storm stilled and an amnesty was proclaimed for all who had taken part in the agitation, he hastened home. (It is well known that he was refused church burial after he rejected the ministry of a priest.)

The revolt of 1837 was also smeared by Pelletier. It had led to political union between the two Canadas, Upper and Lower. "We then had to fight seriously against Protestantism in the public administration and in law-making. This struggle was all the more serious since our own impious and revolutionary people made common cause with the Protestants.

"The impious and revolutionary ideas imported from France by the too famous Papineau were widely spread here among our educated compatriots, and were elaborated in many periodicals all too widely disseminated. The principles validated there were no other than those of the famous Declaration of Human Rights of 1787. These principles are now well anchored in the mentality of French Canadians...."

Ménard in his turn reverted to 1832 when the Jews acquired civic equality in Lower Canada:

"Why did the French Canadian deputies insist on securing for the handful of kikes -- parasites then, as they always have been -- rights enjoyed by Catholics and by Protestants who constituted an appreciable proportion of the population?

"It was the influence of Louis-Joseph Papineau and of his radical and liberal ideas which thus won for the Jews their religious freedom, as firmly based as those of the Catholics." (Patriote, October 19, 1933)

Papineau was the villain who "planted the seeds of liberalism on Canadian soil, inspired as he was more by Voltaire, by the Encyclopaedists and by Lamennais than by St. Thomas.

"There are the beginnings of a war which, after periods of scandalous sharpness, threatens to arise again more bitterly than ever against the very clergy and against the institutions which belong to them by natural right and which the enemy has undertaken to appropriate piece by piece.

"The influence of Papineau did not end with the political struggles which concluded with the troubles of 1838-39 and the Union government, delaying for long our conquest of our constitutional rights. It is above all reflected in the liberalism which has planted the spirit of evil in his partisans.... That is why he opened wide the gates for the Jews, to introduce them into the heart of public administration in spite of the formidable opposition from Canadians who for some time had made life hard for the Jewish member of the assembly from Trois Rivières." (August 31, 1933)

Paul Bouchard criticised Papineau as "a fine talker" rather than a man of action and organization. ("Séparatisme," in Nation, vol. 1, no. 20, June, 1936)

Similarly, Ménard attacked Jean-François Pouliot, deputy for Mémiscouata, for an address he delivered at Ottawas at the first meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Catholic Church History. Pouliot was the last Canadian to be called a friend of the Jews, but Ménard followed a policy of attacking even antisemites to push them ever further into radicalism and extremism.

Pouliot had praised Louis-Hypolite La Fontaine for sponsoring the Rectories Act passed by the government of United Canada in 1851. This act in its preamble had officially recognized liberty of worship for all faiths in the country. He had called La Fontaine "the father of responsible government, the man who assured respect for the French language; he crowned his career as statesman by bringing formal and unrestricted recognition of freedom of worship in Canada." He cited the nineteenth century statesman, "For my part I wish to see everyone have the right to worship God in his manner, and the role of government is to intervene if necessary to ensure this right, but without distinction or preference."

Pouliot's paper on "La liberté des cultes au Canada" had been prepared for the Congrès de droit international at Rome convened in Nov. 1934, on the seventh centenary of the Decretals of Gregory IX and fourteenth centenary of the Justinian code. Even though the Canadian parliamentarian was prevented at the last moment from attending, a résumé appeared in the agenda of the Congrès, "Libertas Cultus in Republica Canadensi." The full text appeared in the Rapport, 1933-34 of the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique, Pp. 68-79.

Ménard objected, "Is not this the full application of the theory of equality everywhere, even in religion? We can scarcely understand that Mr. Pouliot should have so glorified the French-Canadian and Catholic La Fontaine in the presence of prelates and Catholic historians as champion of religious liberalism.

"La Fontaine doubtless intended by his inter-

vention to guarantee the free exercise of the Catholic religion officially and permanently. But at the same time he guaranteed the equally free exercise of their worship for Protestants and for Jews as for Catholics.

"For a Catholic and for a Catholic parliamentarian the principle of freedom of worship is false or fallacious, since in theory only the Catholic faith is the true faith, and only its worship should be permitted.

"With this principle of absolute freedom of worship we have broken with the Christian character of our constitution. The Jews, whose religious nature is essentially anti-Christian, are authorized to practice their wicked faith on the same basis as the Catholics." (July 5, 1934)

As early as 1933 Ménard took up the defence of the tragic French-Canadian victims of the 1837 rebellion; their enemies had been those such as Louis-Joseph Papineau who had misled them into premature violence and then had deserted them. "At first they pushed them to insurrection and then advised them not to take up arms; nor did they accompany them on the field of battle... these heroes of '37 who were excommunicated for an activity similar to our own... They were doubly revolutionary: first because they revolted against a legitimately established government, and then because they disobeyed the orders of Mgr. Lartigue and thereby incurred excommunication." (Le Patriote, July 6, 1933). Those who had died in 1837 and 1838 were "unfortunate strays not representing the sentiment of the majority, pushed by chiefs who were not on the battle field with them, who had been warned by their bishops not to hurl themselves into this venture which would take them out of the church; but they took no notice of this and had themselves killed for a cause which they seem not to have understood." (Reprinted Nov. 20, 1937)

The much more respectable Abbé Lionel Groulx joined Arcand in this critique of Papineau -- possibly, like Arcand, intending the descendant Henri Bourassa as the indirect victim of his attack.

Robert Rumilly was somewhat restrained in his evaluation of Papineau, but Abbé Groulx was explicit in his comments on the Rumilly biography of Papineau (in the Devoir of Dec. 3, 1934):

"It serves no purpose to hide it. Papineau did us much harm...by his hollow reveries, by his ex-

travagant myths and by his pose as a freethinker, which were unfortunately accentuated after 1845." (Patriote, December 27, 1934)

In his Notre Maître le passé (vol. 2, P. 164) Abbé Groulx wrote in 1936, "Papineau appears as the special case of a Catholic leader of our people who became isolated among us because of his religious ideas. We cannot exaggerate the consequences of this conflict of attitudes and of feelings." (cited by J.P.Gaboury in his Le nationalisme de Lionel Groulx, P.21)

Whatever Arcand may have accomplished, he certainly helped to drag down the churchmen he was serving into the gutter and into close collaboration and support for genocide.

Georges Pelletier, who was to replace Bourassa as director of the Devoir, saw the problems created by the presence of so many Jewish children in the Protestant schools as another result of mass immigration. (Oct.1, 1924)

Joseph Bégin of La Croix regarded Taschereau's appointing the Commission of Inquiry of Nine as a surrender to the Jews. (March 28, 1925) The reference of legal questions to the courts, he wrote, was a further favour to this hostile element.

Abbé Antonio Huot established himself as the Canadian protagonist of the ritual murder accusation against the Jews at his Cercle Garneau lecture on this theme on Nov. 24, 1913, in the presence of such priests who figure in Canadian Jewish history as Curé Beaudoin, M. Bureau of St. Michel parish, Franciscan Father Hyacinthe, Eudist Father Gautier, Abbés Garneau, Labrecque and d'Amours as well as notary Plamondon, A.Denault -- and Mr. Ortenberg, who was the principal in the libel action against Plamondon. (Action sociale, Nov. 25, 1913). The lecture was issued by the publishing agency of Action sociale. La Question juive was the major text in the world-wide campaign to saddle the Jews with this myth -- as unspeakable, diabolic and ineffable as the vaster holocaust three decades later with which it is intimately related. This storm of evil was

launched, remarkably, after Russian justice found it impossible to convict Mendel Beilis of this murder charge in November 1913.

Only months earlier Lumen had written in La Vérité of Quebec that in the freemasonic Bnai Brith lodges the Sacred Host only too often is used in blasphemous ceremonies which are impossible to describe, in the hate of Jesus Christ and of Christianity. (Aug. 13, 1910)

Action sociale reaffirmed the blood libel and other widespread lies against the Jews which have led centuries of readers to identify medieval Europe with the evil condition of man. When the English-language Quebec daily, the Chronicle, challenged Abbé Huot, Action called it "the zealous but clumsy defender of the Jewish cause, the not less zealous adversary, on this as on several other occasions, of French-Canadian Catholic interests and of all who defend them." (Nov. 28, 1913)

Now this priest, who was accusing the Jews of ritual murder, was speaking for Church leaders and for laymen when he stated that no legislation must breach the Christian character of public education. No law should establish neutral or separate Jewish schools in our province; control of public education must remain in the hands of Christians, Protestant and Catholic, represented by the Council of Public Instruction as it is at present constituted. (Action française, vol. 15, June, 1926, P. 380)

Another Catholic voice spoke out tentatively for Jewish schools, but did not persist.

Jules Dorion, hostile editor of Action catholique, surveying the situation on Feb. 4, 1926, concluded that, to avoid the peril of neutral schools, "it will be necessary to give the Jews schools of their own. Our imprudent immigration policy has cornered us into this situation."

In his front page article "Satan Does His Work" (March 29, 1930) Dr. Dorion equated the idea of Jews becoming the equals of Christians in regard to education with neutral education, the devil's work which the Jews have succeeded in introducing in such schools in ninety percent of Christian lands. The phrase which frightened him appeared in the Jews' memorandum which asked that a Jewish school commission be endowed with the same rights as the Protestant and Catholic commissions!

Many years later, in 1959, when the "classic antisemitism" of the twenties and the thirties could be said to be passé, Robert Rumilly was still able to write, in the 31st volume of his Histoire de la Province de Québec on this thirty-year old episode,

"The Jews, world citizens as they are, could not claim historic rights. They conducted themselves everywhere as a foreign colony. They grabbed; they dispossessed. They are intermediaries rather than producers. They form too large a share of trade, usurers, editors of immoral papers, specialists in fraudulent bankruptcy. Fire insurers do not compete for their business; landlords do not seek them out as tenants; suburbanites flee them as neighbours. Nor can we fail to observe a harmful ferment, a destructive influence in the Jewish movies, in Jewish tabloids, in the Jewish spirit. They advance the delinquency of society when they do not promote it. The least that can be said is that they embody and spread tendencies opposed to French Canadian traditions." (P.169)

It was to be one of the crucial elements -- certainly not the sole cause -- in ending Taschereau's long career as leader of the province.

On the partisan arena, the opposition was silent. It was a problem of the utmost delicacy. The Conservative Party had no alternative solution.

So Taschereau had the bill passed to enable the Jews to operate their own schools.

Immediately the storm broke.

Catholic opposition soon proved most vehement and most far-reaching. It is unclear whether the government had had the complete consent of the churchmen to each clause of the measure as it finally passed. In any case, Taschereau was immediately attacked by the hierarchy.

Even before the problem of the Jewish and other non-Protestant, non-Catholic pupils in the schools was raised by the Protestant educational authorities, this problem had been raised within the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction. Their concern at the time is not yet clear. But certainly as Protestant action in this area intensified, the watching brief by the Catholics became very close.

At first the Catholic concerns seemed to be one they shared with the Protestants, that nothing develop in the course of the dealings in regard to Jews that might affect the basic constitutional system and the rights and the authority of the Catholic community and of the hierarchy.

This was not the first time since Confederation that the Jews were an element in Catholic policy in the Council of Instruction and in the complex relationship with the Protestant Committee of the Council.

But in the course of the discussions in the 1920's an important tendency in constitutional philosophy developed in the spheres about the Catholic Committee: members of the Committee began to stress, or intensified their viewpoint, that the Canadian constitution was Christian, that confessional

and Christian rights are imbedded in the constitution and should be confirmed law, and that residents who are not Christian do not in law have the status or the rights of Christians, either as individual citizens or as groups. This was reiterated at Catholic Committee meetings, in such journals as the Devoir and in the Revue du droit and even in the opinions of the judges.

It was not a stand that could reassure the Jewish community or further the extension of other groups and other faiths. Ultimately it could lead to unhappy position taken by central Quebec authorities on the largest issues of the century.

Applied to the issue of the education of the Jewish children of Montreal, the stand taken was hostile to the Jews and was fed by the antisemitism that was being disseminated in that society for decades as a result of many other conditions.

The Catholic leaders could not readily accept the equality of Jews with Christians. The image of Jews sitting in committee, in positions parallel to the bishops, on a Council of Public Instruction, was impossible to entertain.

The very existence of so many Jewish children in the Protestant schools "is one example among a thousand of problems difficult to resolve which arise from an intense immigration," wrote Georges Pelletier in the Devoir as early as October 1, 1924. (Cited by Antonin Dupont. Les relations entre l'Eglise et l'Etat sous Louis Alexandre Taschereau, 1920-1936. Montreal, 1972, P. 254)

Even the reference by the government to the higher courts of the questions regarding the legal aspects of the school problem was attacked by Joseph Bégin of La Croix as favouring the Jews unduly. (March 28, 1925)

Cardinal Rouleau may have been more moderate in his opposition. He accepted the principle that the Jews of Montreal should have schools of their own religious conviction.

His objections were limited: the Jews should meet with the Council of Public Instruction only on questions which concern the Jews, not on problems of general educational concern; these should remain only in Christian hands; control of the Jewish schools should not be in the sole jurisdiction of the superintendent. (Action catholique, Apr. 3, 1930)

But earlier drafts of the school bill had proposed that a third committee, a Jewish committee, be added to the two Christian committees composing the Council of Public Instruction. To this the cardinal objected, "To assure the Jewish children such an education is it really necessary to complicate, even to falsify, our educational system?"

It was the intervention of the bishops that closed the door of the Council of Public Instruction to the Jews. (Jules Dorion, "A Page of History," in Action catholique, Apr. 5, 1930)

But, presumably because the issue was confined to part of the Island of Montreal, Mgr. Georges Gauthier spoke out loudest. There was all the more weight behind his words for the circumstance that he was not by character an aggressive battler in public issues. A man of great reserve and of guarded speech, on this issue some of his terms and actions are surprising to readers of his record.

His attack on the bill took several forms, each of which had far-reaching consequences.

There was his very formal statement, his "sermon from the mount", from Mount Royal, where he unleashed an attack on the Jews.

With one trenchant phrase: Jews are already surrounded with too much sympathy, he destroyed in Quebec at least, for many crucial years the simple fact that the Jewish people were a persecuted people; that their very physical safety and security depended upon the humane

understanding and support of people of good will; that, specifically, Canadians and Quebeckers were called upon by elemental conscience not to join the persecutors but to aid the unarmed victims of the physically stronger attackers.

With this one pregnant phrase the archbishop administering the archdiocese of the Ecclesiastical Province of Montreal, silenced the conscience of Christians who were -- or might become -- aware of Jewish suffering in contemporary Europe.

A week after Mgr. Gauthier's sermon on Mount Royal Jules Dorion entitled his views on the question, "Satan Does his Work." The devil's major preoccupation is the neutral school system. Quebec is one of the few places in the world where Satan is overshadowed.

"This year the breach in this fortress is in regard to the education of the Jewish children. The plan is to put non-Christian children on the same footing as Christians! Our bishops have the clear vision of this danger.... Let us understand clearly the import of this: the Jews got the idea of becoming the equals of Christians in this province!

