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CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Antisemitism In Canada. 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

**By
David Rome**

Section 4

Montreal, 1978



CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

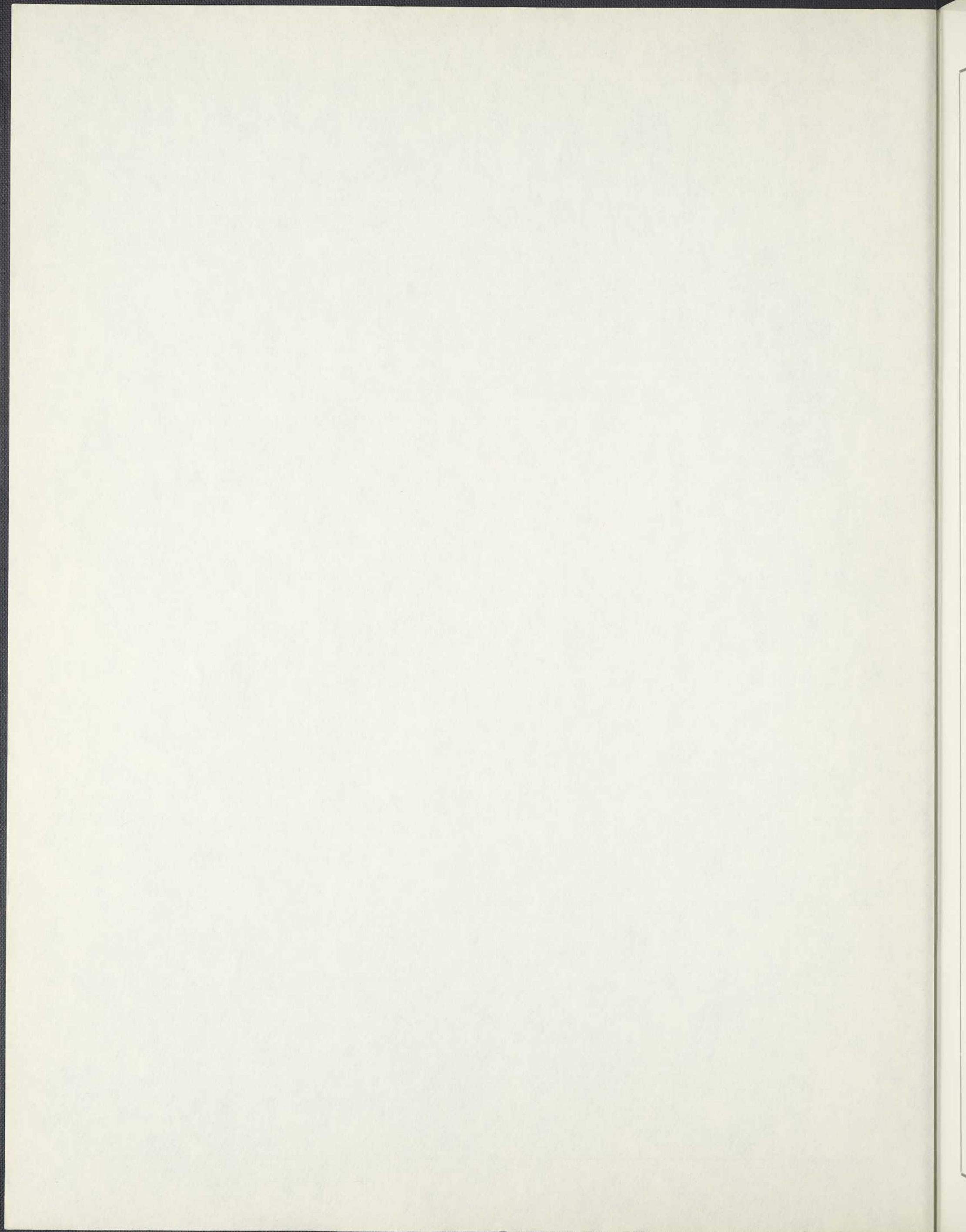
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FOES, FRIENDS AND THE CONGRESS

Every consideration of antisemitism in Canada in the decade of the 1930's must centre on two not unrelated developments which reach far beyond the borders of the country and which destroyed the stabler values of the earlier decades: the depression and the rise of Hitler to power in Germany.

These phenomena are so well known that it is necessary only to recall them.

In this period of inexplicable and morally confusing suffering, there was failing confidence in government, in the institutions of society and in the traditions of justice so long taught by a civilization now indifferent to the injustices and deprivations of the individual citizen.

There was failing confidence in government, in the moral institutions of society and in the ethical justice taught and preached but not instituted. Democracy was one of the virtuous institutions failing citizenry. Extremist ideas for change and new formulae for the functioning of society not premised on the old morality were the order of the day, not only for theoreticians and academicians but for the seething populace. Technocracy, social credit, regional nationalism, corporatism, xenophobia, communism, Fascism, anti-communism, religious socialism, reversion to the middle ages, and a host of other movements were having their day.

The debate on this endless, vociferous kaleidoscope of ideas and ersatz ideas reached all levels of society.

In many of these antisemitism was injected in a variety of ways. It was in itself a theory. It was an element in proposals that have other names; sometimes a central element, sometimes an incidental, making use of myths and ancient prejudices. Sometimes it was blatant, sometimes it was subtly but pervasively hidden, combined with teachings on social organization, religion, anti-Communism, freemasonry. Such poison ideas were common in pious pamphlets sold in churches, in the trade journals of commercial travellers, business associations, in newspaper wit, in political campaign speeches and cartoons, in devotional literature, in broadsides peddled from door-to-door, at patriotic gatherings, in scandal exposé, window stickers.

With Hitler's rise to power in Germany the polarization of the western world assumed a new tempo. What had been happening to the Jews of Poland and Rumania had been the intense moral concern of only a section of the Jewish people. Now the Slavic violence of pogrom and Protocols had made noble Germany a focus of infection, just as the German race hatred half a century earlier had made France notorious with the names of Drumont and with scandal of the Dreyfus case. There were varying tones of nightmare as to where Hitler would lead.

The sensitive and the vigilant among the Jews, naturally among the most profoundly alarmed, anxiously looked about to assess partners in anxiety.

These were few, for a wide variety of reasons too many to enumerate completely.

Many throughout the world were in at least partial agreement with the Nazis or found at least colour of reason in the German position.

Systematic apologia sought to identify each of the diverse groups of many countries' populace with the German people.

The respect normally accorded to a European nation, the traditional courtesies of international consideration was extended even more naturally to a leading nation which had been creative and great for centuries, had established the norms of European culture, had experienced the saga of the West and had exported to all mankind the inventions, devices and cultural expression which were the benchmarks of the only civilization recognized at this moment in the history of humanity.

Germany was a power among the nations, and in the chancelleries of their capitals there were officials charged with keeping channels open to one another, asking not why. Discretion, future as-yet-unknown considerations silenced immediate action, and paralyzed response to the developments of the day. This "wisdom" was called far-sighted statesmanship and was beyond challenge from those who could also see the near.

As Hitler accelerated the war on the Jews, the Jewish community sought to count its friends.

Few were aligning to defend the Jewish position or the legal and social bases upon which it was founded.

At best many were silently not joining the attack. The constituted governments on all levels were maintaining the law and the order that accompanies it.

Of these many, of this vital basic silent majority that is traditional particularly of Quebec society, something must be stated to give balance to the views and policies of the nation.

It has always been respectful of the articulate leaders of its politics and church -- from which it has been somewhat divided by the very definition of élitism; but was always reserved in the face of extremist action. At all times the rule of common sense and of common justice held it back from incitement. The sense of fairness and of justice, not without its roots in the Catholic religion, played a role in popular action that democratic procedures and rights played in Anglo-Saxon folk life.