"Let us be on guard for our schools.... Nowhere in the world, to our knowledge, have the Jews succeeded in becoming the equals of Christians doctrinally. But in ninety-five per cent of Christian countries they have succeeded in introducing neutral schools." (Action catholique, March 29, 1930)

As we shall see, the remarkable statement by the archbishop was echoed three years later by an extraordinary public meeting not paralleled anywhere in the free world: after a protest meeting against the German atrocities, a counter-protest was sponsored by very important French Canadian nationalists against the political and social Christian thinkers who had joined the Jews in this humane expression. Chanoine Groulx gave his considered support to these anti-Jewish protesters under a nom de plume he often utilized for comments more violent than the vaguer and considered views to which he signed his own name.

In the years that followed, condemnation of Hitler's horrors against the Jews was quite scarce in Quebec.

The monsignor's clarion call against the Jewish schools was but one act in the direct political stand by the church against the government. This was no indirect manipulation of influence through personal contact or through political or partisan friends. This was power directly versus power. It is interesting to note the media of expression and debate which the church chose for this combat.

Primarily it was Action catholique, the important Quebec City daily that had been established with the encouragement of Rome as the authoritative -- and nearly official -- voice of the ancient archdiocese of the provincial capital.

It was in that newspaper that the major lines of the issue were drawn, and by the same influential and literate journalists who had long ago made that paper into one of the most consistent and unrelieved antisemitic periodicals in the world.

Mgr. Gauthier's warning against too great a sympathy for the Jews needs to be taken in context with the network of myths in regard to the Jews: in relation to immigration, freemasonry, communism, Zionism, economic exploitation, anti-Catholicism, atheism, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the cinema, fashion, liberalism, compulsory education, public welfare, Sunday observance and a score of other emotional issues developed in Quebec long before Hitler borrowed them for his parallel purposes.

Mgr. Gauthier had concluded his statement on the Jewish school commission,

"There are people who are clearly hostile to our traditional faith; many others permit themselves to be misled by words they do not understand well: liberty, broad-mindedness, tolerance. When these are pronounced with some emphasis, they experience the vanity of considering themselves intellectuals. It is an old story, and some of them consider themselves free in spirit in regard to the Catholic faith while they accept the most humiliating servitude in other areas."

Father Alexandre Dugré congratulated the bishop for unmasking the seditious Jewish conspiracies. (cited by Dupont, P.266)

In Action catholique Joseph Barnard considered it incongruous that the government should grant the Jews the status of equality while the courts have recognized that the Quebec school system is Christian in character. Only Catholics and Protestants can participate in directing public schooling in the province. (May 12, 1930)

Julien St. Michel sought to explain the hostility towards Jewish schools: it is doubtless because children of Jewish origin do better than their other friends; this excellence is evident on all levels. (Le monde ouvrier, Apr. 26, 1930)

The churchmen had nightmarish visions of Jewish schools, of non-Christian schools, of non-confessional schools, of neutral schools. Dwelling on this turned fear into reality.

Magisterially Canon Cyril Labrecque explained that the bishops were justified in their reservations. The natural rights of parents to educate their children are not unlimited, unconditional or arbitrary, for they remain subject to natural and divine law, and must be exercised in perfect accord with the purposes for which the parents received the children as a gift of God. The state must protect the moral and the religious education of the young in line with the laws of reason and of faith, by withdrawing them from everything which is contrary to reason or faith.... The Jewish religion may be taught, as a matter of tolerance, in the Jewish schools. Forbidden are the all too common anti-Christian commentaries, and the doctrines opposed to Christ and His Church. This is also true of the anti-social ideas of some groups and persons. In short, in granting the Jews schools of their own, the state must efficaciously prevent any instruction damaging to civil society or contrary to the Christian religion. To protect Christian society we must not permit Jewish schools which would constitute a system of non-Christian teaching. Let us give Jews their own schools, but let us put these private and special schools under a Christian section of the Council of Public Instruction. (Evénement, March 28, 1930; included in his Consultations théologiques. 2nd ed., Québec, Librairie de l'Action catholique, 1946. Pp. 180-83)

Halfway between archiepiscopal dignity and mobster vulgarity, Camillien Houde put it in the provincial legislature, "If the Jews don't like it, they can get out." (Action catholique, November 19, 1930)

Now that the school issue had surfaced, Abbé Huot dusted off the title of his 1914 lecture on the Jewish practice of ritual murder and submitted to the Action sociale his work on the school question which he had published in Action catholique of May 17, 18 and 19, 1926, La Question juive chez nous, avec une lettre d'un lecteur de l'Action catholique à l'auteur. That reader seems to have been only a little more deranged than the priest. An English version appeared that year from the same press in the translation of John O'Neil.

This pamphlet on the school question carried the nihil obstat of Father Cyrille Labrecque, who was to succeed Abbé Huot as director of the Semaine of Quebec.

The conclusions of Father Huot:

"It appears of capital importance that no legislation should breach the Christian character of our public education.

"Whatever the decision of the Privy Council, the legislature should not vote any law for the establishment of neutral or separate Jewish schools in our province, since the control of public education must remain in Christian hands, whether Protestant or Catholic, represented in the Council of Public Instruction as constituted today.

"It would be too painful for the French-Canadian people, the pioneer people of Canada, to see our legislators provide newcomers to our country with school rights and privileges which are refused our people in Manitoba and in other provinces.

"Doubtless, we must not violate the natural rights of the Jewish father of his family over his children. But to safeguard this right it is not necessary to break up our Christian public education, so dear to both Protestants and Catholics in this province.

"In fact, the state offers Jews the common schools of the province, both Catholic and Protestant, for the education of their children. If these schools do not suit them, they can have their children educated at their own expense and in their own style at their own schools.

"If such recourse to private schools is not satisfactory to the Jews, what can practically and appropriately be done in Montreal, where this question arises at this time?

"Insofar as equity demands it, and within the conditions of a Christian state like ours, we ought to recognize the rights of the Jewish heads of families over their children.

"If by an arrangement of internal administration either of the two school commissions, or both, would permit it at their discretion or by tolerance, we ought to approve the establishment and maintenance, under their control, of distinct schools for Jewish children offering an education which suits them, but which does not contradict Christian verities or -- above all -- the fundamental principles of the social order; the school taxes paid by Jews being allocated for the maintenance of these distinct schools.

"Again, it is of prime importance to safeguard the Christian character of public institutions in the province, that no law of the legislature consecrate the setting up of neutral or separate Jewish schools.

"The great thinker, de Bonald, had written, 'Let us beware that the liberation of the Jews does not become the oppression of the Christians.'" (On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-31. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975; Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no.3.)

As seldom in history, this anti-Jewish position became the policy of the church on all its levels, and steps were taken to mobilize the opinion of the province on this battlefield. It was not difficult.

Miss Heep, of McGill University's history department points out that the hostility of Action catholique towards the Jews on the school question differs in character from its attitudes towards the Jews in its earlier decades and from its more violent tone in the '30's. On the school question it was much more rational, seeking to defend what it considered basic Catholic interests in education and in law.

Early in April, 1930, Dr. Jules Dorion, one of the founders of Action, wrote,

"The province of Quebec is a Christian country. While allowing the Jews the full measure of justice due them, it is important for the province not to impair the Christian character of the country.

"If under these conditions the Christian workings of our school organization have not been falsified, it is due to our bishops."

It should be noted that, even as presented officially, this was not a case of a Catholic position happening to conflict with a Jewish position. The rationale was anti-Jewish, and the teachings of contempt ran throughout the campaign against the Jews and against the government measure.

Jesuit Father Alexandre Dugré was but one of its spokesmen (Canadian Jewish Archives, no.3, P. 124)

With the Huot background it is not surprising, as Arcand himself told it, that the bishop of Montreal enlisted the vulgar anti-Jewish journalist Arcand in this cause. By deliberate decision by one of the most authoritative leaders of the people of Quebec, Le Miroir and Le Goglu became the voice of the established.

Rumilly's statement to this effect (in his Histoire de la Province de Québec) is confirmed by Arcand who gave this information to a researcher in history. Rollande Montsion finds this a rather simplistic explanation. Nevertheless, she too notes that there are no antisemitic articles from Arcand's pen anterior to those dealing with the David Law. She also remarks that in all his writings there is no indication of any development in his thinking in the direction of antisemitism.

"It did not take him long to see a link between this conflict of jurisdiction in schooling and the cause of all the ills besetting French Canadians, the problems of all Canadians and the danger which was facing western Christian civilization." (P.32)

Arcand and Ménard began their publications with the Miroir on April 1929 and the Goglu in August. They had convened their Goglus at political rallies in February, 1930, in Montreal, the following month at the Salle de St. Pierre de St. Sauveur in Quebec and at the Académie des Saints-Anges in Montreal, without mention of Jews. Their Quebec city chief, Noël Dorion, addressed the Conservative Party in Quebec in March, 1930. Still no mention of Jews. Suddenly his explosion.

Issue no. 3 of Canadian Jewish Archives detailed some of Arcand's attacks (P. 121-26) in the Goglu.

Arcand, his voice magnified by his Miroir and Le Goglu, unchained a truly frightening attack on the Liberal government.

It was a significant moment in the Arcand career.

Arcand's carefully analyzed attacks on the David Bill, and even on Henri Bourassa, constitute an outstanding chapter in the corpus of his writings. These anti-Jewish writings began with his series on the Jewish school question in the 35th issue of the first volume of Le Goglu on April 30, 1930 and in Le Miroir, "Le Canada est la patrie des Canadiens et non des Juifs." It was followed in the next issue with a cartoon showing Premier L.A. Taschereau and the Provincial Secretary, Athanase David, kneeling before Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen, M.L.A.'s, together with an

article, "Québec livrée aux Juifs." His first signed article in Le Goglu, "Pourquoi le Sémitisme et un péril," appeared in May. Followed months of continuous attacks upon Montreal Jews and upon the government which had sought to regulate the complex Jewish school question by setting up the Jewish School Commission.

These series of articles ran in spurts. For a time each weekly issue carried a long article on the Jewish school question, always in the same position, with caricatures; then these stopped. Months later they began again for a term. The attacks were clearly orchestrated.

Furthermore, these articles were particularly well informed, clearly reasoned, serially organized and related to tactics and positions taken in the controversy -- as compared to his other writings. They suggest a planned, possibly exterior, strategy of an authoritative source. They were probably more directed, specific and factual than Arcand's writings were ever to be again. He skillfully related the education issue to the mechanics of government and of social action, sought to tie the school issue to the broadest questions of Canadian constitutionalism and of Quebec traditions, and then to connect the situation to his myth of the conspirative Jew in history. Probably never again did the propagandist have an issue so close to day-by-day, here-and-now life. Later he became lost in the madness of the devil-Jew legend.

He concentrated on constant insults and calumnies of the lowest form against the traitorous ministry which he saw destroying the Christian character of Quebec education, bowing to Jewish pressures and making Jews the equals of French Canadians. The government men were legitimizing the Jews as an official minority, and thus attenuating the rights of the Christian groups, in violation of the intent of the Confederation Pact.

Arcand became the defender of the faith, if not its spokesman, publishing episcopal statements in full, and by his commentaries pushing the hierarchy towards his extreme positions of hostility to Jewish public schools and to Jews.

"To admit the David Law is to admit that when we fight for Catholic religious schools in the west we are

fighting for a battle for Jewish religious schools.... We have run and are running great economic dangers which, however, can always be avoided or corrected. But we have never faced a graver national and religious peril which may not be redressed once the precedent is established in tradition." (Le Goglu editorial, "The People Wait for a Saviour," May 30, 1930)

In 1774, he wrote, the Catholic bishops had won privileges and a special status for the church. Now the government is diminishing them by destroying the rights of Christianity and by forcing them to share their hitherto exclusive status with Jews. ("Sharing is Seizing." July 18, 1930)

"Jewish educational and school questions are removed from the competence of the Council.... Only the government can intervene, but on the recommendation of the Superintendent. But if he does not recommend anything? If he does not condemn anything? We shall see the Jews act as they please, do what they wish, without control or surveillance -- in short, with an independence not granted even Catholics or Protestants.

"Having only Jews to advise him in regard to the Jewish schools, he will necessarily become Jewish and will turn our entire educational system into something Jewish; the more rapidly if he is as feeble and as pliable as David and Taschereau, who have permitted the Sheenies to run circles about them in a few months....

"The Jewish commission has full, uncontrolled powers: administration, management, regulation, curriculum, teachers, examiners, etc., while the Catholic and Protestant commissions do not have these powers.

"The Jewish rabbis themselves will be unable to supervise the religious nature of their schools. Mr. Taschereau justified the bill on religious grounds, but he leaves the new Jewish religious commission entirely in the hands of laymen under the complete control of the government. It is an absurd situation, explicable only by his desire for political intervention and control." (July 25, 1930)

Even at the end of 1930, when the government announced that it would abrogate the law establishing the

Jewish school commission, Arcand was not at rest. Rumour had it that the Jewish commission was to remain, a condition he found unacceptable for "us."

"If the Protestant commission, which harbours the Jewish pupils, wishes to admit Jews, very well. But we can never accept or recognize a Jewish commission for administrative reasons as well as for educational reasons. It would reduce the sovereign authority of the Catholic and Protestant bodies which alone in this province have the right to manage, survey and direct in matters of education." (Miroir, December 7, 1930)

When the Hon. Athanase David spoke at several religious institutions to explain government policy, Le Goglu attacked him,

"He clings to priests, to brothers and sisters and nuns. What irony! When we realize how disgustingly Taschereau has deceived the bishops, how he has basely ignored their direction in the Judas-David Bill, how stubbornly he has sought to impose neutral schools upon us!" (October 25, 1930)

The attacks were clearly aimed beyond the school bill. They became an attack on the Liberal government, on liberalism and on values associated with democratic society.

Arcand's Chameau, established just about this time (for this campaign? for the federal election campaign?), was also utilized in this cause.

Arcand was teaching Bourassa: it is one thing to be just to strangers and to guests of society; it is quite another matter to give to Jews as a group the privilege and rights enjoyed by the founding races of Canada, the French and the English.

At first Arcand was mildly respectful. His reply of June 27, 1930, was at least grammatical. In November his address at the rally at the Monument National on the same theme, of Jews as a minority, honoured Bourassa by not mentioning his name.

In the months to come Bourassa was to fare no better than Alderman Schubert or Joseph Cohen, M.L.A., from the pencil of Le Goglu's cartoonist.

By April, 1932, Pophnuce Bourassa had become the subject of a full page satire depicting him as a sanctimonious fraud.

In December, the Bourassa who had defended the French Canadian race from the pulpit of Notre Dame at a Marian Congress was caricatured as addressing an enthusiastic audience of Jewish communists in New York. "No longer applauded by his own whom he had calumniated, he was now going to be heard by Protestants, schismatics, free thinkers and Jews."

The following month he was described as "attacking the bishops and many of our institutions, but careful not to speak of the bolshevism of rabbis and of the anti-national character of many Jewish institutions. Hearing him preach in favour of the Soviet Five Year Plan, apparently in order to counter an anti-bolshevik encyclical of the Pope, it is not surprising to find the great defender of the Jews advancing their work in this province by theories such as he had recently maintained." The caricature shows a Jew feeding Bourassa "Christian Socialism" from a baby bottle.

"A Christian Quebec or a Jewish Quebec?" in the Goglu of August 29, 1930, painted the school law as a step toward Jewish domination of the world.

The following issue portrayed a session of the Jewish world conspirators in a deep dark cave planning the demoralization of society, the introduction of dancing and of public assistance, the conquest and the weakening of Quebec and of the church -- and the school law.

Arcand was the meticulous and loud interpreter of the views, feelings, fancies and fears of the hierarchy.

"It is through the Council of Public Instruction, made up of Protestant and Catholic laymen and clergy, that Christians exercise control of the schools. Nothing can be decreed by the superintendent of public instruction without the approval of the Council.

"But the Jewish commission is not subject to the Council of Public Instruction. It is subject only to the Superintendent. Since he can act in regard to Christian schools only by order of the Council, is it not clear that he will be able to act in regard to Jewish schools only on the recommendation of the Jewish commission?"

"Since Jews only seek parliamentary favour when a country is corrupt, there had to be extended decadence in Quebec before they could come to demand recognition as an official minority by means of the David Bill. The province must be sufficiently dominated by money, dance, jazz, cinema, fashion, literature and Jewish prestige before Jews would dare demand what they never saw fit to demand in any other country in the world...."

Antisemitic political caricatures of Jews with Premier Taschereau appear in the Chameau of April 4 and 11 and May 8, 1930, "after Smoked Herring Alexandre (Taschereau) and Satanasse (David) had the legislature pass a (school) law granting Jews what our own people do not have and which will permit them to exploit us still more."

These are accompanied by lengthy satirical features ("Juif converti" on April 18, 1930; "Chez les Juifs" on May 23) and cartoons of Alderman L. Rubenstein, S.W. Jacobs, M.P. (July 11, 1930), Joseph Cohen and Peter Bercovitch (Sept. 12, 1930).

An anti-Liberal editorial of August 1, 1930, is entitled "The Jews Shall Not Triumph." Another, on September 12, "The Jews Pass the Hat."

Jews were caricatured as cheating merchants (Sept. 12, 1930).

In retrospect the consequences of that controversy were far reaching -- probably much beyond the considered intentions of the principals.

On the specific question of school legislation Taschereau found himself forced into retreat. He took advantage of a clause in his law which had been inserted to soothe those Jews who were cool to separate Jewish schools and who always hoped for an accommodation with the Protestant authorities. The act permitted the Jewish commission to negotiate with the Protestants towards this end, even though negotiations had been proceeding fruitlessly for nearly a decade.

Now Taschereau put strong pressure upon the Jews -- and presumably also on the Protestants -- to reach an agreement which would make separate Jewish schools

It was a most intense pressure. Dr. Wiseman told of it. Even an activist like Michael Garber, who had led the separate school campaign from its inception, was forced to succumb. The public could not be admitted to the workings of political mechanisms, and was puzzled by the actions of the school commission, as it retreated from the program it had been empowered to follow. It was puzzled by the events, and some cried betrayal.

Humiliatingly the government retreated on Jews' schools and enacted legislation that withdrew the authority it had enacted for the Jewish commission.

The legislation that sealed the Jewish school panel was passed under dramatic circumstances. Even those who had been cool to the law establishing the Jewish commission were shocked at the brutal turnabout which reduced its status and deprived it of function and jurisdiction. Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen, the two Jewish members of the legislature, were Liberals, but they were embarrassed to be so caught by events.

The Conservatives in the House were as unhappy for the contrary reason, because the Commission had been created in the first place. When they proposed an amendment in opposition to the Liberal proposal, Cohen and Bercovitch rejoined the party to defeat it.

But in the vote on the bill the Jewish members abstained from voting. The all-round embarrassment reflected faithfully the universal discomfort over the crude handling of the Jewish school problem.

The Jewish Commissioners -- S.W. Livingstone, Max Wiseman, Michael Garber, A.Z. Cohen, Dr. Herman Abramowitz, Nathan Gordon and Edgar Berliner -- reacted viscerally by resigning over "the taking away of the status of equality granted by the Legislature in 1930.... The school question cannot be settled as long as any portion of the community is left in a position of inferiority to the rest of the community. The recent legislation places the Jews of Montreal in a position which is intolerable, unfair and contrary to the tradition of the Province of Quebec, which recognizes equality for minorities and majorities." (Canadian Annual Review, 1930-31, Pp. 158-59)

This was the first victory in many years for a group who fought against compulsory education, free text books, public charities, the cinema and a series of other innovations they saw as emanating from freemasonry and sometimes from Jewry.

It now became an open political force on the Quebec arena, with a program all its own on Quebec matters, on Canadian constitutionalism, on external affairs.

Its direct opponent was the Liberal government which had dared to defy it on the school question. The relations between Church and state were coming to a head, and Tascher-eau's days were numbered.

The Conservative Party was not the successor of the Liberals. Indeed, it was the end of a Conservative Party under that name, the end of any Conservative Party in Quebec which was affiliated with the national Conservative Party.

The victory over the school issue encouraged Arcand to move from the journalistic to the political, and he expanded this campaign, with the same instruments of vilification, antisemitism and reaction -- always claiming to defend faith and church -- into political initiative. This was the beginning of militant Quebec fascism, the only substantial form of this black force in Canadian history.

Victory for this political anti-Jewish force called for strategic exploitation, and this was to come in the matter on Sunday closing. Its leader was Canon A. Harbour; its chaplain was Father Joseph-Papin Archambault; its voice was the Semaine religieuse de Montréal, echoed by the Devoir; its apparatus was the Ligue du dimanche. The battlefield moved from industrial operation to the Jewish district of Montreal where Jewish storekeepers, Shomrei Shabbath, the inventors of the Sabbath, were permitted to sell their goods on Sundays. The federal debate of 1906, which had established a modus for thirty years, was renewed on the Quebec arena.

This campaign for strict Sunday observance was not centrally as anti-Jewish as the school issue which it followed. For one thing, the status of the community as such was not involved; only storekeepers who were Shomrai Shabbath, already few in numbers by this time.

The Ligue du dimanche was interested in establishing legally the Christian character of Canadian society. Their campaign was less antisemitic than in the school issue. But there was no dearth of anti-Jewish overtones; this in the hey-day of Arcand and Hamel antisemitism in the province.

The government resisted, at first politically, then legalistically and on constitutional grounds. It delayed as long as it could. Indeed, it caved in only during its last days.

When victory came the Ligue triumphantly pointed out the potentials of further social action by similar means.

As readers in Canadian history who take into consideration the minor but revealing Jewish motif, what seems to us remarkable during these several decades is the almost unprecedented unanimity of churchmen at this time in relation to the Jewish citizenry of the country and to the fact -- and problems -- of Jewish existence.

Unlike the situation in many other countries, even in Germany, there was, in Canada, no Catholic dissent from antisemitism; there is no Quebec condemnation of Nazism, there was no Quebec plea for the threatened, for the attacked or for the tortured of Dachau. There were no Sisters or Fathers of Notre Dame de Sion to relate love of the Christ figure with love of His people in the flesh.

The concepts that underlay the intense school campaign and the Sunday observance measure were also influential in strengthening the world view of this French Canada.

The anti-Jewish myths basic to these campaigns conformed with political and social movements in Europe, which, each in its region, were vigorously warring on the Jewish position.

Those who felt that the Jews were already surrounded with too much sympathy could not but support the Polish and Roumanian pogromists, long before Hitler. This meant acceptance of much or all of the political and social philosophy that justified this persecution -- the concept of a society that could classify a stratum of its citizens as undeserving of equal rights and even of protection.

Unfortunately, these trends fitted too neatly with other socio-philosophical conceptions that were accepted and promoted by this French Canadian society. The result: a strong anti-egalitarian and pro-fascist orientation which was not at all restrained by the political philosophy which animated the Anglo-Saxon world and was undoubtedly at the root of Canadian democracy.

The one restraining element that was strongly operative in Quebec came from the ethical religious convictions of the anti-Jewish activists.

Constantly we read in their own writings that justice must be done to all concerned. They truly did not at this time see the inconsistency between their morality and their political alignments and programs.

By the same token, they abhorred violence in any form and on any occasion. If only by omission of any call to direct action, they ensured that the disdain they promulgated and the attacks on the status and the rights of Jews were not accompanied, as they were in Europe, by physical attacks on the persons or the property of Jews. (The nearest to a threat of direct citizens action by this sector of society emanated from Abbé Groulx, under a nom de plume; the object of his anger was the immorality being disseminated on the screens of Quebec.)

In this century of holocaust it is difficult to establish a scale of horror and of wickedness. The measure of responsibility to be placed upon the antisemites of the 1920's for the ultimate horror of Hitler's thirties and forties has not yet been established.

But the imagery of the Jews that was conveyed so successfully in the campaign about the school question became deeply rooted in the thinking and in the articulation of that nationalistic, church-led portion of French Canada. It generalized from Semaine religieuse de Québec to the Devoir (never to the circles of La Presse).

There was a reversal of ethical roles -- the murderous villain became a patriotic hero and a defender of values and institutions; and the victim became a wicked man deserving of his punishment.

It was, therefore, natural for these Canadians to reject the victims when they sought refuge here. The results were catastrophic: actual loss of the lives of Jews brutally refused refuge during the years when pogroms and concentration camps were becoming more and more openly a phenomenon of the century.

(Eventually it came to complicate the thinking of this society decades later when Canada was at war with the Germany that incorporated this set of myths into national, political, religious policy.)

In any integrated survey of Canadian history the role of Canada in the epic of holocaust must become even more central in a view of our character, our leadership, our national ethic, our place in world affairs.

In this basic overview of our country during the last half century the record is brutal. The unrelieved pressure mobilized and orchestrated by the victors of the school question against the Jewish victims of Hitlerism is documented by hundreds of Quebec editorials, documents in the prime ministerial archives, in the resolutions of hundreds of city councils and of organizations -- all in the same sense: keep the Jewish refugees out.

In this anti-refugee articulation the vilification of these would-be immigrants looms very large: they are the scum of European cities, undesirables of whom their governments were glad to be rid, corrupters, parasites, etc. In other parts of Canada the objection was more often on the basis of current unemployment and economic conditions.

The consequences are clear -- the never coagulated blood that had become a universal symbol of unspeakable evil.

Canada's place in this cosmic saga has not yet been fully evaluated; particularly not in the context of guilt shared with other governments, even democratic governments. But the record is clear that Quebec in particular spoke with unanimity and a bluntness to keep Jews out of Canada even more rigidly than in earlier years.

These victories over tolerance destroyed the moderates who sought a secure place for other citizens in Quebec society. One searches in vain in the copious "messianic" literature of the French Canadian nationalism of this period for a just or a justified place even for English Canadians, leave alone Jews, in the French Canada of the future.

Xenophobia became not a fear but an aggressive, violent force in the native political ideology of the province.

The island of Quebec was not even near other Canadian or Western worlds. There is scarcely a nationalistic

thinker until 1945, from Groulx onward, who did not express himself antisemitically. The nationalistic press from Arcand to Action française to Action nationale to Vivre to La Nation to Devoir repeated the anti-Jewish slogans. The differences are tonal and stylistic rather than contentual. At the best (as in the later thirties) the attacks are sometimes rarer or even absent.

This antisemitism of the French Canadian nationalist movement had tragic effects. In a decade when the nationalist ideal throughout the world became colored reactionary and antisemitic and disavowed the liberal liberationist and messianic idealism of earlier European nationalisms, Quebec nationalism appeared to stand at the side of Hitlerism, of the Polish Endeks and the French fascists. A notable difference: the Quebec nationalists, even the avowed fascists among them, eschewed violence.

In such a climate in the province and in the world, it was not to be expected that Jews in Quebec should sympathize with the nationalism of their French Canadian neighbours. The results were a further consolidation of Jewish political links with the Liberal Party and a further breach with the local, provincial political parties such as Duplessis' -- later such as the Bloc, Crédit social -- and with those whence stemmed the various separatist groups.

The phenomenon was not only political. It arrested acculturation, the adoption by younger Quebec Jews of the culture and language of the Quebec in which they were residing, in which more and more of them were born. Suffered to continue it would have resulted in deeper solitudes, in higher walls.

Later, in the course of time, the bars against Jews in the nationalistic circles were lowered: and we find a nationalism which is not antisemitic, which has Jews in its ranks at several levels, and which openly invites Jewish participation in its current struggle for the rights of the group. We find Jewish participation in French-Canadian literature and even in the provincial civil service.

Indeed, the antisemitism in later Quebec nationalism no longer stems from the teachings of its monsignori, from its Semaines religieuses but, on the contrary, from Russian and Arab influences.

ARCAND ENTERS POLITICS

Adrien Arcand appears as a leader of Quebec antisemitism suddenly.

Born in Montreal in 1900, of French Canadian-Scottish stock in Canada since 1639 (Letter to Brussels L'Europe réeèle, July 1961), the son of an organizer for the American Federation of Labor Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, he appears to have been a voracious reader from his youth (Rollande Montsion. Les grands thèmes du mouvement national social chrétien et d'Adrien Arcand. M.A. thesis at Université d'Ottawa, 1975; "Adrien Arcand n'a pas abandonné ses combats," in Almanach éclair, 1956, Pp. 165-67). Jean-Louis Laporte, in Nouvelles illustrées, May 22, 1965, gives Oct. 3, 1899, as the date of birth. He tells of his childhood on rue Chaussé, now Des Erables, and of his attachment to the Immaculée conception parish during his early years. He followed the commercial course to the 12th year, the classic courses at Collège de Montréal and his philosophy year at Collège Ste. Marie. He studied chemical engineering in the laboratories of the Université de Montréal but was felled by the Spanish grippe which prevented the resumption of his studies.

He began his journalistic career with La Patrie and then a short stay with the Star until Eustache le Tellier-de-Saint-Juste engaged him for La Presse. He remained there for ten years but was dismissed in 1929 by M. du Tremblay for his union activism. The publishers demanded the names of the staffmen who had joined the union; Arcand refused.

Arcand became associated with Joseph Ménard in the publication of the Miroir in mid-April 1929, and two weeks later, as Ménard tells it, the first issue of the Miroir (Ménard says the Goglu, but that is an obvious error) appeared.

Little is known about the relations between this odd couple of Quebec nationalism. They were both very discreet on personal matters, and not least on what they held in common and on where they differed. Publicly there was practically identification of the two, but their character and even their fates, particularly as their movement developed, were different. Their mutual loyalty -- or at least their discretion on their differences in the face of society outside the world of aggression which they shared -- reflects the existence of a closed and complete and overriding universe capable of threatening society. There is no truth in any approach to this condition of the 1930's which ignores this loyalty and what it represents.

At moments chinks appeared in this cohesion binding these dangerous men. An odd note to this effect even in the Patriote and L'Illustration reflects complications beneath the quiet surface. In 1938 the invaluable Dr. J.G.Lambert appears to have quit Arcand (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, May 27, 1938). But the general pattern is not affected.