In spite of what the people had been taught about the evil Jews, the terms race prejudice and anti-semitism were to be rejected even by many who held anti-Jewish ideas. These very men, even as they were preaching these ideas, indignantly rejected the title (e.g., Abbé Groulx, Omer Héroux, André Laurendeau). They would feel more comfortable to think of the Jew as a national adversary, as a class enemy, as an infidel, as a conspirator against them.

In consequence, as many Canadians look back upon this period they tend to disbelieve the chronicle of Jew-baiting. There is merit to their objections: the reality of the social delineation in the words of the leaders, teachers and political figures needs to be balanced by the unstated attitudes of the bulk of the

people, most of whom were scarcely aware of the dangerous agitation stirring in their society and were certainly unaware even of a disquiet in the minds of their Jewish neighbours. The isolation of the Jewish group contributed to the feelings unshared.

One Canadian force which was consistently anti-Hitlerite and aware of the menace of antisemitism was the labor movement. It early took a stand in these matters, but never with great vigour, even internally, among its own large membership.

In Winnipeg the labor movement adopted a resolution to this effect, and in Montreal Alderman Joseph Schubert had the local Trades and Labor Council authorize the Congress to issue copies of the Winnipeg-originated statement under its name.

The English-language churches of Canada, not least in Quebec and in Montreal, were consistently anti-Nazi (except for the burgeoning British Israel).

The widely revered Archdeacon F.G. Scott, of Quebec City, wrote in the Gazette soon after Hitler came to power, to "protest very strongly against the anti-Jewish campaign which is being waged in certain sections of this province at the present time. In doing so, I am sure I am only expressing the feelings of a large proportion of our citizens.

"The campaign is not only unchristian, but -- and possibly this may seem to some patriots even worse -- un-British. Over and over again in medieval times, the popes have had to reprove those who were trying to stir up antisemitic passions in European countries. Do not let us in Canada fall back into the manners of the dark ages.

"It is quite possible that at the present time there may be some German propaganda behind the movement. All the worse if this should be the case. Germany has lost tremendously in prestige by Einstein's having to leave his native land and change his citizenship.

.. England has always stood as the kind home for those who were persecuted elsewhere, sheltering Huguenots or Jesuits or expelled emperors or kings, and it has been

her glory that her flag stood for equal rights to all who sought freedom under its folds. This is the spirit which we wish to preserve in Canada and which the present campaign in certain quarters is tending to violate. Narrowness and bigotry must not be allowed to take root in Canadian soil." (May 21, 1934)

Archbishop J.A. Richardson spoke to the Fredericton Diocesan Synod of the Church of England at Saint John on "the shock that the conscience of the Christian world has received by the appalling persecution of the Jews in Germany." He reminded his hearers of the spirited protests that have been made by the Church Assembly in England, and the vigor with which German behaviour was denounced.

"Synod expressed the hope that 'Christian people in this and other countries will exert their influence to make it plain to the rulers of Germany that the continuance of their present policy will arouse widespread indignation....'"

Following this spirited pronouncement, the sixty-second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada meeting in Hamilton discussed plans by which Jews and Christians might develop a deeper spirit of friendship. The Assembly asked that leaders of Judaism and leaders of the Presbyterian Church meet with a view to creating a feeling of friendship between Jew and Christian. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, June 12, 1936, P. 4)

In Montreal Anglican Bishop John Farthing told his synod in April 1938 that "The Fascists are working under the name of the National Social Christian Party and claim to have 15,000 members in this province. Legions are being carefully drilled by officers who served in our Canadian army during the Great War, admittedly in preparation for the day when they expect to come into power, when they think Canada will become fascist."

By its title, Bishop Farthing declared that organization claimed to be Christian, yet their major plank was antisemitism.

"Such a plank is neither Christian nor British," he asserted. "It strikes at the very root of our liberties."

He warned that a party that will persecute one section of the community today will, when it has the power and its interests seem to demand it, extend its oppressive measures to other sections; to the Jews first and then to the labor organizations, young people's societies, and the Christian Church. Every organization and every individual disagreeing with the ruling power would be endangered.

"A body of men well drilled and trained could be armed in a night and become as effective as the 'storm troops' were in bringing the Germans under Nazi rule," His Lordship commented.

Canadians must awake and face the facts. "It is only by eternal vigilance that we can preserve our liberty and freedom."

Canadians were so absorbed in deploring the conditions in Europe, the Lord Bishop of Montreal said, that they did not realize the forces which brought about those conditions were working in this city and in six provinces of Canada.

In a further denunciation of antisemitism and persecution of dissentient minorities, Bishop Farthing said: "We may differ in thought and convictions from our fellow Christians, and from our Jewish brethren. But notwithstanding, it is ours to love and serve them to the utmost. To persecute them or to deal unjustly towards them would be to sin against Christ; it would be the negation of all for which Christ stands.

"The persecutor, whoever he may be, has left the following of Christ and joined the children of Belial. Christian and Jew have persecuted in the past; we are all ashamed of it today, I hope.

"Let us assure our Jewish brother that we, with all our power, stand with him to guard his liberties and rights as a fellow citizen even as we would guard our own, and in doing so we believe we serve our Lord Christ, and are doing just what He would do." (Canadian Jewish Review, Apr. 29, 1938)

In Toronto the Globe and Mail quoted the Rev. Gordon Domm of Bathurst United Church.

"There is probably enough antisemitism dormant among Canadians of all ranks which, if the stage is thus cleverly set, can threaten our whole land. Verily, it can happen here."

The Canadian Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches viewed "with great sorrow the spread of antisemitic propaganda in Canada by various agencies. Such agitation tends to break the fundamental unity of Canadian life and threatens the status to which all elements of our population are legally entitled. We call upon the leaders of our Christian churches to repudiate it as utterly unChristian and foreign to the mind of Christ."

On the initiative of Rabbi M.N. Eisendrath an intensive seminar on Gentile-Jewish problems was convened in Toronto.

The Address on Jewish-Gentile Relationships delivered on April 24 before this seminar by the Hon. Herbert A. Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, (reprinted in his Our Heritage and Other Addresses. Toronto, MacMillan, 1934, Pp. 219-25) is one of the landmarks of positive public relations during the painful decade.

In his consideration of the wave of hatred which was sweeping the world, Mr. Bruce went back a third of a century in his memory,

"In the year 1897 I visited Palestine. I saw Jerusalem. And I suppose there is no city whose name for 2000 years has been more frequently and more fervently on the lips of men and women and children than the name of Jerusalem. I went to the Holy Sepulchre. I tried to swim in the Dead Sea, and I washed off the accumulated salt in the River Jordan. Bandits infested the country in those days and we travelled with an armed escort. They were Turks, those bandits, and they disappeared on the day that Lord Allenby entered Jerusalem. They have never returned.

"But of all that I saw during that visit, the memory of the worshippers at the Holy Sepulchre remains with me most vividly. Those devout pilgrims in small self-centered groups have always had for me a profound allegorical significance. Each group had its own faith, its

own ritual, its own religion. And between each group and every other group there was an armed guard -- for protection to keep the peace. It may be that even as I watched, there were some among those worshippers praying for protection. But it is an appalling thought that they had, quite literally, to be protected before they could pray. I felt then, and I still feel, that I was looking on something which symbolized the dark story of religious intolerance. It seemed indeed that where religion most abounded it was most necessary that armed guards be at hand to enforce 'peace on earth, goodwill to men'. I needn't elaborate the moral to be drawn from such a spectacle. That scene in Palestine was an epitome of world history. To a young man it was an object lesson. It would have been rich food for a cynic. It spoke not of the infinite mercy of God, but of the cruel intolerance of man. And in the light of subsequent and recent happenings the terrible implications of those armed guards have become all too obvious....

"The purpose of these meetings is to consider how relations between Jew and Gentile can be improved; how mutual understanding can be fostered and made enduring; how the true spirit of neighbourliness -- of a free brotherhood -- can be strengthened against that violent, insidious and altogether detestable form of propaganda to which minorities have been from time to time subjected wherever liberty is mocked and freedom held in contempt....