We find the name of Adjutor Ménard (sometimes used by Joseph Ménard) as printer, in the Quebec City Action catholique of Nov. 5, 1908.

An article in Arcand's Unité nationale of May 1954 is signed with the initials J.-A.M.

Early in their career, Arcand described Ménard as "the mainspring of the Goglu and of the Miroir, who has devoted his soul, the soul of a patriot, his intelligence and his ardent temperament to exposing the clique." He called Ménard "my precious friend, my incomparable associate and my indispensable complement, righteousness incarnate, devotion made man, whom one can proudly call incorruptible." In the same paragraph he refers to himself, significantly, as "the enigmatic" Emile Goglu, clearly revealing the active and complex roles he was playing. (Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930)

Ménard reciprocated: Arcand is "a generous frank friend, sincere, joyous, whom I have come to love as a brother, who has given me every proof of confidence a man can desire."

They began their publishing venture with the Miroir on April 28, 1929, and initiated the Goglu on August 28, 1929. For a time, from March 30, 1930 to mid-1932, they also published the Chameau. The Miroir and the Goglu continued until March 1933 when their unsteady fortunes forced their closure.

Ménard explained the name of his Goglu, "a small bird, very clean, with exquisite and open song, honest manner and useful at work, whom the ornithologists call the Canadian nightingale. Its colours are so beautiful: the tender green of our meadows and the dark green of our forests, the gold of our wheat and the ochres of our generous autumns; strikes out right and left very hard, but always to be useful to its race and to protect the weak and the oppressed. He argued that his virulence is lesser than the evil done to our race and faith by the clique of the rich and of the potentates who have been governing our province for half a century. The wicked caricatures he publishes are richly deserved".
(Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930)

After the shock which came in 1933 of several brushes with the laws of libel, coinciding in time with the rise of Hitler, a change took place in the careers of the two men. Ménard became editor and publisher, in the event of the Patriote. Arcand devoted himself increasingly to Fascist politics, through the Parti national social chrétien and Canadian fascism.

At the time, the Miroir was an insipid rag, with little political direction, no apparent social philosophy, little nationalistic concern, pandering largely to a taste for descriptions of crimes of violence.

When Arcand proclaimed his Patriotic Order of Les Goglus in December, 1929, it was almost as a journalistic joke, with no indication of any objectives, tactics or other evidence of serious purpose. It is most unlikely that anyone, no matter how low in intelligence or sophistication, no matter how prone to coupon mailing, would be enticed into association. Certainly there was no mention of Jews or anything smacking of antisemitism in the many early months of Le Goglu.

Le Goglu was an exact copy of Le Miroir, except that it did not include the sports and the women's section. Both were supporting the Conservative Party and fought the idea of the League of Nations. Sen. Raoul Dandurand, Canadian champion of the League, was the bête noire of both trashy weeklies.

Their Chameau (March 14, 1930 - June 10, 1932) was a humorous illustrated version of these weeklies, even though the others were also profusely provided with caricatures.

At first Arcand had supported Camilien Houde in his civic politics and had worked for him during the March 1930 campaign. Houde was the valiant battler to drive out the canaille from all administrative departments, to exterminate the vermin who ravage the people, to crush the gang. (Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930.)

But Houde's view of his own role in Montreal's life was not that of executor of Arcand's program. Although no confirmed liberal, he did not see much political usefulness in waging war on segments of the metropolis' population.

For months on end Houde was the object of Arcand's sickening invective, displacing the Jews completely from the columns of Le Goglu.

Early in 1932 Ti-Luc Chameau editorialized, "When Will the Conservative Party Rid Itself of the Pro-Jewish Houde?" He was pleased that Maurice Duplessis was assuming the factual leadership of the party from Houde's failing hands. "Houde's bonds with Jewry have disheartened the citizenry." (Chameau, March 4, 1932)

In February 1930, Houde formally disavowed Le Goglu and Le Miroir and their antisemitism and said that citizens of all origins, and particularly the minorities, are entitled to the protection of the institutions of the free country. He reiterated his stand, which he had formulated two years earlier when he had been elected, that he considered himself the mayor of all the citizens, and opposed raising of all racial questions. (Le Devoir, quoted in Le Goglu).

When the executive of the municipal government permitted Jews to open their stores on Sunday, the eve of Rosh Hoshanah, Oscar Chameau cried, "An Act that Calls for Vengeance".

"We have reached the point where the people are thinking of revolting and of sending home these men who have tried to put us to sleep under the cover of all sorts of promises, and to have us think that, finally, justice and truth will triumph in the city and in all corners of Quebec.

"But triumph has come not to the true citizens of Quebec who are entitled to it, but to these undesirable strangers, these exploiters of the public, these thieves and liars, these obscene inveterate enemies of Christians -- the Jews. And why? Because these lousy setters of traps have succeeded with those who promised to safeguard our privileges and our rights.

"Mayor Houde had no right to assume powers he does not have. And he had still less right to betray his race and his faith to please these anti-Christians who, by this permitted violation of the Sunday law, have challenged the Catholic, French Canadian population of Montreal. It is a challenge we accept, a challenge that will bring upon each of them and upon their protector-traitors public contempt and the mark of shame." (Chameau, Oct. 3, 1930)

Houde attacked Arcand, questioning the sources of his income. Arcand replied in the Goglu on the 17th: "M. Houde, L'Ingrat."

The date enters the story.

To whatever degree Arcand was aware of the climate and of the looming future in the country, on the continent and in the world, the depression was developing. With the critical processes experienced by society and its economic and political structures, an opening was appearing for persons and ideas not acknowledged by the established. The time for the uprooted and for the cranks was coming.

The Goglus held their first public meeting on Feb. 11, 1930, at the Monument National.

It was devoted solely to an introduction of Ménard and Arcand as publishers of an independent, critical press and the mobilization of their followers into a militant force for the purification of government and the economic advancement of the people of the province.

The press had given no advance publicity to the meeting, but a report of the gathering appeared in Le Canada.

The date of beginning of this activity is meaningful. In 1929 Toronto also witnessed the organization of the Swastika Club in Kew Beach to protect that recreation area from an excessive Jewish presence. (Frederick Edwards, "Fascism in Canada," in Maclean's Magazine, April 15, 1938, p 10)

Not a word about Jews. The only foreign enemy was the American (Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930),

Within the month, on March 13, a rally took place in Quebec City where stink bombs punctuated the addresses of Ménard, Arcand and the Quebec chief, Noel Dorion. (Miroir, March 16, 1930)

On the 21st, the Arcand-Ménard team appeared in the Delorimier district at an election rally in support of Joseph Lagarde, Goglu candidate for municipal office,

But a few days later, on the last day of March 1930, the Goglu had entered on its campaign against the Jews with its editorial on "Les écoles juives."

He was launched on his antisemitism.

Gérard Lancot, Quebec head of Arcand's Parti de l'unité nationale du Canada, wrote on the first anniversary of the death of his chief, "the most illustrious Grand Commander of the Chevaliers du Christ-Roi, ardent defender of the Queen of the of the Heavens and of the Earth, the supreme and world authority on Jewish-masonic-communist questions.

"He was the happiest of men when Mgr. Gauthier, then Archbishop of Montreal, was one of those who asked him to take command of this war against the anti-Christian forces. (He was never honoured by the Bnai Brith, this archbishop, because he did not make peace with the forces of hell and remained faithful to the teachings of the Christ). Mgr. Gauthier paid him sincere tribute on his victory against the David Bill on Jewish schools, which Arcand forced the Liberal provincial government of Taschereau to recall six months after its passage." (Serviam, vol. 3. no. 5, Aug. 1968, Pp. 1-2, 18)

In the thesis submitted to Université Laval in 1958, Réal Caux speaks of Arcand's universal and ideological antisemitism which appeared in connection with a very precise event: the David bill adopted on April 4, 1930. "The Goglu, which had attacked the Jews only rarely hitherto, and whose ire had been directed above all at

the government in power, launched a bitter attack on the bill and on its authors. This antisemitism had not yet taken the turn it was to follow later; for the moment Arcand was content to repeat the unconstitutionality alleged about the bill and how inopportune it was for a province with but two recognized cultures.

In an interview Arcand declared that he had launched this attack at the express wish of Mgr. Gauthier, Bishop of Montreal. This affirmation is the more appropriate as, according to R.P. Forest, "the bill caused very deep disquiet in ecclesiastical circles - a number of bishops intervened, some of them publicly." (La question juive au Canada, P. 14.)

"In connection with this campaign, the young journalist received considerable documentation on the world-wide Jewish question from several foreign countries, mainly from Britain. He began to study this mass of information and a deep conviction developed. The rather superficial antisemitism which he developed in connection with the Jewish schools was transformed into a ferocious hatred of everything Jewish.

"This hatred led him to other studies; slowly a body of doctrine took shape, a doctrine, if not an ideology. An element of irrational enters which creates a faith and an explanation of the present state of the world, if not of its very nature.

"It is quite easy to summarize his thinking: he believes that all international illnesses as well as national and provincial difficulties derive from one essential factor, the Jew. The Jewish plan to dominate the world, elaborated during thousands of years, continues without faltering across the history of mankind. By such means as revolutions, communism, economic crises, the control of gold, Jewry hopes to reach its objective one day. The domination of the white man is menaced by the Semite; a defence is therefore necessary."

This thesis is quite well elaborated in a well-known pamphlet, The Key to the Mystery, composed by Arcand. It had a considerable circulation; the author stated that it had even been translated into German and used by the

Nazis. (Réal Caux, Le Parti national social chrétien; Adrien Arcand, ses idées, son oeuvre et son influence; essai de thèse. Université Laval, Québec, 1958.)

Arcand's relation with churchmen was long lasting.

His access to church property for his anti-Jewish propaganda was deeply resented by the community. In April 1936 the Jewish Congress sought the intervention of Rabbi H.J. Stern to prevent Arcand's free utilization of church halls. (Caiserman letter, April 31, 1936)

Even after the war, when Arcand had been revealed as an enemy of the Canadian nation and of western civilization, he had access to such parish halls as St. Alphonse d'Youville for his fascist rallies. As Jacques Hébert noted at the time, "May it be said in passing, it is very improper that such disquieting gatherings be held in parish halls," even as he wondered why he had never read a word of reproach against Arcand in L'Action catholique.

"Those who thus refrain from doing so doubtless also entertain at the bottom of their hearts the secret hope of seeing our version of the democratic system replaced by a true dictator (a Catholic, possibly like Franco...) a dictator whose supreme authority would come from heaven, who would rid the very sacred province of Quebec from all communists, from all Jews, from labor unions and from all thinking periodicals. (Would we not, indeed, be better off, all together, among good Aryans, and with the fuhrer Adrien?)" (Vrai, Feb. 18, 1956, P.12)

Fathers Dion and O'Neill even at this late date wrote that "the literature which arouses enthusiasm of young Arcand disciples has penetrated presbyteries and has guided the consciences of more priests than we dare imagine." They cited the case of a curé whose views were altered after reading Arcand's Unité nationale. (Vrai, Feb. 18, Nov. 3, 1956)

In May 1965 historian Jean-Pierre Wallot was scandalized "that Adrien Arcand was permitted to carry on his grotesque propaganda against the Jews in the Ecole normale of our city: We ask what he could contribute to this educational institution, a church-run school at that?

At their beginning Ménéard clearly described their papers as Catholic, "recognizing no moral authority other than the church." "We shall be happy to fight all the good battles under the banner of our religious authorities." (Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930)

Soon they developed their most important connection with the church. As a spokesman for religious interests on the school question, he developed a political role on the Montreal and the provincial arena.

But a few brief months ago he had been a completely unknown scribbler, unregarded even by the illiterates who wasted a nickel on his morbid headlines.

Meetings were opened with prayer; a matter which caused a rift later. He seems to have wanted to do away with this, in the cause of international Fascist development in directions alien to Christendom; some active followers seceded. (La Nation). The devotion to Christ-King had a distinct social and political coloration during those years.

As his movement spread, more and more of his meetings took place in church halls.

The defenders of the faith supported the churchmen in their opposition to government initiative in assistance for the needy. Here, too, he established an identification between church policy, antisemitism and injury to the deprived of society.

As he put it, the public assistance law has benefitted the Jews who were given a hospital erected from public funds. "Charity is at the base of all Christianity; it is a veritable crime to replace it with statism, especially in a Christian country." (Goglu, Oct. 7, 1932; Dupont, P. 104)

In this spirit Chameau attacked the Schubert report on welfare prepared for the city of Montreal. ("Insignificance of the Report of the Jew Schubert," June 10, 1932)

Premier Taschereau also identified the Goglu with such other voices for the church in Quebec such as Action catholique, which won him an attack from the antisemitic Abbé Valmore Lavergne in his Bonne Nouvelle (Dec. 10, 1932, cited in Antonin Dupont. Les relations entre l'Eglise et l'Etat sous Louis-Alexandre Taschereau 1920-36. Montréal, Guérin, 1973, Pp. 23-24); the good father conceded more than once that "certainly, the methods of the Goglu are far from suitable. To treat the Premier as 'a smoked herring', to caricature him as stupid-faced dancing a drunken jig is to prove nothing and to accomplish no good."

Arcand's catholicism was not very steadfast. As his fascist political concerns grow with his attachment to German fascism, he developed a racism ever further from Catholic morality and a tendency to sever even formal prayer from his ceremonies.

Even when he was most submissive to religious authority he did not hesitate to base his anti-Jewish "proofs" on the work of Abbé Auguste Rohling, author of Le Juif talmudiste, Résumé succinct des croyances et des pratiques dangereuses de la Juiverie, whose notorious works led the Vatican to silence him. (Trudel, P. 21, note 11). In fairness to Arcand, we have no evidence that the coreligionists of the Vatican in Quebec censured Arcand for this.

The general secretary of Arcand's PNSC gave offence to the Catholic school commission. This coincided with Jesuit Father Dunn's warning to the ACJC and to JIC against affiliating with Arcand's parties. E. Bourassa was among those who defected for such reasons. ("Notre rupture avec Adrien Arcand", in Nation, April 1 and 8, 1937)

The readers of Chameau might have thought that Ti-Luc Chameau was using a figure of speech when he wrote the editorial of Jan. 22, 1932, on "The Imminence of the Jewish Danger; The Université Should Shut its Doors to Them." But within months -- and certainly within

the decade -- it became clear that this was their exact Quebec formulation of a final solution:

"Jews are like cockroaches and bugs. When you see one, you can be sure there are a dozen around. And when you see a few around, in all cities and on all their streets, don't be fooled. There are many around. It is too bad we cannot exterminate them with insecticides, but we can count on the good sense of our countrymen. Their ability to defend themselves will bring the same results."

He broadened his campaign on the school question by October with the publication in the Miroir of a version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; followed on Nov. 30 by a letter from the French antisemitic Mgr. E. Jouin defending the authenticity of this fraud upon humanity, of which Caux says "a common baggage of alleged statements and discoveries of some shady conspiracies and other postulates which are to be believed rather than demonstrated."