"I seize this opportunity to express the sympathy of every thinking man, every man of feeling with the afflictions that have pursued them and which they have heroically endured throughout the centuries, and from which they will continue to suffer as long as brutality masquerades as love of country, as long as hatred is the law, and as long as injustice is exalted as a religion with warriors as its high priests....

"Canada has been and will, I most confidently believe, remain a country in which men and women may be free fearlessly to tell their religion and to worship in their own way without dread of persecution for their faith. This young country has none of the heritage of age-old hatred which destroys but never creates, and which still exists in so many older countries. Canada's spirit is that of youth -- generous and tolerant."

The Committee on Jewish-Gentile Relationships established there continued as an active body until the 1940's and has to its credit, among other efforts and successes, the dissemination of many pamphlets, including several editions of Facts and Fables about the Jews, work by Dr. J.W.Parkes and Hugo Valentine, Rev.M.S.Sheehy's The Pope Condemns Anti-Semitism and Silcox' 1939 lecture, The Challenge of Antisemitism to Democracy.

Paralleling the Toronto efforts of Rabbi Eisendrath and Lieut-Gov. Bruce, Rabbi Harry J. Stern in 1937 initiated a series of "conversations" with Father Joseph Paré, s.j., which sowed the seeds of an effective response to the hitherto unanswered antisemitic propaganda. The two men of the cloth began to contradict the dangerous accusations spread against the Jewish community and disseminated basic information about Jews, initially to a small group of Catholics, each influential in his own milieu. It became clear that friendly exchange with Jews was legitimate for Catholic men of good will, and that contact between Hebrew and French Canadian was proper for the Quebec scene.

The Canadian Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches viewed "with great sorrow the spread of antisemitic propaganda in Canada by various agencies. Such agitation tends to break the fundamental unity of Canadian life and threatens the status to which all elements of our population are legally entitled. We call upon the leaders of our Christian churches to repudiate it as utterly unChristian and foreign to the mind of Christ."

A lecture tour of Quebec and of Ontario by Dr. Parkes was not without effect.

It was an experience more meaningful in the francophone idiom than it would appear to an Ontario observer. Thus, an item in the Temple Emanuel Bulletin acknowledging the value in justice that is inherent in some papal encyclicals was, as if by agreement, accepted by Catholic newspapers as almost a friendly diplomatic démarche by Jewry, and opened the columns of the francophone press to many other Jewish positions. The Devoir of April 10, 1937, reprinting Rabbi Stern's article, recalled that he had been received by the pope during his voyage in Europe and had introduced a motion at the Congress sessions condemning Mexican persecution of Catholics.

It was under this inspiration that an attack on antisemitism was included in a Message to the Chaplains of the Jeunesse étudiante catholique, issue of April 1938. (Letter from Father Gustave Bellemare, o.f.m., of Pax et bonum, Ottawa, to Canadian Jewish Congress, June 20, 1939)

Among the young priests whom Father Paré introduced to the fight was young Stéphane Valiquette, s.j., not yet ordained, who was to devote his entire career to ecumenical work in Catholic-Jewish relations.

But these churchmen exercised little effect on the body of Christianity in French Canada. The Catholic church continued its hostility towards the victims of antisemitism whom they labelled as imperialistic and pro-English, the tools of the Anglo-Saxons and as manipulators of their Anglo-Saxon defenders, if not worse.

This propaganda sought to identify Jews with the oppressing rich, when it did not identify them as communists.

The English-language press from time to time spoke out against Nazism in Germany as in Canada, as did the Ottawa Citizen.

In French Le Canada was notable for its militancy in defence of democracy, liberalism and Liberalism. La Presse was very correct in the traditions of the Canadian and the American non-partisan national news agencies. The weekly Autorité was the personal voice for democracy and against obscurantism of Gilbert Larue.

Olivar Asselin was a militant fighter against the fascist and antisemitic movement in the province, first through Le Canada, and then through L'Ordre.

In March 1934 he exposed the propaganda apparatus operating from France and Belgium, in part by one Léon Gauthier de Leroy Lacroix, ostensibly "to establish Franco-Canadian concord," but in fact to spread antisemitic ideas. Lacroix had tangled with the law in France and had been condemned to prison for fraud, though he may not have sat in prison. ("Quebec Papers Duped by Nazi Agents; Olivar Asselin Unmasks Anti-Semitism," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle, March 23, 1934, Pp. 5, 16)

Lucien Parizeau rejected all forms of ostracism and all appeals to persecution. He refused to blame the Jewish minority for the improvident ways of his own French Canadian group. On the contrary, he admired the Jews for their efforts to win economic wealth while "we spend our energies on the political arena. When French Canadians will learn this truth, they will know the work of the anti-semitic rage." (Le Canada, Jan. 13, 1934)

Probably the clearest exposé of Achat chez nous came from the pen of Le Canada's Edmond Turcotte who compared it to Hitler's demand that his people eat German-made margarine instead of imported butter. (Le Margarine de Québec, Nov. 19, 1938);

This protectionism is unjust and absurd because it condemns the helpless consumer to pay more for goods than if he were free to buy where he wished. It is an absurd system because, favouring the producer before the consumer, it would have people wear gloves because of the manufacturer rather than the weather.

Autarchy, made newly popular by the fascists of Europe, would confine us to Canadian-grown oranges and Californians would need to invent a yellowish paper pulp from their oranges.

"In Canada Achat chez nous would declare economic war on eight other provinces with all the animosity that would accompany it.

"What is evil, senseless and dangerous to our own people is to obey a racist fanaticism blinding the purchaser

to quality, price and service. Everybody has a right to live, including the buyer.

"Besides, if we want big English and Jewish business in Quebec and elsewhere to place their orders with us, we must be sensible enough not to approach them with hostility.

"After all, examples are useful. If they are richer than us, it is simply because, when they do business, they do business. Not practising sentiments." (See also Section 2, Pp. 14-15; Section 3, P. 15)

In his Le Jour and in other publications Jean Charles Harvey courageously defended democracy against its subverters, unmasked the Hitlerite sympathizers within the Ordre Jacques Cartier and opposed antisemitism.

In the heart of enemy territory a moderating nationalist voice was heard.

Historian Guy Frégault, later the distinguished civil servant who shaped the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs, condemned Arcand in the influential Action Nationale,

"Youth is awakening. Everybody says so, and it is true.... We must see whether there are saving realities sprouting beyond this feverishness; whether behind this appealing start of a life hitherto denied and repressed, behind these movements jetting forth, there does not loom a disappointing emptiness void of spiritual power and mysticism.

"For there are 'movements' which channel the spontaneous high spirits of our generation for their own ends in the midst of a homicidal civilization!

"Vomitted a hundred times from mouths more or less 'young', they fall like bricks every day upon our heads. Bookish, gorged petit bourgeois, dwarfish doctrinaires drugged by Stalinism, insignificant directors of ridiculous Fascism -- brown or black -- stupid clowns of the Parti national social chrétien (sickening concoction of Nazism and of pan-Canadian 'good will') -- all claim to be full speed ahead revolutionaries.

"Unspeakable naiveté -- all these lucubrations of the midget followers of ill digested European ideologies would be only patently hilarious if they did not reveal a weakness as gross as it is fatal: that of identifying pillage, coup d'état, civil war and revolution. It is a fatal error which invites the young to pour out their best frustrated energies in the service of myths which might be attractive, but are certainly powerless.

"Some cry 'Race is all. Long live the Canadian race (sic). Death to the Jews. The Jew is the enemy.'

"Others, 'Long live the Popular Front! Hurrah for Stalin and his standard bearer. Death to capital. Let the rich pay!'

"Others chant, 'All for the State. We are for state corporatism. Merde for all others. Long live Mussolini.'

"Basically it is assassination, cowardly murder by literature, a vast mountain of death hiding a hypocritic monster which burrows in this filth of rhetoric.

"For whether it is a Muscovite or a Roman solution, it is blatant falsehood they offer. False because Communism and Fascism are but two badly camouflaged faces of Janus: Statism.