At the second Montreal rally, on Nov. 3, 1930, Arcand formulated the theme of his career in antisemitism which was to last him for over twenty perilous years.

Arcand and Ménard set the Jews at the centre of their political philosophy: the Jews as evil-doers, corrupters and active enemies of the Christian church and of Catholicism. Jews were hostile to society, and governments should act against them by destroying their political and economic positions. Three years before Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, Arcand spelled out his program in Chrétien ou Juif, Les Juifs forment-ils une "minorité" et doivent-ils être traités comme tels dans la Province de Québec? the 42-page pamphlet record of the ralliement of the Ordre patriotique des Goglus.

Ménard pointed to the extent of Jewish dominance: "They have obtained a school law which gives them rights equal to those of the French race; they have the right to do business on Sunday; one of our Catholic hospitals has a Jew as head of a clinic; the government has given the

Jewish hospital \$300,000 and has forced the Catholic School Commission to pay \$325,000 for the instruction of Jewish children. Every true patriot can choose his own manner of attack or defence. We have chosen that of violence...We shall not hesitate to use violent means when the time comes to have our laws respected. In the meantime we want to inspire our people with a horror of the Jews by means of caricature...We must never permit the police to protect his gang."

Without mentioning Bourassa by name, Arcand devoted his lecture to attack the position held by the senior statesman of French Canada: that justice was due to the Jews as a minority in the province. Elsewhere Arcand had challenged Bourassa's premises and definitions directly. His address of Nov. 1930 fleshed out his earlier attacks with the full panoply of antisemitism.

Arcand took as his point of departure the school law of 1930 which established the Jewish School Commission, and argued that this legal recognition of the Jews as a minority in fact altered the basic makeup of the Canadian nation envisioned in earlier law and in the constitution. Instead of recognizing two basic groups, the English and the French, as the minorities in the several parts of the country, the law of 1930 put the French in a position equal to the Doukhobors, the Mennonites and the Jews. By recognizing the Jewish race officially, Quebec became an official homeland of the Jews...the first country since the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem to accord national rights to the Jews, the most implacable enemies of Christianity, especially of Catholicism...Conservatives as well as Liberals voted for the law, for reasons which will doubtless become known later. Not one person, from the right or the left, felt strong enough to denounce the principle of a third minority in the province, an anti-Christian minority in our Christian Quebec; a law which threatened to shut the door on our constitutional rights in the other provinces, for wherever we shall claim our minority status we shall be fighting at the same time for the Jews whom no English province will ever recognize as an official minority.

Houde was even more culpable than Taschereau because he had stated that "the Jewish minority is entitled to the protection of all our institutions."

The school problem ought to be resolved by a school system for non-Christians under the control of the Christian Council for Public Instruction at the expense of the Jewish taxpayers.

Followed a long diatribe against Jews — materialistic, clannish, parasitical, decadent, fanatical, racist, Communist, corrosive. The Talmud is calumniated, and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion are set up as a source of wisdom and truth. The Jewish effort to organize their group evokes a universal defence reaction; the Goglus are the Canadian manifestation of this resistance, "aroused to act by the tocsin of the bishops, the loyal defenders of our national rights. We shall fight until the Jews realize that Quebec is not their Promised Land and will begin to think of going to their home, to Palestine." (Miroir, Nov. 9)

Quebec society seems not to have been impressed by these meetings or by the eloquence of the orators. Press coverage was scarce, and there was no press opinion on them. Our information is based only on the sponsors' self-service publication.

Their importance rests only on the fact that they articulated the views and the tactics of other institutions who utilized them even as they despised their tools - not a unique condition in the early histories of fascism.

Arcand's program-addresses of 1930 were followed by his Fascisme ou Socialisme? also précédé d'une allocution par Joseph Ménard. (Montreal, Le Patriote, 1933, P. 67)

Canadian fascism was launched early in the decade.

Arcand's propaganda moved from a disapproval of specific legislation to a view of society which was whole with the consistency not rare among madmen, usually of a less dangerous pathology.

Arcand embarked on a rewriting of Canadian history to destroy the Jews' status in the land.

Abraham Gradis of Bordeaux, the loyalist Frenchman who forged stronger links between Metropolitan and Nouvelle France, was dealt with by Robert de Roquebrunne in Oliver Asselin's Ordre as one who had participated in the development of the country. "This Jew had fed our French ancestors, had supplied ammunition for their soldiers of the first régime. He figures at our very beginnings in Canada."

No, Arcand argues. He was "The First Man to Starve Canada to Death." (Patriote, July 19, 1934) As the Restaurateur also wrote, Gradis was merely a profiteer who overcharged for dirty flour and who bled the French royal treasury for transporting its soldiers across the seas; who filled his ships on their return passage with furs bought from the Iroquois and the Hurons for a few gallons of alcohol and for some yards of red flannel. (Patriote, July 19, 1934)

The story of Jewish normalization in Canada had to be rewritten. He argued that the expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the Assembly was not an act of persecution by the French Canadians, nor was their enactment of rights in 1827-32 a recognition of such rights. Both were reflexive, insignificant and unique actions in the mortal struggle with the English.

As their confidence and numbers grow, the Goglus appeared more openly in uniform at their meetings and threatened force.

They urged that Jewish representation in the legislature be abolished by taking away the traditionally Jewish constituencies from them. (Le Miroir, July 27, 1930)

His was a political philosophy which would add to the political structure of the country the legislative authority of the church. It would diminish the rights of all those not subscribing to the Christian creeds, or even to a particular creed. It would certainly arrest the movement of centuries of western thought and action towards truer and wider freedom and equality. Jews were again on the front of this battle.

It is not difficult now, in retrospect -- as it was not difficult at the time -- to place antisemitism, the Jewish community, Hitler and the archbishop's office on the coordinates of the graph of historical developments.

The dissenting views of French Canadian statesmen, such as the Hon. L.A. Taschereau, premier of Quebec, and of Catholic thinker and militant Henri Bourassa were dismissed out of hand.

We have here a programmatic statement of a very dangerous position.

It assumed that in Quebec, a Canadian province, Jews were not the equals of others, and particularly not of Catholics; that the constitution, the law and the policy viewed Jews as of a lower class.

It implied a reading of history which, if followed to a conclusion which the editors and their spiritual and ecclesiastical associates were not reluctant to pursue, would place the Jews in a second -- or third, or fourth or inhuman, or no -- position.

It was an authorized, orthodox stand for which Arcand and any bully boys he could muster would take into the streets, and which legal minds would present to the courts.

Arcand's developed antisemitism, though rooted in the national Quebec condition, has become universal and international. At this point he is separated from the traditional nationalists who no longer follow him. His becomes the base for an entire program of political action.

Characteristic of the mythical and sick nature of Arcand's anti-Semitic programs: soon after he began editing the Goglu, and even before beginning his campaign against Jews, on Sept. 19, 1929, he told his readers that an unnamed secret force was seeking to prevent his publishing. A fire (incendiary?) had destroyed the printing presses, and a \$50,000 bribe was offered him if he would avoid certain editorial subjects, and, again, if he would suspend publication. Soon after he barely escaped with his life after a violent meeting with a careless driver. (Montsion, P. 38)

In April Chameau told of the enemy seeking to invade and to divide the ranks of the Goglus by provocateurs, rumour mongers. Their offers ran to a quarter million dollars - all in vain, in the face of the idealists' incorruptibility. (Apr. 4, 1930, P.2)

That year on May 30, the Chameau told its readers of an incendiary fire in the offices of the papers in which 4,200 copies of this weekly and 55,000 copies of the Goglu were destroyed. The list of members of the Patriotic Order of the Goglu and the secret documents were spared in the vault.

Half a century after Arcand's appearance on the surface of Quebec life, we are still surprised at the number of citizens who take his ideas seriously.

Long after his movement disintegrated and atomized beyond our ability even to recall it, long after the catastrophic falsehoods of his teachings had been established at the cost of millions of lives around the globe after it had, by its own numbers, tortured and slain other millions, still academicians and political scientists are examining his incoherent ravings.

Himself one of the sick social slums of the anonymous, he was suddenly moving to spokesman and propagandist, to organizer, political leader.

His half-jocular Patriotic Order of the Goglus invented in December 1929, which seemed a columnist's device of the early Goglu, became an organization with members and power. Arcand was a leader of people, a political chef de parti.

Dozens of them surfaced in the miasma of the decade, destined at best to become subjects of archaeological dissertations. Ménard and Arcand are not major among Quebec's band during that frightening decade when the toxic fascisms of the entire western world were seeking out the useful talents of the submerged sick anonymous to create a machine which would destroy the structures of civilization. Arcand showed a precious articulation, talent and a formula to impress large numbers of the ignorant.

Frederick Edwards wrote in Maclean's Magazine that "Arcand is the type of which zealots are made...."

"Adrien Arcand may be fanatic, but he is no fool. Some Montrealers of high standing call him a crackpot, say that his movement is a mythical extravaganza, composed entirely of sound and fury. An objective and entirely unbiased investigation makes it appear something more than that.

"Merely to call Arcand a windbag and his movement a chimera is not quite good enough, in view of these facts. History, recent history, warns of the unwisdom of so casual a rejection of these things that are happening, in Quebec, on the prairies, and now in Ontario. William Aberhart of Alberta was called a blatherskite, but that didn't stop him becoming Premier of his province. Benito Mussolini, Adolph Hitler, Huey Long were, in their beginnings, called crackpots and featherbrains, yet they

rose to great power in their respective nations, and two of them have gone on to be international figures, rightly or wrongly. It appears ridiculous at this time even to think of Adrien Arcand as Premier of Quebec or Prime Minister of Canada; but to deny that he has a following, and that the numbers of that following are increasing weekly, is plainly unintelligent.

"He is an educated man. Originally he aimed to be a chemical engineer, but quickly found chemistry too tame for his yeasty temperament and turned to journalism, for which he has an undeniable flair. From newspaper work to politics is always an easy transition for the bright-minded young French Canadian.

"One recalls an incident during the Dominion election campaign of 1935. A group of men, French-and English-speaking, were talking over the political situation in a Montreal hotel. An English-speaking member of the group made a casual remark about 'this game of politics.'

"As though released from tension by powerful springs, a lean black-haired French-Canadian leaped to his feet. He shook a clenched fist in the air and cried hotly:

"'Bah! There you have it. This game of politics! This game, mark you. Politics is not a game. It is a battle. There is the difference between us. You English, you play politics. But, we French, we fight politics.'

"That is Adrien Arcand's political philosophy.

"He is earning his living as editor-in-chief of L'Illustration nouvelle, a tabloid Montreal daily, supporting the Duplessis Government. He finds time, as well, to edit and publish Le Fasciste Canadien, official organ of the French-speaking Fascists, which comes out once a month. The man is a glutton for work. Hours, day or night, mean nothing to him if there is a task to be done on behalf of his chosen cause, whatever that may be; but especially if

it has to do with his anti-Jewish campaigns.

"Arcand is an experienced politician, although never notably a successful one. He has run for various public offices, and he was candidate for a Montreal division on the Conservative side in the last Dominion election. He makes an excellent speech in English or French, and he is clever enough to tone down his more fantastically flamboyant passages when he is addressing an English audience. In a hall crowded with listeners of his own race, he goes all out, shrieking violent damnations of his opponents, with his arms flailing the air, then lowering his voice to a throaty sob as he speaks of his love for his native land, and for his own people especially. To the French, this is the zestful red meat of oratory. They love it." (April 15, May 1, 1938)

Of his connection with L'Illustration nouvelle Jean-Louis Laporte wrote that Arcand was the agent of Eugène Berthiaume, who held all the shares in L'Illustration nouvelle, later the Montréal-Matin. Arcand formed a company with Lucien Dansereau and Willy Juneau, to each of whom he allowed one share. He remained the head of this newspaper until the day of his internment. (Nouvelles illustrées, May 22, 1965)

Later Jean Coté recalled,

"He was the greatest master of golden words, magnetizer of crowds, the enlightened far-sighted idealist, the rampart against an imprecise menace called international Jewry. Listening to this magician, clear of eye and shattering in gesture, many women wept. They could not always express their feelings but agreed on his charms...No one could stir them as he could...He carried the mark of genius on his face...He cried out loud what others cried of silently...For these men and women imprisoned in a political context Arcand appeared as the saviour." (Illustration, Aug. 7, 1967)

The Quebec correspondent of the Paris Droit de Vivre wrote after hearing tape recordings of Arcand's lectures as late as October, 1952.

"It must be admitted that Arcand is the most dangerous Canadian antisemite, for he is truly eloquent. He knows his people; he can present sophistry with consummate art and put forward the worst lie so sincerely and so séductively that his listeners, in the main ignorant and illiterate, accept the lie as religious truth.

"What is particularly sad is that the Jewish question has become a mystique for him, and he manipulates this mystique with the skill of a hypnotist." He was presented as the friend of Mgr. Ernest Jouin, of Urbain Gohier and of Céline.

The writer also describes the several score listeners who had gathered in a Montreal suburb to hear sound recordings of "the leader" which were also being played simultaneously before other gatherings across the province. The hearers were in a high state of intense anticipation in the hope of seeing their teacher in the flesh soon.

Overseas the Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes, which had been founded by Mgr. Jouin as the organ of the Ligue des francs-catholiques de France, recognized the "French Canadian antisemitic humorous publication of Montreal as a valiant confrère," in its article on the masonic law on social security. (Jan. 27, 1933, quoted in Patriote, June 8, 1933.)

It is helpful in establishing the dimensions and the nature of the anti-Jewish movement to note: this Paris monsignor who was so obsessed with freemasonry as a force of evil was a friend of the Canadian Abbé Huot who had also published any number of anti-masonic works in which he also identified the order with Jews. (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Aug. 15, 1940, P. 787)

A Montreal journalist who interviewed Arcand only two years before his death on August 1, 1967, spoke of thousands of his followers in the province and of his standing, as one of the great journalists of his time, as a man of superior skill and of keen wit. (Jean-Louis Laporte in Nouvelles illustrées, May 22, 1965)

Twenty years after the war nearly 800 attended a banquet in his honour at the Paul Sauvé Arena that year; among them a number of priests, scores of delegates from other provinces and groups of German, Ukrainian, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Baltic, Czech and German Canadians. (Yves Leclerc in La Presse; Struhan Matheson in Gazette, and Robert Stall in Star, all of November 15, 1965) Françoise Côté noted the semi-military, semi-religious atmosphere that surrounded that gathering. (Le Devoir, November 15, 1965)

John Hoare described an Arcand meeting at the St. Thomas Aquinas Church hall on July 31, 1939, at which he placed Jewry at the centre of Canada's -- and the world's -- woes. "For the most part his speech was reasoned, clear, fighting politics.... The general impression he left on me was of distinct ability that should not be underestimated. Apart from the anti-semitic arguments, the speeches seemed to me to be no more and no less misleading than most demagogic party planks one might encounter anywhere." ("Swastikas over Quebec: Arcand Meeting," in Saturday Night, Sept. 9, 1939, P.3)

There is remarkably little public information on record about Arcand's organization. Scarcely half a dozen names are coupled with his in the decade of his activity; there is no exchange of ideas within his group and little collaboration except financially, probably on a petty scale. There is no development and no personal or local colour in his speeches or his writings, a boring bouillabaisse of generalizations unworthy of rereading except for efforts at historic research.

His periodicals and those of Ménard are almost entirely anonymous except for reprints from foreign publications. The reprintings from Jewish sources are almost without exception distortions, inventions or misleadingly torn out of context. Under normal social conditions they are not worthy -- or capable -- of riposte.

In our present state of public knowledge of his movement we know of no staff of officers, framers of policy or tactics. In a sense his mythical Patriotic Order of Goglus remains a myth, except that in time the myth acquires persons, if nearly anonymous persons.

Caux notes that most of the nationalist "thinkers" opposed Arcand, but he found his leaders in the professional and bourgeois classes. Several influential doctors were members or financial backers. Many quite important merchants, lawyers and dentists were allied in one way or another. The absence of precise figures makes it difficult to appreciate exactly this contribution to the party, but everything indicates that it was more important than is generally believed.

It was at least nostalgia for a recent past, if nothing more sinister, that motivated Pierre Trudel as late as Nov. 1962 to compose, "A l'extrême droite: Adrien Arcand" (Incidences, No. 1, Pp. 12-21). He finds Arcand a Spenglerian, seductive figure; his theories, at least a priori, solid and irrefutable, spanning history, metaphysics, science, religion, the arts, theology, economics. He finds Arcand intelligent, though some of his conclusions are doubtful.

Arcand justified his support of Hitler by showing that the German fascist was a devout Catholic. At least later he claimed to have a letter from an important British dignitary who had visited Hitler on a special mission. This letter speaks of Hitler's strange habits which smack of the papist, including many religious objects which he kept in his room and on his person. Arcand also spoke of Hitler's veneration of a statue of the Virgin, sculpted by Michaelangelo, presented to Hitler by Mussolini.

It is not valid evidence to quote from a foul-mouthed competitor-enemy sectarian. But the headlined attacks on Arcand in Paul Bouchard's separatist and Italian-fascist Nation indicate at least the direction in which criticism of Arcand might go.

Some of the circumstances of the schism are detailed by Ed Bourassa who resented Arcand's rejection of Catholic orthodoxy, the Hitlerism which Arcand avowed and his antisemitism, as contrary to Christian charity. (March 18, 1937)

He does not exaggerate when he calls Arcand a garbageman in journalism (even in his capacity as editor of Illustration nouvelle, Oct. 15, 1936). Arcand earns such epithets as adventurer, cockroach in the basements of politics, mummer of doubtful intellectual transcendence, an insignificant buffoon; he notes, only to dismiss as detective fiction, current rumours which would endow him with the title of racketeer anxious to put his hands on Nazi propaganda funds, the shadowy role of a British Secret Service liaison:

A link between Bennett, Duplessis, Tweedsmuir and Mosley's Imperial Fascism would bring into being the Fourth Empire, absolute centralization at Ottawa, Canadian absolute subjection to Britain; Arcand as agent provocateur within French Canadian nationalism to confuse Canadians with a nebulous all-Canadian Fascism and to discredit Fascist ideas by propagating it in its hateful, detestable and anti-Latin caricature of Hitlerism.

He also dismisses other rumours of masonic influence in Arcand's circle, of him receiving support both from Hitlerites and from the Secret Service.

The most obvious aspect of Arcand's career is as racketeer who professionally exploits the complaints of the masses.

Bouchard admits that the Goglu released "the most successful insane laughter ever heard in Quebec. It was a general massacre of all our false natural gods, the collapse of all the illusions agonizing from an excess of traditional stupidity. Enjoying a large sale and considerable income for Arcand, his enemies made no secret of paying him well for not catching the eye of his caricaturists.

"But this did not suffice for him - for, gifted with a certain fluency, our swank doubles as charlatan. Had he been born in Africa he would have been the tribal medicine man, peddler of amulets, mixer of philtres and elixirs. In the middle ages, or in the United States, in time and place of credulity, he would have invented some new religious sect with himself as chief rabbi, if it paid....and it always pays.

"The success of his paper naturally led him to establish a pseudo-secret society, with himself as head bearing the ridiculous title of Grand Goglu, - at meetings he soaks his listeners with demagogic rhetoric in the pestilential odour of stink bombs which his acolytes throw to prove that the Taschereau régime already smells of the corruption of death."

When the Goglu disappeared, "the Grand Goglu needed only to invent another racket. Hitler came and it was....The Parti national social chrétien.

"Aside from his lust for money, the only continuity in his life is his appetite for Jews. The anti-semitism of Hitler, Goebbels and Julius Streicher suits him well. Besides there is a super-colossal theatrical

element in Hitlerism which attracts the inveterate clown in Arcand.

"A heap of adventurers, speakers who abdicate all personality, a squad of deaf-mutes with arms crossed like in the harems of Ottoman pashas, a mob chanting with cretinous mysticism, 'Adrien Arcand coming to save us.' "

Arcand earned this treatment from separatist Bouchard fundamentally because his concept of Naziism included all Canada; in due course he sought the affiliation of Toronto's Farr and Winnipeg's Whittaker. To separatist Bouchard this is but another trap laid by Canadian federalism ("Adrien Arcand, rastoquouere et cabotin; le PNSC, nazisme pancanadienne, traquenard de trahison nationale," Oct. 22, 1936)

Also, Arcand betrayed Catholicism. "How could he make Canadiens, who believe only in the heaven of little Jesus, accept the Walhalla of the barbarians beyond the Rhine?

"In short course, our merry Andrew, scarcely nonplussed, founded the Parti national social chrétien, the pan-Canadian Nazi party on a basis of racism and antisemitism.

"In a Nazi homily Arcand, who is an imperialist and anti-French, attacked separatism with a super-idiotic argument: 'If separatism had a chance to succeed, the Jews would have been quick to finance it.' Bouchard's reply: 'By the same logic, since Arcand claims that his success is near, the Jews must be financing him.'

For Bouchard, usually but not consistently, German Nazism is only a German imitation of Italian Fascism which alone conforms to Latin traditions. The PNSC is designed to kill French Canadian nationalism and corporatism on the Latin plan.

An antisemite hostile to Arcand describes the annual meeting of the National Social Christian Party of Oct. 7, 1936, in the Monument National, "considering the price of admission it was a slight success of publicity.

"At a circus they display live animals, acrobats who display their skill; everybody on stage is anonymous, a crowd of clowns and acrobats, trick-men, jugglers and animal tamers. The same show at the Monument National. Only the Pontifex maximum enjoys the honours of publicity and applause. Before a circus setting of drapes, swastikas, beaver hangings and blue shirts, he hurled anathemas against Jews and international finance; not that which supports the Illustration nouvelle. He preaches the empire better than Lord Tweedsmuir could. Each of his salutes to Hitler receives the applause of his followers.

"This circus only clears the Judaized atmosphere of the Monument National...Its program, next to its imperialism, consists of an antisemitism more intense than Hitler's and his partisans.... Arcand receives all his propaganda and probably his financing from Germany. He is even in close relations with this German organization." (René Belleau. "Les conjurations anti-nationales," in Nation, Nov. 12, 1936)

Even more discretion is called for by Ed. Bourassa, former secretary of Arcand's party who explained "Our Break with Adrien Arcand; why we left the PNSC" to the readers of Nation, (March, April 1 and 8, 1937). His testimony is particularly suspect when read in Bouchard's weekly because it is so pat, so repetitive of the Nation's own critique, - even of its wording - and so clearly moulded in the pattern of ideological schismatism: Arcand has forsaken the principles he had preached at the beginning in the interests of those whom he is serving; the disciples were asked to sacrifice far more than the chiefs of the party; he never showed the confidence he demanded from others; it has become clear that he is working to resuscitate a rotten political party under another name, disregarding Drumont's dictum, "Stay far away from the old conservative parties like from a rotting corpse"; his recent

friendship with the imperialist agent Beaminh has betrayed him; his public and secret connections with the federal Conservative Party had long perplexed his earliest supporters; as editor of Illustration nouvelle Arcand plays the game of the federal "blue" democracy which he describes as "finished in his Fasciste canadien; the rally at the Monument National, where he unveiled the programme of the P.N.S.C., was composed largely of curious sightseers; he was already known as past master contortionist and trapeze artist whom no one took seriously; "

Charles-Edouard Franchere accused Arcand of being pro-English, like his Ontario Fascist associate Farr. ("Bas le masque....Mr. Arcand", July 7, 1938)

The sources of Arcand's financing still remain a mystery, possibly locked in police archives. The name of Lord Sydenham has been mentioned. Certainly the Conservative Party was close to him. At one point their organiser, Joseph Rainville raised some \$18000 for him (Bennett papers in Ottawa archives, cited by Dr. Lita-Rose Betcherman, P.10). Sen.P.E. Blondin, speaker of the Senate, was a faithful Arcand champion in the courts of R.B. Bennett.

This relationship between the Conservative Party and Adrien Arcand -- symbolized by the actual meeting of Bennett, who claimed dignity and decency, with the spewer of gutter filth -- shall remain as a nadir of Canadian public life.

Ménard was the financial backer of their joint journalistic-political projects, aided by gifts from fanatical Dr. P.E. Lalanne of Cote des Neiges, (who later spoke on Why we should oppose the Jew before the Ottawa Native Sons of Canada, printed by Le Patriote of Montreal, 1935, P.6), and by a loan from an appliance

shop keeper (Lita-Rose Betcherman. The Swastika and the Maple Leaf, Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties. Toronto, Fitzhenny and Whiteside, 1975, P.6)

Later Dr. Lalanne emerges as a major (or the major) financial contributor to Arcand's politics. Admittedly he had spent many tens of thousands of dollars for this cause before war's outbreak. (Almanach éclair).

Arcand confirmed the figure of \$50,000.00, "largely for L'Unité nationale besides printing and distributing our publications. He must certainly have spent at least \$60,000 in this way. But note, he was not our most substantial contributor. We have seen as much as a million dollars in our treasury at one time." (Reportages, vol. 1, no. 7, Nov. 27, 1955, Pp. 8-11; Almanach éclair)

When the Patriote suspended publication in 1936-37, Ménard explained it as being due to financial straits. He said the periodical was largely supported by the generosity of one friend of the cause.

But the question remains unanswered: at the reorganizing session of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1934 a speaker reported, "portraits of Hitler are flaunted in the editorial offices of Quebec papers attacking Jews - we have one paper in Quebec worse in its attitude to Jews than any in Germany - It must be subsidized, for prior to the present campaign against Jewry it was dragged through the bankruptcy courts."

These publications quite properly attracted no serious interests, and could serve as useful material only for the student of popular social pathology interested in the preoccupations of the anonymous everyman who has been voided of meaning and fills the instants of his awareness with the unrealities of so called popular literature.

A clerical advisor who was consulted by a hesitant official of the Hitler organization wrote, "This man is not a leader. He does not deserve the title.... His article on racism resulted from a month's work. Any man showing such poverty is not worthy of the consideration of people who can think for themselves; particularly when we recall that he has long edited the

Goglu and the Chameau. It is astonishing that he is called the chief so ardently. I blame him for mobilising such fine young men as yourself and your dear friends, ardent Christians who seek the good of Canada and wish only to serve it. He stuffs their heads with Hitlerite sophisms officially condemned by the Pope. He teaches them hateful Hitlerite methods, whereas the methods of the church are worthier, less violent, more constructive. I advise you to avoid this man." ("Notre rupture avec Adrien Arcand," in Nation, Apr. 8, 1937)

But Arcand's papers had circulation, and a response from their readers.

Suddenly Arcand found or was presented with a meaningful function and mission.

Much of the evidence is contradictory, but it seems that his following was of very sincere and naive persons who were very devoted. Mostly of the lower classes economically, and socially as well, it is credible that their petty contributions, often at some sacrifice, constituted much of his support. There is nothing to counter his claim that none of his support came from outside the country; nor is there any indication that finance or industry was backing him. His statement about housemaids contributing sizeable portions of their meager cash wages can be believed.

At their very first public gathering Arcand and Ménard both paid tribute to two anonymous benefactors who gave freely to the newspapers at the cost of great embarrassment and other harsh consequences. "Such abnegation and true disinterestedness are very rare". (Miroir, Feb. 16, 1930)

The political potential of these publications inevitably came to the attention of the national

Conservative Party and quickly resulted in concrete assistance from Joseph Rainville, their provincial organizer, early in 1930, on the eve of a federal election.

In March 1930 Noel Dorion -- one of the few names that occur in the Arcand literature -- spoke before the Conservative Party in his capacity as head of the Goglus of Quebec City.

Two months later the Canadian who aspired to be a Hitler was able to write to R.B. Bennett, leader of the Conservative Party,

"Last week, my partner Joseph Ménard and I were honored and favored with an interview with you. Our plan of procedure and propaganda was exposed to you as well as our program of meetings throughout this province.

"When you asked us about our financial situation, things were not for the better. Since then, they simply grew worse on account of a fire criminally put to our plant (the accused being injured and arrested on the very premises). We thought that, for our peace of mind and working facilities, it would be fair to ask for an immediate amount of \$15,000 and a little help occasionally from Mr. Rainville until our three papers are on the way of making a business success parallel to our tremendous political results. And this letter is to ask you if we should insist to have such help from Mr. Rainville or take the risk of being forced to suddenly cease the task we have at heart.

"Trusting my whole confidence in you, I am, Sir, your most devoted and faithful, Adrien Arcand." (May 22, 1930. Public Archives of Canada, M.G. 26k, V. 484, P. 303,526)

Certainly it was a low moment in Canadian politics when R.B. Bennett, national leader of the Conservative Party and aspirant to the premiership of Canada -- an aspiration soon to be attained -- actually met with Arcand.

After the Bennett victory of 1930, Oscar Chameau, younger brother of Emile Goglu, jubilated (editorial of Aug. 8, 1930) "The Canadian People Avenge Themselves."

It is frightening enough to know that R.B. Bennett, national leader of the central and legitimate Canadian political party, evaluated public opinion in the province and concluded that it was possible and desirable to support, not very secretly, this fascist and anti-semitic group by raising \$18,000 for them; eventually the figure rose to \$27,000.

As the odd couple wrote Bennett on Jan. 14, 1931, (not sent off until Jan. 28),

"During and at the end of the last Federal campaign, Mr. Jos.-H. Rainville, in the name of the Conservative Party, promised to Adrien Arcand and Joseph Ménard, publisher of the three above mentioned newspapers, a financial guarantee of \$25,000.00 and further necessary support for the up-keep of those newspapers, under the condition that the Goglus could help the Party gain more than twelve seats in the province of Quebec, which guarantee and support were to be given immediately after the election.

"Mr. Rainville was asked verbally to keep his promise. He always refused to fulfill it, under the reason that it was impossible for him to do so. Before it was decided to place the case before you, Sir, two letters were written to Mr. Rainville, asking for definite action. He never answered....