"Here is no revolution which could liberate the human person from the claws of the monster who bleeds him. Man will not be liberated by stifling him in the pillory of étatism. Nor will shirts of whatever colour. Marches, clenched fists and devilish vociferation will not free him. Nor will this freedom come by attaching all hopes to the profile of a leader, however photogenic." ("Où est la révolution?", Vol. 9, Feb. 1957, Pp. 81-89)

The same newspaper went further in an editorial by Henri Girard: listing the good qualities he ascribed to the Jews, he pointed to the failings of his own people and urged them to become competitive. A disciple of economic liberalism, as of political Liberalism, he urged his compatriots to "accept to the point of welcoming the Jewish and even the Anglo-Saxon competition. This can spur the French Canadian businessman to activity and to economic conquest." (May 21, 1934)

To complicate the Canadian Jewish condition: the loudest anti-Fascist agitation came from a group which was at the root of totalitarianism and was already involved in a war unto death against the Jewish people -- communists.

Motivated as they were by a totally different consideration -- loyalty to the welfare of another sovereign and major government -- they found the Jewish social condition fertile for their own partisan mobilizing purposes. Under temporary flags of convenience, such as anti-Fascism or anti-militarism (to be easily discarded, respectively in 1939 and 1941) they called for eloquent protest against Germany -- and thus gave the colour of truth to the Nazis who labelled all anti-Fascist expressions including the Jewish -- as Communist.

At that time it was not as clear as it is today that a technique was being developed to ensnare a citizen with consent on one social "front" issue and to advance this capture by systematic, step-by-step entrapment into total absorption into an integrated ideology. It is a technology since utilized by fascists, antisemites, pro-revolutionaries and others, often at a tragic expense to the Jews.

In this confusion it is not surprising that many of the Jewish citizenry, intending to halt Fascism, found themselves marching under the banner of Communist totalitarianism. This was often true of rabbis and educated men.

Sanitising the atmosphere against this corrosive danger to the Jewish community was a major task for many years until the cold war made all Canadian citizens aware of its character. In the meantime, it complicated endlessly each program and each expression of Canadian Jewry.

The considerable action of the community that was deeply, even ideologically, aware of its interests, both immediate and long range, was keenly cognizant of the evil hiding under the guise of devotion.

It was not only that Jewish political instincts foresaw that in September 1939 Communism would be an active

and loyal ally of Hitlerism, and that the highest Communist authority would accept Fascism as "a matter of taste."

Since late 1917 Communism was already corroding, dissolving and destroying Judaism in its European heartland; modern, even socialist, Hebrew poetry was banned where the hammer and sickle ensign flew as strictly, as the ancient Hebrew liturgy. Siberia was filled with tortured Zionists and other Jewish activists. The centuries-old Jewish economic as well as the social and religious structures were rent. The cry of "Let my people go" was already not being listened to. Since 1929 the Communists in Canada as well as in Russia were actively aiding Arab murderers of Jews in Hebron and in Jerusalem.

In the desperation of the looming Holocaust it was not surprising that many Jews in Canada and elsewhere fell into the trap baited with Communist support, and came to abet Communism and its saccharine-coated programs.

But the Jewish community from the beginning kept these Communists in Coventry. It rejected their cooperation and the United Front with their committees against war, Fascism and antisemitism. They continued to do so until the fortunes of war and Hitler's initiative suddenly cast Russia as "our noble ally" (thus declared by the Canadian Government) in 1941, and then it became treason to Canada's wartime interests to ignore the Communists. Communists were admitted briefly into the lower levels of authority of the Canadian Jewish Congress at that point.

In the 1930's it became a measure of Jewish awareness to anticipate the Stalin-Hitler pact long before the Germans marched against Poland and its multimillion Jewish community. Jewish historic experience had made them acutely aware, long before Lenin stomped into the world arena in 1917, of the identification of German and Russian totalitarianism and their common hostility to Jewish survival.

In their tragic near-isolation created by Canadian and imported antisemitism, Jewish citizens such as Rabbi M.N. Eisendrath and Mrs. Ida Siegal of Toronto and Cherniack of Winnipeg gave their names to the League Against War and Fascism. Others were tempted by these endorsements to follow them into the Communist-conceived parade, despite the warnings of the Poale Zion, the most alert of anti-Communist groups.

In Ontario the Canadian Jewish Congress openly condemned communism as an enemy of democracy which is at the root of Canadian life, and of the Jewish community in Canada. The principles of communism run counter to the liberties which enable Canadians to live peaceably and decently. These liberties are incorporated in the roots of the Congress.

"This institution is meticulous in avoiding partisanship. At the same time it is aware that many Jewish citizens are sometimes misled into voting for candidates who are dedicated to principles which endanger the welfare of Canadian Jewry. Jewish citizens are therefore requested to ensure that they are aware of the consequences of their exercise of the ballot. They should be aware lest their vote help destroy the democratic form of government which ensures our security as Canadians and as Jews."
(Daily Hebrew Journal, Oct. 4, 1937)

Since the Jewish communists were carefully excluded from such representative bodies as the Canadian Jewish Congress, it is not surprising that they sought expression and tools for social action by forming their own forums at which, they claimed, the true voice of the community was heard. Thus the People's Committee Against Antisemitism and Fascism even secured at least a hearing from the government at Ottawa, threatening whatever legitimacy the Congress had as the spokesman for Canadian Jewry.
(Eagle, Jan. 24, 1938)

This committee was received in Ottawa in June 1938. Because of some possibly unauthorized publicity regarding their representations, the government suspended consideration of Factor's and Heaps' petition for the admission of a number of Austrian refugees. (Minutes of Canadian Jewish Congress Dominion Council, Montreal, June 23, 1938)

The circumstances about this delegation are a complex of betrayals. Within the leftist group in Winnipeg there had been promise made to their Mr. Cherniack that they would refrain from action pending results of Congress intervention. A similar pledge existed in Toronto. Nevertheless, the Montreal and Toronto delegation proceeded.

Similarly the Hon. Mr. Crerar had promised

Samuel Factor, Toronto M.P., to receive no such delegation which would undercut representative authority of the Congress. He, too, did not keep his word.

Crerar had asked that there be no publicity. Within a day the press had the story.

Rabbi Charles Bender commented publicly,

"This request from the People's Committee is, of course, splendid in itself, and differs in no way from the wishes of every liberty-loving person. But as we looked through the list of representatives, we were amazed to find how successfully most of them have tucked themselves away from all Jewish problems. Apart from their own restricted milieu, we have seldom if ever, heard of these people in connection with Jewish and communal problems.

"Ah, say these people, our request is not particularly Jewish. It is humanitarian, and as such we have a right to do as we see fit. Well, if this is the case, why has this patchy committee been thumping at the doors of the Congress for the past few years, demanding admittance? It is obvious, then, that they consider themselves part of the community and demand a voice in Congress affairs, which of course nullifies the first claim to humanitarianism only.

"Because the Congress does not recognize Jewish political parties, the Committee with its rag-tag-and-bobtail representation decided to run its own show. It is easy to drag in tow a few unsuspecting organizations who have not the faintest idea what it is all about. The Jewish people are so helpless today that they will blindly follow any messiah who holds a Utopia in his hand, and it is this helplessness which the high-sounding committee is exploiting."

Among the most vigilant and uncompromising enemies of communism from the ideological and political basis of the community, together with his fellow Poale Zionists, was H.M. Caiserman.

Aside from the benefit of three decades of intense ideological orientation, this Zionist and socialist movement had been locked in a struggle with the Leninists on such fundamental issues as the survival of such Jewish

exilic communities as the Russian, the continuity of Judaism in communist society, the recognition of the Hebrew language and of organized Jewry, the Jews' return to the Holy Land, the Russian distortion of Marxist concepts and Jewish loyalty to such lands of their residence as Canada, etc.