"Might we tell you, Sir, that we were the first in the field, and that we think we should be permitted to stay in the fighting ranks; and might we add, Sir, that we consider you the supreme judge, and whatever will be decided by you will be law for us." (Public Archives of Canada, vol, 653. P. 402,075)

At this time the agitators estimated their expenditures and services to the party up to that date to have been worth, and to have cost, \$65,000; 80,000 copies of their papers for candidates; an extra edition of the Miroir in response to the La Presse edition on conscription, \$4,000; law suit \$3,000; 100,000 election circulars \$1,000. (P.A.C., P. 402,076)

Their political evaluation was fundamentally the same as that of the provincial Liberals. Taschereau was

fearful of Arcand's political influence; he foresaw a Conservative victory, and sought to forestall it by surrendering on the Jewish school issue. It was Arcand's first legislative victory, to be followed the following year by the defeat of Bercovitch's bill intended to ban hate propaganda.

Ménard and he signed a New Year's letter on Jan. 2, 1932, to Mr. Bennett on the Miroir letterhead (from 1124 Marie-Anne East),

"It is a great pleasure for us to offer you our sincere wishes for happiness, success and peace during this New Year. You have such great burdens that we hope that consolations will be equivalent. We pray God that your desires become facts.

"As you know, 1931 has been for us but a year of poisoning, knocks and blows which we have resisted to this date, as well as the effects of the general depression suffered by everybody. We are on the verge of bankruptcy and are counting the last hours which our business has to live.

"However, we will be glad and proud in our own misfortune to have loyally served our ideal, our country, the doctrine of our Party and the God-sent man who leads our country so wisely in this hour of great distress, and who has all our admiration and confidence.

"The only regret we will have is that we will not be able to do the same thing next year as we have done last year, and that our failure will have been the only actual reward from our Party for our toils and devotion. We can say that we have been brutally treated like dirty dogs. Facts are facts. Whenever Houde has asked for money, for one campaign or another, he has received it from men in the Party, and when we have asked for what we were entitled to, the answer was that they could not see a way to find it. We feel that we have a right to complain.

"As this may be the last letter we have the opportunity to send you, might you permit us to tell you that Patenaude, Webster and their group are planning to grasp all Conservative power in this province and that,

through exclusive devotion to their personal aims, are preparing for the Party another gigantic catastrophe as those they have been directly responsible for the last thirty years.

"We believe that the Conservative army will never have another lasting success in this province if the chief's authority, wishes and desires do not make law within the Party. It is because we have always fought for the recognition of that vital principle that we have become outlaws in the Party. When you won in Quebec, you were the one and only authority. Crowds have no head to discuss with, but they feel, and they felt, your authority. It was the profound reason of your success and of that compact rally of all known and unknown forces of the Party. If that authority disappears there is no hope for success.

"If God permits that, by one way or the other, we survive for one week or one year, you may rest assured that we will be during that time, as we have been since our first interview, your loyal and faithful soldiers." (P.A.C., M G 26K, V. 653, Pp. 402,106-8)

Again, a dying man's plea on June 4, 1932, to Mr. Bennett:

"We are in such a position as to be forced to discontinue our publications in a very short while if we have no immediate help.

"We have stood to the very end, and all our means, of any sort, are exhausted. Our friend Dr. Lalanne has done enormously for us and can do nothing more.

"After the 1930 federal election, we have unceasingly suffered materially and morally. Now that all clouds have cleared away, why should we continue to suffer?

"Whether we continue to serve or we disappear is now a question depending upon your prompt intervention. I would be most relieved to know from you the one issue upon which you decide. May I expect an answer? Or, preferably, could you grant me an interview?" (vol. 653, P. 402,121)

Three days later Leslie Bell, M.P. for St. Antoine, wrote to the prime minister, in support of Arcand,

"The Goglu, a weekly newspaper printed in Quebec, as you are aware, rendered us efficient and valuable service during the last Federal election campaign. On every occasion when it was necessary to call upon their services, they responded most effectively.

"They were opposed, and I am unaware of the reason (as I had made no enquiries regarding the matter), to the Houde interests in the last Provincial and Municipal elections. Results of both these elections were rather disastrous as far as the Houde organization was concerned and, although it is hard to estimate what proportion was due to the press, certainly it is safe to assume that ridicule such as the Goglu emphasized, played an important part in Houde's defeat.

"I am also quite thoroughly convinced that the proprietors of the Goglu are Conservative in their politics and are prepared to back the Federal interests with all their strength.

"Dr. Lalanne and Major Arcand are leaving for Ottawa, tonight or early tomorrow, with the desire of interviewing you respecting the activities of the Goglu in the forthcoming by-election in Maisonneuve, and also the future of their journal in the interest of the Conservative Party.

"They are anxious to see you personally and have asked me to speak of their service to the Party in the past as a preliminary gesture to their securing an interview with you. In accordance with their request I am taking the liberty of writing you in the matter and recommending them to your special consideration."
(P.402,123)

Arcand's petition was also supported by the deputy speaker of the Commons, the very highly influential Quebec nationalist Armand Lavergne, who wrote on June 10th to Prime Minister Bennett,

"Adrien Arcand, writer of the Miroir, asks me for a word of recommendation on his newspaper.

"I do it with pleasure, as I am acquainted with him and his work.

"I cannot tell you in a letter all that should be done in Quebec, but I will say that Arcand and his paper are together important." (P. 402,131)

Similarly, John A. Sullivan, M.P., wrote Mr. Bennett on June 7,

"Mr. Arcand is without exception the best French-Canadian writer, and his paper is making great headway. It would be a pity to see it fall, and you alone can help it in the present circumstances."

A very frank letter from Speaker of the Senate, P.E. Blondin, written at St. Francois du Lac on Aug. 8, 1932, to A.W. Merriam of the prime minister's office is very revealing: vacillation, dribbles of thousands of dollars, avoidance of commitment, frustration, hidden channels of payment via contractors, etc. -- the inner, intimate workings of the politicians at their lowest level in several dimensions. (P.402-266-67):

"Could you give me some guidance as to what I could do to definitely have the 'question' concerning Adrien Arcand and his papers investigated and decided in the affirmative or the negative?"

"Scant help as is given from time to time, just prevents starvation, and drags him and his friends to despair."

"'Our' Ministers have not made and will never make up their minds to take a definite step. A few thousand dollars, given piecemeal, are to be money lost, and are not to bring the necessary relief, if relief is to be given."

"And no definite action will ever be taken unless it is ordered by the authority of none other than the Prime Minister."

"It is not desirable, if these papers are to serve their honest purpose, that they should be 'dependent' on contractors or other interested parties, and, as far as I could judge, such are to be the only sources of supply and relief, unless action is taken by the highest authority."

"In such a way they could continue to be independent of all coteries, and serve directly the Prime Minister and defend his policies.

"Had they been disposed to risk their liberty of action, I know they would have found easy money in plenty.

"I have lost my time and my money to try and convince my Ministers along these lines, and I must give up all hope to be useful to them. Should you have anything to suggest I would be glad to act in my modest capacity in anything that you may suggest."

Most remarkably, the speaker of the Senate wrote confidentially, on the letterhead of the Speaker's Chambers, to Prime Minister Bennett:

"I wish to draw your attention to the situation created in Quebec by Adrien Arcand, trusting that Sam Gobeil will supply you with fuller explanations and details if you desire.

"At about this date, last year, I had a short interview with you in the early morning, at your office, following which I advised Arcand and Ménard that their enterprise and their papers had better be brought to an end, and that they should turn a new sheet.

"Consequently, their three papers, their printing establishment and their debts were liquidated -- without a complaint on their part, without an attack -- all to the contrary, because the last issue of their papers was full of appreciation for you and your work.

"Debunking had been the motto of Arcand, for the four previous years; -- now that he was left with nothing but his pen and his inkstand, he adopted a new motto: creating! Although penniless, he had the genius of creating an organization all to himself, and also a new publication called Le Patriote on a much higher plane than his former publication, and also much more powerful.

"Although not a partisan, Arcand is essentially and intensely Conservative, and I have under my hand a letter in which he writes: 'Whatever Mr. Bennett does, it is our duty to support him because, above all, his fight is against the C.C.F.' He has the Liberal Party in horror, holding it still more dangerous than the C.C.F. on account of its hypocrite disguise, with the same end as the C.C.F.

"Finally, by means of public lectures and intensive publicity, he has launched a movement which, under the name of 'The Christian National Party,' aims simply at the debunking of all the rot in the old parties; which party, when the end comes, will be found to be a regenerated conservative party in Quebec, which, I think, we need.

"Now, before concluding, please ponder on these two instances at the kind of work which he is doing:

"1. The incident of Cardinal Villeneuve at the opening of Parliament had elated the Liberals and discouraged our weak friends. Arcand came to the rescue, and quickly put the Liberals on the defensive.

"2. In the present case of the University of Montreal and Sam Gobeil, you can trust that within a week or two Arcand will have done a clean job of the liberal agitation.

"I may add that he has served notice on our Quebec followers here not to touch a hair on the head of Sam Gobeil! Believe me. He has the power to hold the deputation in the straight path!

"I conclude with a question. With no paper in Quebec worth mentioning and with no man of the size, and power, and moral character of Arcand, do not you think that, at least, he should not be completely ignored?" (undated, Bennett Papers. Pp. 299, 279-80)

One of the Byzantine documents which fill prime ministers' papers in Canadian archives reflects Arcand's place in Canadian politics at this time.

J.E. Laforce, of Montreal, wrote Prime Minister Bennett on April 11, 1934, of an interview with "Mr. Magloire Paquin, an acquaintance of mine, who has in mind the organization of a conservative newspaper, belonging to you, in Montreal, and a journalist, Notary Joseph Desroches, came to meet me yesterday upon my return from a trip.

"From information they gave me, and which I had also heard from other sources, it would seem that the new mayor of Montreal, Mr. Houde, would co-operate with the CCF group and Mr. Taschereau, to fight against you in the next federal election. There probably would not be any definite alliance between Mr. Taschereau and Mr. Houde, but they would have an understanding between themselves to oppose you, and, as Mr. Houde has the favors of the newspapers L'Illustration and La Patrie, there would not be a single conservative newspaper left in Montreal.

"It is possible and even somewhat assured that Mr. Arcand who, through underhand channels, has helped considerably the campaign of Mr. Houde, from reports that have been given to me, would become one of the anonymous editors of L'Illustration. According to Mr. Paquin, there would seem to be possibility, at the present time, to obtain the services of Mr. Arcand as editor of a Conservative newspaper, provided the matter is settled immediately. Mr. Paquin further states that there is some disagreement between Mr. Arcand and Mr. Ménard and is of the opinion it would be an opportune time to make sure of his services.

"There is no doubt but that the organization of a conservative organ in Montreal is of first necessity and that this should be done within the least possible delay." (Public Archives of Canada, MG 26K, V. 475, Pp.299379-80)

The Laforce letter confirms the observation of Marc La Terreur.

La Terreur observes that the Conservative Party had but few periodicals at its disposal in 1930, notably the Miroir and Goglu in Montreal, controlled and subvented by the party. (Tribulations des Conservateurs au Québec, De Bennett à Diefenbaker. Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973, P.16)

If the premier shunned Arcand after, when he was in power, it was clearly a case of normal political ingratitude with which Olympian independence looks back -- and down -- upon those on whose shoulders he had climbed to the throne. There was no sign of shuddering over the horror plan of the anti-Semites.

The Provincial Liberal advertisements, appearing as they did side by side with attacks on the governor-general and upon Jews, provoked the secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress to ask Liberal M.L.A. Peter Bercovitch, to make representations to the leader of the party (November 27, 1935), without any noticeable effect. For, in fact, the Conservative government had inserted large paid advertisements in the Goglu, on May 29, 1931, as did the succeeding Liberal government in the Patriote of September 20, 1935.

Arcand's affinity for the Conservative Party may or may not have been reciprocated.

Arcand remained close to Bennett. When the press criticized Bennett for acting like Mussolini, his Le Miroir came to his defense, "For what has Mussolini done but to regenerate and strengthen his country again and restore its prosperity?" (Oct. 30, 1932)

Later when the Goglus had metamorphosed into the Parti national social chrétien, Arcand supported the Conservatives in the 1935 general election because they were the "Conservative Party of the right" (Le Fasciste canadien, Oct. 1935; cited by Montsion, Pp.89, 104)

This close relationship with the Conservative Party may have cost Arcand some of his earliest adherents who have this, and Arcand's racist antisemitism, as reasons for their defection. (Ed. Bourassa, "Notre rupture avec Adrien Arcand," in Nation, Apr. 1, 1937)

Arcand's relations with his friend Kurt W. Ludecke shed a sinister light on the Bennett relationship.

Ludecke was described by Dehillotte as "one of the principal agents of the Gestapo in North America before the Hitlerite massacres of June, 1934." He knew Arcand in 1932 and enlisted Arcand into the Gestapo in 1933. He recorded that he had persuaded Arcand to convert his Ordre Patriotique des Goglus, "a violently anti-Jewish, in the main Catholic folkic movement....., with three publications all very demagogic and clever into a shirt movement modelled on the Nazi Party. Arcand had been greatly pleased when I gave him an autographed photograph of Hitler. We understand each other perfectly and agreed to cooperate in every way." (Ludecke. I knew Hitler. N.Y., 1937, quoted by Mason Wade. The French-Canadians, 1760-1945. Toronto, Macmillan, 1955. Pp.836-37; Pierre Dehillotte. Gestapo. Paris, 1940, Pp. 147-47)

Ludecke reported to his superiors,

"You are quite right about the Goglus. They are very effective indeed in their propaganda, their cartoons as well as their literature. I had a very interesting interview with their brilliant and fiery leader, Adrien Arcand, in Montreal. We may expect much from him,

the more so as he apparently is in complete accord with Mr. Bennett, the great Prime Minister of Canada, who more and more comes to the front in British Empire politics."

Arcand had promised Ludecke that he would get him an appointment with the Prime Minister of Canada.

On January 4, 1933, Arcand wrote to Bennett's private secretary that "Kurt G.W. Ludecke, Hitler's representative in Washington, would be anxious to see Mr. Bennett about the third or fourth week of January. Please let me know if it is possible." (Betcherman, p.28)

It is a blot upon Canada that Arcand should have felt able to write so familiarly to the office of a prime minister.

It sheds a light very far and in many directions. It also explains in part how similar situations brought Hitler into power in Germany.

The main reason for the appointment is in connection with
Mr. Bennett, the great Prime Minister of Canada, who more
and more comes to the front in British Empire politics.
Appointed had previously looked that he would
get his appointment with the Prime Minister of
Canada.

On January 4, 1933, Accord wrote to Bennett's
private secretary, Mrs. O.W. Liddell, Hitler's
representative in Washington, would be anxious to see
Mr. Bennett about the third in fourth year of January.
Please let me know if it is possible.
p-122 of material to be sent to the
(2)

It is a pity upon Canada that Accord should
have left this to write so tentatively to the office
of a private secretary. The fact is that when
accord is mentioned in connection with the fact that
there is a fight very far and in many directions.
It also explains in part how Hitler's expansion program
Hitler into power in Germany.
The fact will be that a number of years
accorded that he had no real influence a good example
this.

and as outlined by the fact that Accord
arrived that in October, and as a result of the
year in 1931, and in connection with the fact that
at present the fact that Accord had no real
influence in Germany. The fact is that when
accord is mentioned in connection with the fact that
there is a fight very far and in many directions.
It also explains in part how Hitler's expansion program
Hitler into power in Germany.
The fact will be that a number of years
accorded that he had no real influence a good example
this.

accorded that he had no real influence a good example
this.

INDEX

- Abramowitz, Rabbi H., 77
 Achat chez nous, 14
 Action, see Action catholique
 Action canadienne-française, 29, 49
 Action catholique, 17-18, 21, 24-25, 33, 41, 45, 54, 59-61
 Action française, 25-26, 28-31, 49, 51, 60
 Action nationale, 25, 27-28, 31, 50-51
 Action sociale, see Action catholique
 Almanach éclair, 84, 112
 American Hebrew, 47
 Arcand, A., 48A-52, 71, 84-124
 Association canadienne de la jeunesse catholique, 19, 49
 L'Autorité, 37

 Balfour Declaration, 22
 Barnard, Joseph, 67
 Baron de Hirsch Institute, 14, 46
 Barrès, M., 25
 Beaupré, J.-B., 18
 Before the Tribunal of History, 47
 Bégin, Cardinal, 20, 24
 Bégin, J., 35, 59
 Bell, L., 117-18
 Belleau, Sir. N.F., 38
 Belleau, P., 110
 Bennett, R.B., 107, 111, 114-24
 Bercovitch, P., 71, 76, 122
 Berliner, E., 77
 Besse, Dom, 17
 Betcherman, Lita Rose, 8, 111-12
 Blondin, Sen. P.E., 111, 119
 Bonne nouvelle, 94
 Bouchard, P., 57, 107-9
 Bourassa, E., 107, 110, 123
 Bourassa, H., 12-15, 34, 41, 44-50, 71, 74-76, 96, 99
 Boycott, see Achat chez nous
 Brassier, J., see Groulx, Abbé L.
 Bremond, Abbé, 28
 Brown, M., 48
 Bruchési, Mgr., 48

Cahiers romains, 19
Canadian Annual Review, 77
Canadian Jewish Archives, 1, 42
Canadian Jewish Congress, 122
 Caux, R., 90-91, 106
 C.C.F., 120-21
Le Chameau, 74, 76, 87-88
 Charland, T., 53
 Cinema, 22, 26-27
Chrétien ou Juif?, 95
Chronicle, 60
 Cohen, J., 71, 76
 Cohen, A.Z., 77
 Congregation of English, German and Polish Jews, 39
 Conservative Party, 78, 114-23
Constantes de vie, 32
Consultations théologiques, 67
 Cook, Rabbi A., 23
 Coté, J., 103
 Courchesne, Mgr., 48A
La Croix, 35

Daignault case, 49
 David, Hon. A., 44, 71, 74, 76
 Dehillotte, 123
 Deschamps, Mgr. E.-A., 30
 De Sola, A., 40
 De Sola, C.I., 14, 47
 Desroches, J., 121
Le Devoir, 14, 45-46, 48A
 Dorion, J., 61, 64, 70
 Dorion, Noel, 90
 Dreyfus, A., 28
Droit de Vivre (Paris), 104
 Dugré, Father A., 67, 70
 Dupont, A., 30, 47, 63, 94

Edwards, F., 88, 101-3
L'Europe réelle, 84
L'Événement, 67

Fascisme ou socialisme?, 97
Le Fasciste canadien, 102, 123
 Feenie, Dr., 47
 Fevre, Mgr., 54
Le fléau maçonnique, 19, 36
 Franchere, C.-B., 111
La Francmaçonnerie et la Conscience, 19

Fraser, B., 27
 Freedom of Religion, 31
 Freemasonry, 48
 Frégault, G., 29
 Gaboury, J.-P., 28-29, 31
 Garber, M., 77
 Gauthier, Mgr. G., 64-66, 90-91
 Gazette, 105
 Gestapo, 123
 Gobeil, S., 121
 Gobineau, Comte de, 27
 Le Goglu, 48, 71, 86-87
 Goldstein, M., 42
 Gordon, N., 77
 Gradis, A., 98
 Les grands thèmes du mouvement national social chrétien, 84
 Groulx, Abbé L., 26-33, 49, 58-59
 Guoet, Brother, 19
 Hart, A.D., 42
 Hart, B., 39
 Hart, E., 39
 Hart, M., 39
 Hart, S.B., 39
 Hébert, J., 92
 Hérroux, O., 27, 41-48
 Hitler, A., 107
 Hoare, J., 105
 Holocaust, 3, 7-8, 10
 Houde, C., 68, 88-89, 97, 116, 121
 Huot, Abbé A., 19-24, 36, 59, 68-69, 104
 L'Idéologie de l'Action catholique, 8, 17
 Illustration nouvelle, 102-3, 107, 110
 Immigration, 25-26
 Incidences, 106
 Jacobs, S.W., 14, 76
 Jeunesse, 34
 The Jew in Canada, 42
 Jewish Agency, 23
 Jewish Chronicle, 47
 Jones, Richard, 8, 17-17a
 Jouin, Mgr., 104
 Kennaghan, W.D., 31
 Key to the Mystery, 25, 91

- Labrecque, Mgr. C., 19, 36, 67-68
 Lafontaine, J.H., 57
 Laforce, J.-E., 121
 Lagarde, J., 90
 Lalanne, P.E., 111-12, 118
 Lambert, Dr. J.G., 85
 Lamoureux, M., 31-33
 Lanctot, G., 90
 Langevin, Mgr. J., 52
 Laporte, J.L., 84, 103
 Lartigue, Mgr., 58
 La Terreur, M., 122
 Laurendeau, A., 15, 28, 50-51
 Laurier Palace Theatre, 26
 Lavergne, Armand, 46, 48, 51, 118-19
 Lavergne, Abbé V., 24-25, 194
 Leclerc, Y., 105
 Le Tellier de Saint Just, E., 84
 L'Heureux, E., 33-34
Libertas cultus in republica canadensi, 57
 Ligue d'action française, 25
 Ligue des droits du français, 25
 Ligue du dimanche, 79
 Livingstone, S.W., 77
 Ludecke, G.W., 123-24

Macleans Magazine, 88, 101
The Swastika and the Maple Leaf, 8, 111-12
 Marks, M.H., 36
 Marler, H., 41
 Matheson, S., 105
 Maurras, C., 25, 28, 49
 Medres, I., 37
Mélanges, 19
 Ménard, J., 31, 36, 57, 71, 85-86, see also Le Patriote
 Merriam, A.W., 119
Miroir, 71, 85-86
Montréal-Matin, 103
 Montsion, Rollande, 84, 123
 Mussolini, B., 10, 123

 Nathan, Ernesto, 48
 Nathanson & Co., 22
La Nation, 94, 107-11, 113, 123
Le Nationalisme de Lionel Groulx, 28-20
Le Nationaliste, 46
 Native Sons of Canada, 111
Notre maître, le passé, 30, 59
Nouvelles illustrées, 84, 105

O'Neil, Abbé, 92
On the Jewish School Question, 1, 42

Pagnuelo, Judge, 34
Palestine, 20
Papineau, L.J., 15, 55
Paquet, Mgr. L.-A., 31, 36
Paquin, M., 121-22
Parliamentary Debates, 38
Pass Christian, 19
La Patrie, 84
Patriote, 34, 54, see also Ménard
Patriotic Order of Goglus, 87, 101
Pelland, L., 33
Pelletier, Abbé, 52-55
Pelletier, G., 59, 63
Pinsler case, 41
Pope Pius, 9, 12
Pouliot, J.F., 30, 57
La Presse, 105, 115
Privy Council, 43
Protocols, 8, 21, 24
Provencher, Abbé, 20

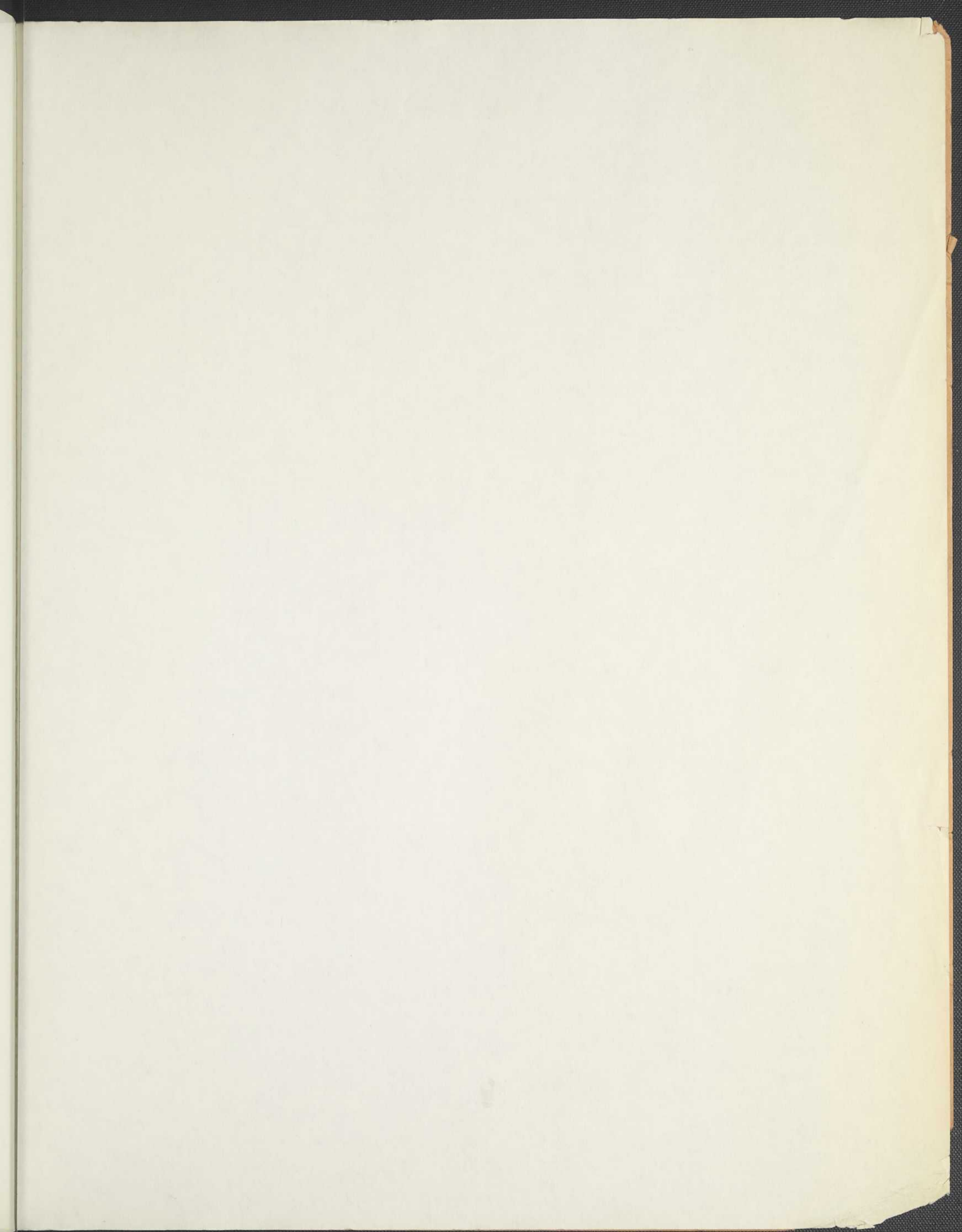
Quebec City, 90
La Question juive chez nous, 68

Rainville, J.-H., 114-15
Les Relations entre l'état et l'église, 30, 63, 94
La Réponse de la race, 18
Reportages, 112
Le Restaurateur, 98
Revue de droit, 33, 63
Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique française, 53
Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes, 104

Rho, M.A., 20
Roiter, H., 8
Rome, D., 1, 43
Rouillard, E., 36
Rouleau, Cardinal, 64
Rubenstein, L., 76
Rumilly, R., 12, 48-49, 58, 61
Russia, 14, 46

St. Michel, J., 67
Samuel, Sir Herbert, 22
Saturday Night, 105
Schubert, Ald. J., 94
Semaine religieuse de Montréal, 79

<u>Semaine religieuse de Québec,</u>	18, 20-22, 36, 81, 104
Shaar Hashomayim Congregation,	39
Smith, Goldwin,	14, 47
<u>La Source du mal,</u>	52
Spanish and Portuguese Congregation,	39
Stern, Rabbi H.J.,	92
Stoll, R.,	105
Sullivan, J.A.,	119
Sunday Law,	14, 33, 79
<u>Sur les remparts,</u>	24, 148
<u>The Swastika and the Maple Leaf,</u>	8, 111-12
Swastika clubs,	88
Taché, Sir E.-P.,	38
Tardivel, J.-P.,	19
Taschereau, Hon. L.A.,	22, 34, 41, 43, 45, 62, 71, 76, 94, 99, 121
Teboul, V.,	9
<u>Tribulations des conservateurs,</u>	122
Trudel, P.,	94, 106
Tweedsmuir, Lord,	107
<u>Unité nationale,</u>	85, 112
<u>Univers Israelité,</u>	23
<u>Université de Montréal,</u>	21, 94-95
Vanier, A.,	25
<u>La Vérité,</u>	19, 47, 154
Viatte, A.,	28
Villeneuve, Cardinal,	18, 37, 121
<u>Voix et images du pays,</u>	9
Wade, M.,	27, 123
Wallot, J.-P.,	92
Weir, Hon. M.,	41
<u>Why We Should Oppose the Jews,</u>	111
Wiseman, Dr.M.,	77
Zionism,	20, 22-23



Session religieuse de Québec. 10, 20-22, 24, 21, 100
 Shear Mennonite Congregation. 20
 Smith, William. 15, 4
 La Source du mal. 21
 Spanish and Portuguese Congregation. 10
 Stein, Robert H. J., 21
 Stoll, H., 105
 Sullivan, J. A., 105
 Sunday Law. 10, 24, 25
 Sur les Yaspatis. 24, 100
 The Swastika and the Jewish Law. 8, 111-112
 Swastika Club. 100

 Taché, Sir G.-F., 100
 Tardivel, J.-B., 100
 Tardivel, Mrs. M. A., 100, 14, 41, 43, 45, 63, 71, 76.
 Tardivel, 100, 100, 100
 Taboulet, V., 100
 Taboulet, Mrs. M., 100
 Taboulet, P., 100
 Taboulet, M., 100

 Université nationale. 21, 100
 Université Laval. 20
 Université de Montréal. 21, 100-105

 Vanier, A., 100
 La Vérité. 100, 41, 100
 Viatic, 100
 Villeneuve, Cardinal. 10, 21, 100
 Vins et liqueurs de pays. 9

 Wade, H., 100
 Walker, J.-F., 100
 Walker, Mrs. M., 100
 Why We Should Forget the Jews. 111
 Walker, Dr. H., 100

 Winnipeg. 20, 20-22



BNQ



000 323 777