It was in a state of alertness arising from this orientation that a labor Zionist such as H.M. Caiserman, one of the founders of the Canadian Jewish Congress and its general secretary, reacted, for example, when he noticed, in communist literature, the name of Mrs. Ida Siegal of Toronto as a member of the National Council of the League Against War and Fascism. He wrote her on October 15, 1934,

"With a very few exceptions the entire organization was conceived, financed and led by the Communist party of Canada; which explains why the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and practically the entire liberal opinion in the Dominion, which cannot be accused of being in favour of Fascism, are not affiliated with them.

"Under these circumstances the Anti-Fascist Anti-War Organization of Canada has become a force not against Fascism but for Fascism, since every communist undertaking (in most cases for very good reasons) is immediately denounced by every group in the Dominion."

She responded, half in agreement, "I am quite guarded insofar as the organization is concerned."

When the Young Communist League succeeded in organizing a children's strike through its Student League in Baron Byng and Commercial High Schools, Caiserman exposed the connections in the press. ("Pampered Children Disdain their Parents; A Challenge to the Community," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 28, 1934, Pp. 7, 14):

"In order to appear acceptable amongst the Jewish masses, they must hide their communism. Hence the name of the 'Student League.'

"Under this convenient name, they could easily meet in the halls of the Y.M.C.A., Y.M.H.A., Poale Zion, Workmen's Circle, etc.

"They concentrated their provocation in the High Schools of the Jewish District, thus creating the impression (particularly after the real leaders of the student strike became known) that the entire Jewish district is under the influence of the Communists. A conclusion most misleading and contrary to facts.

"What do the Young Communists care if by their criminal provocation they contribute to a wave of anti-semitism and hatred? What do they know of elementary responsibility and decency?

"This is the situation: Is the Jewish community still resolved to indifference to this leadership which, in terms of Judaism, means absolute bankruptcy, and in terms of citizenship -- misfortune and ever increasing danger?

"I know -- this is unthinkable. I know that the responsible agencies will ponder over this.

"In the first place, the Talmud Torah, Folks-Schools and Peretz Schools, if they are to deserve continued and increased public support, must fundamentally revise the programs and enforce a more militant point of view of Judaism as opposed to the reactionary baseness of Communism.

"The Young Judaeans, Poale Zion Youth Clubs, the Y.M.H.A. Clubs, and the dozens of other youth clubs of the community must come together to plan a militant program to eliminate completely any vestige of the damaging and immoral influence of the horde which calls itself Communist, an influence of degradation and anarchy."

Thus he alerted the Y.W.H.A., who had joined in sponsoring the Youth Conference against War and Fascism, a Communist-initiated and conducted group.

The women's group immediately disassociated itself from the youth conference and explained it had been misled: "The conference was sanctioned by such men as the Bishop of Montreal, and its purpose was deemed a commendable one." (Congress correspondence, Aug. 14-15, 1934)

More serious was the involvement of J.A. Cherniack, veteran leader of the Winnipeg Peretz School and disciple of Dr. C. Zhitlowsky, who accepted the leadership of the leftist-led Committee Against Antisemitism and Racism and

represented this Canadian committee at the Paris congress of the Fédération internationale des ligues contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme in the summer of 1937.

(Parenthetically, a sinister eye was watching, planning conflict and final victory, marking men for the day they could clutch -- Joseph Alter Cherniack. Walter Freund -- what a cosy name -- wrote in his Die Grossen Unbekannten des Amerikanische Weltpolitik, issued in 1942 in Essen by the Essener Verlagsanstalt. Cherniack is described by him as director of the Peretz School, attended the World Congress for Yiddish Culture in 1937; a native of Chaslovitch in Russia, he led the Canadian Zionist Congress in 1933-36; vice-president of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society since 1924; led the Antifascist League in 1936.--P.195.

(The same Nazi text on Canadian Jewry dwells on Fred Rosenberg (Rose): "we are dealing with a man who in one person is one of the best trained negotiators and secret agents in Canada, and perhaps in the world. He must be counted among the most skilled persons of the Kahal." - Pp. 204-5.

(Freund discusses the Canadian Jewish Congress as the secret parliament of Canada - Pp. 199-210; the Committee on Jewish-Gentile Relationships - Pp. 216-222, and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion - Pp. 210-16).

As the Congress wrote to the Y.M.H.A., every meeting which they call and every memorandum which they prepare in defence of the Jewish people meets with the exclamation, 'Ah, again the Jewish Communists!'" (May 2, 1938)

A.H.J. Zaitlin of the Montreal office of the Congress alerted M.J. Finkelstein of Winnipeg to the German Anti-Fascist League operating in Montreal as well as in the west.

"It is under Communist influence. I do not know whether it would be good policy on our part to establish contact with them."

During this critical period of Canadian history and of the Jewish community, its newly formed Canadian Jewish Congress must be credited with a major contribution to the maintenance of the free democratic ideal.

Louis Rosenberg summarized it,

"The battle against antisemitism continues in the realms of actual cases of antisemitism, in the educational phase of clearing the minds of Canadians from prejudice, in the field of constitution and in the developing relationships between the several ethnic groups that compose the people of Canada. The resources of the Jewish community are mobilized in the defence of the Jewish position in the Dominion which is also the defence of Canadian unity, of Canadian democracy and of the Canadian idea of the peaceful contiguous co-existence of Canadians of different cultural backgrounds united in a common loyalty and in common interests." (MS on antisemitism)

As Caiserman wrote to the Fort William community about his friend Rabbi Eisendrath, "The rabbi, so closely identified with our Congress, has again and again stated that he participates in the League Against War and Fascism in a personal capacity. His services to us are too valuable that we should interfere with his personal opinions.

"I will be happy if your community will not be represented at the conference of the League because to be identified with the Communists at the present temper of Canadian politics is a vital danger for the Jewish population and plays into the hands of Nazi agents from coast to coast."

In the complex thirties many persons and groups had to undergo the experience of disillusionment. The dates of the

infection and of awakening are significant in this sub-history of a malady. (e.g., the correspondence between Dr. Mark L. Stitt of Fort William and H. M. Caiserman in the National Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress)

In his vehement warnings against communist infiltration into the anti-fascist movement Caiserman made a sharp distinction between Jew-murdering Hitlerism and the non-racist Mussolini fascism - almost close to a stance of neutrality towards Italy. It was a stance that did not endear him and his Poale Zion colleagues, to the red-liners and their fellow travellers; these were not few in depression-ridden Canada which was witnessing fascist aggression in Austria, Spain, Ethiopia and elsewhere.

Even if the Jewish community had not been acting thus out of moral conviction and out of a very clear vision of Jewish group interests, there was another reason for such a course.

World fascism had long been trying, by distortion of facts and by invention of lies - and not without success - to identify Jews with communism. A reading of the contemporary press suffices to indicate the extent to which this identification had succeeded in Canada as elsewhere. The Toronto Globe and Mail even identified the CIO with Jews in its anti-red campaigns.

"Although it cannot be said that a majority of Jews are communists," stated one editorial, "the indications are that a large percentage, and probably a majority of communists are Jews."

Drew was more subtle. Without actually stating that communists were Jews, he made the point by larding his anti-CIO speeches with Jewish names.

Thus was developed a rationale for anti-Semitism among Canadian anti-communists. Keeping communists at arm's length was politically, morally and aesthetically desirable.

In the light of Jewish historic experience, the Jewish community similarly disdained the cooperation of German and Ukrainians in Canada who opposed Hitlerism and fascism; it was known that they were often organized not as Canadian democrats but as fronts and agents for communism.

In fact, the totalitarian, and ultimately anti-Jewish communist movement was attracting, diverting and distracting potentially valuable forces from the battle for democracy, for freedom and for the survival of Jewry and Judaism.

The alignment of enemies and friends came early and particularly dramatically in Montreal.

When Hitler came to power in Germany the event was immediately marked by especially brutal attacks on the Jews of Germany. Men and women of all denominations joined in expressing their horror. The annals of western Europe had not recorded such callous and open violence in past centuries, and the events of those days did not bid well for the decades ahead.

In Toronto Roman Catholic Archbishop Neil McNeil, as well as the Ontario premier and the heads of the Anglican and of the United Churches, addressed the Massey Hall assembly of protest.

In Winnipeg the Anglican and United Church representatives participated.

In Vancouver Presbyterians and United Churchmen joined the Jews.

The Manitoba legislature and the Winnipeg city council passed resolutions in the same vein.

In Montreal this mobilization of conscience proved less easy for the organizing committee.

A short-lived Jewish Board of Deputies had been formed as early as June 1931 with the participation of 22 organizations in response to the antisemitic challenge offered by Arcand and the forces behind him.

A People's Committee of Protest against Anti-semitism in Germany was quickly organized under the chairmanship of S. Belkin, Poale Zionist veteran of the first Canadian Jewish Congress and of the Separate School movement, at this time secretary of the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association. This committee quickly gathered the support of the community, including that of S.W. Jacobs and of Rabbi Herman Abramovitz of the Shaar Hashomayim congregation.

The committee found it very difficult to secure the participation of representatives of the Catholic, French-Canadian population of the province. They were simply disinterested in what was happening to the Jews -- or worse.

The meeting of protest was held in the Arena. It was ardent and high-minded, but its mandate was limited.

One of the outstanding participants was Sen. Raoul Dandurand. Speaking later of the invitation extended to him by the Jewish member of the House of Commons, the Senator said, "Mr. Jacobs did not insult me by asking whether I shared his feelings about the events in Germany, because for me as for him Hitler already stood condemned by universal conscience."

He recalled that during his years with the League of Nations as Canada's representative he had known the Germans as concerned with minority rights which were guaranteed by the Versailles Peace Conference, if only because they constantly had occasion to invoke them to protect German minorities in Europe after 1918. At the League of Nations Canada had argued that "the prime duty of a government is to defend the people and their happiness -- all the people, majority and minority. Indeed, sympathies naturally extend to minorities. A minority has to be so generously treated that it will forget it is a minority."

"The Germans in particular applauded this position and their representative had said in recognition that he would support Canadian representation on the Council of the League. The German press ascribed this honour paid to Canada to this country's position on minorities."

"Is it possible that this is the same Germany that invaded its universities and court houses to drive out the Jewish professors, judges and advocates?"
(Devoir, Apr. 25, 1933)

Mayor Rinfret had agreed to preside. In his address he expressed sorrow that the Germans had offended against the principles of liberty and the rights of minorities. The Hon. Honoré Mercier, representing the premier of the province, condemned the retrograde policies of the Germans which blot out the finest chapters of human history and are in direct conflict with Catholic teachings.

The Montreal meeting of protest and the similar meetings across the nation were an eloquent and alarmed expression of mood and of fear. They constituted joint action of a dominion-wide Jewish community in the face of a vast danger and bottomless cruelty such as had not been

seen in Canada for decades. It called for fulfillment in united action in common, for profoundly held beliefs and purposes. There were bound to be concrete results; these did not fail to arise.

But the Montreal meeting had other consequences that could not be foreseen and, indeed, were unique in the entire world of freedom.

Even the limited Quebec presence at the Arena, which had been filled largely by members of the isolated Jewish community, was too much for French Canadians who were hostile to Jews and sympathetic to the Nazis.

Within a fortnight the Jeune Canada convened a counter-protest in the prestigious Salle Gésu to condemn those who had protested against the Germans.

The meeting of April 20 questioned the reports about Nazi mistreatment of Jews and felt that Canadians should rather concentrate on the menace of the Jewish presence in Canada. (Politiciens et Juifs, discours prononcés par Pierre Dansereau, Gilbert Manseau, Pierre Dagenais, René Monette et André Laurendeau. Montréal, 1933. 67 p. Cahiers des Jeune Canada, no. 1))

The organizers of the counter-protest acknowledged the rights of any citizen to express himself freely. But they made it clear that the francophone participants in the protest meeting spoke not for the people, but for themselves alone and for their own political partisan interests.

Proudly Les Jeune-Canada published in pamphlet form the full proceedings of this rally -- a monument they set up themselves, to their hatred and to their insensitivity which probably has no parallel in the Quisling literature of the world.

The editors acknowledge -- and thereby blame -- Bourassa and Groulx as their teachers, their inspiration and the source of their tradition, a tribute to which Laurendeau added the name of Armand Lavergne.

Chairman Pierre Dansereau called for a patriotism which consisted "of not leaving to the Jews the upper hand in our commerce and industry.... Tolerance is not a word in the Christian vocabulary. We do not tolerate the good; we embrace it. We do not tolerate the bad; we condemn it.... The Jewish danger is an imminent peril.... The difficulties we encountered in organizing the assembly gave us a clear indication of the Jewish power in Montreal (We cite the exemplary fine courage of the Devoir which lives for its ideals). Every day Jewish internationalism, which we call communism, is advancing, even among our own."

Gilbert Manseau discussed Jewish rights in Canada, basically a Christian country. He insisted that the rights of no minority such as the Jewish can be identical with those of the French. He feared, for example, that Jewish aggressiveness in the school question might even lead to the nomination of a Jew as superintendent of public instruction. "Above all, they envisage a measure of eventual control which would permit them to legislate a neutral school system."

Pierre Dagenais attacked immigration into Canada, in particular the unassimilating Jews whose power in Canada has grown with their numbers as they utilize the strength of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and their influence with government to bring in more immigrants.

René Monette outlined the economic woes of the French Canadians in the depth of the depression and ascribed many of them to the Jews who strangle Quebec agriculture and who have taken over entire business quarters. He gives horrendous statistics of no known provenance. "Jews follow gold and gold follows them." His solution: buying from "our own," speaking French at all times, and abrogation of the Quebec Sunday observance act which permits those who rest on the Saturday to work on Sunday under certain circumstances.

The major theme of the assembly and the title of the printed record, Politiciens et Juifs, was struck by

André Laurendeau, intellectual leader of the movement, apostle of Groulx, admirer of Lavergne, later to succeed Georges Pelletier as editor of the Devoir, and in due course to abjure his antisemitism.

His theme: Jews had exerted their political power to enroll French Canadian politicians in protesting alleged injustices against Jews in Germany, a situation which does not concern French Canadians, even if it were true. It is this Jewish influence, a fruit of Jewish solidarity, of the veniality of politicians and of the old partisan spirit, which mobilizes Canadian governmental and social action in favour of the Jews and creates "a sacramental inviolability for the Jews" who control commercial advertising and the cinema.

"The Jews who may be, and often are, peaceful citizens nevertheless represent a chimeric and dangerous dream which must be stifled: messianism. The Israelites aspire, as everyone knows, to a happy day when their race will dominate the world. They are of no people, but of all countries.... servile when they are poor, arrogant when they have power, bitterly tenacious, resistantly cohesive.... If they have served Germany yesterday against the Allies, if tomorrow they help France against Germany, it is only because they see each act as in their own interests.

"The mass uprising against the as yet unproven 'Hitlerite oppression' by these many explosions of protest which shake the firmament of the civilized world shows us the unity that is created by this unique will, a will that can mobilize so greatly when the order is given.

"These are the oppressed whom our politicians have come to protect. This is the international minority whom we have brought into our midst before the very eyes of the wisest observers." (Devoir, Apr. 21, 1933)

The intent of the organizers was expressed by Phillippe Ferland in Le Canada, (Apr. 25, 1933): "The fine assembly of Jeune-Canada will be fruitful if we draw the two conclusions which derive from it: to shut our gates to immigration and to encourage our own people." Dollard Dansereau, who cites Ferland, wishes to add "our assembly will be a success if we convince our audience that the Jews settled in our country do not constitute a

minority recognized in our law and have no right to be considered as such; that in consequence they cannot demand certain privileges which our ancestors have won a hundred times by their labor and by their sacrifices. This is the master-thought of our speeches and the lesson received most enthusiastically by the overflowing audience.

"The famous Fathers of Confederation could not legislate for the benefit of the Jewish minority which was still living in Austria, Germany and Russia. The Jews are the gift presented to Canada by the twentieth century.

"As British subjects, they enjoy certain privileges; among others the vote -- isn't that so? -- which not one of Jeune-Canada questions.

"We French Canadians owe the Jews nothing. Did they join us to demand bi-lingual Canadian bills? Did they complain of the unjust distribution of constituencies? Did they contribute to the Université de Montréal where, by the way, we welcome them?

"Are our men in public life not tired of monopolising tolerance in this country and of carrying alone the burden of Good Understanding?" (Devoir, May 1, 1933)

Jacques Brassier, nom de plume of Chanoine Groulx in his more activist mode, supported the Jeune-Canada in Action nationale of June, 1933. ("Pour qu'on vive," June, 1933, Pp. 361-67)

The article immediately follows one by the editor, Arthur Laurendeau, the father of André Laurendeau, who assumed the direction of the magazine a few months later and turned it into a much more moderate organ of nationalist expression.

"That some good souls and even some noble spirits might have succumbed to pity for the more or less really persecuted at the other end of the world is possible. But for most of them? We may be permitted some doubts. Let us rip off all hypocrisy....It is electoral prostitution, and Jeune-Canada protested. It is known to all that it is one thing to lead our great men of politics to action on behalf of persecuted Jews, even 4,000 miles away; it is another thing to move them on behalf of persecuted Catholics or the persecuted

minorities of their own blood who are strangled at their very doorsteps here.

"Let them not speak of noble compassion, noble humanitarianism when we are in reality dealing with the most false generosity, not to use a harsher expression.... To denounce these caricatures of pity, these deformations of the Catholic and national spirit is to restore public salubrity."

"Brassier" continues with a more generalized attack on the Jews as the pampered and privileged caste which has nothing to entitle it to extraordinary dignity, to an electoral fief of its own where political corruption is rife, unbridled and secure in its impunity, where Sunday work is protected by a special law.

"Les Jeune-Canada also denounced another abuse, a graver one. These young people do not consider tolerable the raising to a rank of a privileged cast of an ethnic minority which has nothing special to recommend it to this extraordinary dignity. But just this is the condition that is coming into existence in Canada, and in Quebec in particular, for the Jewish group. Very secure electoral fiefs have been set aside for them in Montreal where the Jews can use and abuse their vote even to 110% without the least risk of being troubled, without even being discommoded by an oath."

Jews in Canada are a dangerous element as well. They are most disloyal competition to French Canadian commerce; they nearly sabotaged the economy of our school system; they nearly won an autonomy and authority in their schools which Catholics do not have.

"This accumulation of unjustified privileges all tends to establish a veritable commercial dictatorship which is facilitated by Jewish internationalism. Such a dictatorship cannot serve the Catholic and French community. The Hitler experience reminds us of this tendency to encourage communism.

"And after all this they are surprised that antisemitism seems more and more likely to explode in our country. Who is really responsible for this?"

Brassier cited -- as did the orator of Jeune-Canada -- the authority of the Austrian bishop Gfoellner, who seemed to have signalled the anti-Jewish explosion in French Canada, to the effect that Jewish internationalism is a menace and a social evil. Canada, too, is threatened by this Jewish dictatorship. It is the utmost folly, the ultimate insanity, to become tools of the Jewish power when the Jews are already clever and active enough to make their own way. There is no justification for any form of antisemitism in the situation, but youth should be far-sighted and proud, and call our leaders to more dignity and prudence and less naiveté.

Action's L'Heureux disapproved of German persecution of Jews, but "if reliable information would one day reveal the links between Jewry and German communism we would be less surprised to see the German nationalist element ferretting out those whom they hold responsible for their national disintegration."

Canadian over-reaction -- like Mr. Dandurand's tempestuous act -- is due to the triple influence of the international press, international finance and international film -- Jewish and anti-Christian influences that shape the minds of nations, including Canadian.

We must fight this condition of the spirit. To correct this condition we require a homogeneous and determined group like Jeune-Canada, which can inculcate a generation. (Apr. 27, 1933)

Jeune-Canada exploited public interest in its imbroglio with the Jews. Its announcement for the meeting of January 22 was headlined "Jews and Jeune-Canada" and proceeded, "Jewish propaganda sheets have denounced the antisemitism of Jeune-Canada. Whoever wishes to learn more about this question need only attend next Monday's rally at the Monument national. A vigorous explanation will be given there." (Devoir, Jan. 20, 1934)

One of the few distinctions between the obscene Arcand-Ménard and the distinguished Le Devoir was that the former "proudly" avowed themselves antisemitic, while the Bourassa-founded daily rejected the label.

Thuribe Belzile, vice-president of Jeune-Canada, stated in January 1934 that the Arpil 20 "rally was not antisemitic, for it is not antisemitism to demand

our rights to be masters in our own home. We have simply reproached some French Canadian politicians for taking the Jewish side in a question which is international in character, not Canadian, and one which certainly is not to be decided by the crowds avid for scandals and for insults. We have our views on this, and we will hold to them in spite of Israel's loud cries and the scheming manoeuvres of all the politicians." (Devoir, Jan. 30, 1934)

Les Jeune-Canada continued their attacks on the Jews for many months, and André Laurendeau was their spokesman to reply to Caiserman.

On January 29 and 30, 1934 he threatened in the Devoir,

"You have come into our midst, short sighted, and your hateful tactlessness, your audacity when you are strong and your pervading softness when you are weak will cost you dear some evil day. You should sense the exasperation which your heavy presence provokes everywhere and which ideologists and demagogues exploit endlessly.

"You may say that the provocative tone of this letter proves that you are right and that we irremediably stand in the ranks of the antisemites. But you do not realize that you are provoking us and that we are only defending ourselves....

"We reproach French-Canadians for their lack of economic solidarity. You benefit from this, and without any doubt you do not want us to be cured of it.

"We reproach those who govern us for the law that permits you to trade on Sundays. Does this make you angry? Do you forget that we are at home here and masters -- at least in appearance -- of our own laws and our destiny?

"We have attacked the senseless immigration that has brought useless mouths to Canada, strangers (you among them) who do not even try to become farmers here, fomenters of social revolution, who will not assimilate with any race, who become a state within a state by virtue of their religion, their interests and their traditions.

"We have stigmatized the cowardice of politicians who flatter you and make you more important than you deserve because you are a money power....

"We know that you cannot tolerate even in-offensive jokes at your expense. A history of mischief and of 'guerillas' has made you sensitive. We respect and we understand the great pain of your race, and we know what they have done to your nerves and to your skin.

"But, then, if blows tear so at you, why do you provoke them. Why these cunning attacks on those who wish you no evil; why arouse their hostility? Why transform a legitimate defence into a bellicose intervention?

"No, observe your mourning. Jeune-Canada are not antisemitic. They do not want to suppress the Jewish element. They only want it to be what it should be in all loyalty and justice."

When we look more closely at the young men of Les Jeune-Canada, the figure of Laurendeau stands out as being different. Capable as he was as spokesman of the extremists, a personal quality of reason and ethos often pulled him above these groups into moderation. Because he had found a moral as well as a political guide in Bourassa, the master's denunciation of the rabid young hurt him all the more at the centre. Later, when anti-semitism was translated for him in its effect on a child at play, he was capable of an easy reversal into friendship.

In his thesis on the Parti national social chrétien for Laval University (1958) Réal Caux noted that "After the condemnation of Maurras' Action française, French Catholics turned rather to the left; Emmanuel Meunier and Jacques Maritain developed the personalist doctrine which occupied the centre between revolution and status quo and rejected fascism and corporatism. This doctrine was adopted in Canada by such nationalists as André Laurendeau and François Hertel and the group of La Relève. They contributed to a more liberal view among the nationalists of the province and their sympathies were with the left. But the rather universalist nature of the nationalism which they taught was not conceived for political action. The Relève group refused to translate

its rather idealistic morality into a political programme valid for the province, and tended to withdraw into lofty spheres of speculation.

"The Devoir group, principally led by the editor at the time, and Action nationale succeeded Abbé Groulx and continued to express the old themes of decades ago. Even while they claimed to deny separatism and ultra-nationalism, they nevertheless remained rightist. To a point this included the Gouin group, a pot-pourri of varying groups of former liberals and of quasi-fascists." (Pp. 26-28)

Anatole Vanier wrote, "The political figures who joined the Jews in protesting Hitlerism had without any doubt acted contrary to the elementary rules of high policy and of prudent diplomacy. In all this they had not considered either the religious or the French Canadian aspect of this participation. Fortunately, French Canadian opinion was vindicated by the counter-protest of Jeune-Canada. Thanks to them our children will have less reason to be ashamed of the naiveté of their beloved parents whose lack of foresight will long be a heavy burden upon them -- such acts as our old policy of uncontrolled immigration, our unlimited participation in the war of 1914, our imprudent Jewish legislation and our subventions to specifically Jewish organizations." (Vanier, Pp. 21-22)

Not surprisingly, the Patriote in its first issue of May 4, 1933 took the same position, "M. Dandurand et le Jeune-Canada."

It may not be too far-fetched to relate the confrontation between Sen. Dandurand and Jeune-Canada to a conflict going on in French Canada regarding the stance of Université de Montréal.

An attack was under way at this time on this central institution for being too hospitable to Jews. Sections of the administration and members of the faculty were being criticized, even in the House of Commons in Ottawa.

Sen. Dandurand was prominent in the Université; indeed he was chosen president within the year.

When the newly convened Canadian Jewish Congress congratulated the senator on his election to the presidency of the Université de Montréal (Feb. 7, 1934) he noted in his acknowledgment, "The University is passing through difficult times, but it is my hope that its problems will be solved in order to ensure its full expansion." (Feb. 13)

His appearance on behalf of the Jews was a provocation to a faction within the university.

The stand of Jeune-Canada was supported by the Devoir. Senator Dandurand replied in an open letter to the press dated April 26 condemning Jeune-Canada as "not only devoid of all Christian charity, but, it must be said, of all human feeling.

"To choose this moment to overwhelm the unfortunate is to lack an elementary sense of the appropriate. To convene a meeting in order to protest the expression of sympathy for the oppressed is the cruelest act I have ever heard of. To raise now the problem of which the presence of the Jews and of other peoples who have come to us during the last quarter of a century in the form of a protest meeting is to take a fatal position in favour of the persecutors and against the persecuted. ("Sur l'assemblée de jeudi au Gesù; M. le sénateur Dandurand nous écrit," in Devoir, Apr. 25, 1933)

Sen. Dandurand did not have the last word.

Patriote came to strengthen the hand of Jeune-Canada, urging them to resist his arguments: some bishops overseas may have expressed their support of German Jews, but neither the pope overseas nor "any Quebec dignitary priest had rubbed shoulders with Jews as he did. We believe that our dignitaries can judge as well as anyone the proper attitude to take in such circumstances."

The senator could not in truth say that Hitler had been condemned by the conscience of the world, "for there are large numbers who have not condemned Hitler and will not condemn him." Canadian Jews are not really that much injured by the events in Germany; if they were, they would proceed to Palestine where they can have a state and declare war on Germany. Jeune-Canada is as much entitled to protest his appearance and those of Mayor Rinfret and of the Hon. Mercier as the senator had to protest the acts of the Germans.

Olivar Asselin was sorry to see the Jesuit fathers compromised in the political propaganda of Jeune-Canada.

The head of the government protested against the Jesuits' involvement in this political activity. Mgr. Gauthier had replied evasively to the premier: he would urge caution and prudence.

The prime minister spoke openly: "Those who give them shelter should not forget that they will be the first to disappear in case of revolution."

Basing himself on documents in the archives of the prime minister, Robert Rumilly asserts that the Jeune-Canada movement, which was established in the Jesuits' Salle Gésu and had enrolled activist elements in the Société St. Jean Baptiste and the Catholic Commercial Travellers Association, constituted a threat not only to the Jews, but to the social order.

This shameful 1933 incident was more than episodic or local.

The indifference of Quebec leaders to the worsening fate of human beings, of Jews, in the heart of Europe was a Canadian condition. It lasted, in effect, until the victims died, by the million.

The consequence of the alignment and polarization of these years was to firm up an opposition between this French Canadian nationalism and the free and socially advanced ideas then emerging in the Jewish community.

The nationalistic and patriotic groups had sparked the anti-Jewish sentiment all over Europe. This carried over into Quebec where the French Canadian group came to label itself nationalistic; here it led to xenophobia and antisemitism.

The Jewish community developed a suspicion of the Quebec movement. It became more nearly unanimous in its association with federalism and consequently with the majority anglophone element. Decades were to pass before some Jews came to see the value of French Canada and its traditions. In the meantime very few were able to summon much sympathy for the distinct aspirations of French Canada.

The cataclysmic events of 1933 and the experience in expression which these protest meetings across Canada represented for the community -- most complex in Montreal -- had quite far-reaching consequences.

Suddenly much that was uncertain and much that was blocked by circumstances and secondary considerations became clear in the light of events overseas and the Canadian reaction to them. Above all the need for some total structure that could act for the community, at least in relation to Naziism and antisemitism.

In Montreal the Baron de Hirsch Institute took the initiative and convened a score of organizations to form a committee, largely on the pattern of the West End Committee that functioned effectively in the school issue a decade earlier. But it proved inactive.

Down Town Montreal and Toronto attempted to organize along democratic lines, and it seemed as if Canada was to repeat the experience of 1915-19 with the first Canadian Jewish Congress and of 1925-31 with the school question. The alignments were forming.

The protest meetings were initially the result of the democratic efforts. But in the course of organizing them the west-end groups were brought in. The committees were expanded in numbers to bring in the wealthier element; in Montreal the organizing committee became the Committee of 25 and then the Committee of 41.

Quickly, surprisingly quickly, the Montreal committee formed by the Baron de Hirsch Institute agreed to merge with the Committee of 41, agreed to the permanency of the new body well beyond organizing the protest meetings. They agreed to a broad program of community needs, agreed to the name Congress, agreed to the personnel of officers and to the secretariat -- and

quickly the Canadian Jewish Congress was again in existence, a unified community formed out of the social atmosphere of the time.

Caiserman remembered the developments with deep feelings.

"Conditions in Quebec were different from those prevailing in the other sections of the Dominion. For a number of years the Canadian Jewish Committee had functioned in Montreal, engaged in work similar to that contemplated by the Congress. Negotiations were therefore necessary in order to effect an amalgamation. Both organizations met in conference with interest and goodwill. The happy result was a unanimous agreement which called for a conference of all Jewish organizations in Quebec and the Maritime provinces to ratify the agreement and thus form the Eastern division of the Congress.

"I shall always remember with emotion the magnificent conference in Montreal on October 22, 1933 at the conclusion of which Rabbi H. Abramovitz, Rabbi H. Stern of Montreal and others welcomed with blessings the amalgamation of both bodies."

Similar developments took place in Toronto. An Ontario conference was convened on the initiative of a preliminary conference.

"A number of communities of Ontario attended. However, not all sections of the community came to the conference.

"The recommendations of a preliminary conference were unanimously ratified, and the Central Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress came into existence. Committees were elected and activities commenced.

"It was this Congress committee that intervened so effectively to stop the Nazi manifestations in Toronto, and it was the Congress committee that took an active part in the German relief drive of Toronto which reached its objective of about \$15,000, distributed according to the formula suggested by the preliminary conference in Toronto.

"The Dominion Executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress was at last constituted, and therefore summoned

to its first meeting, which took place in Montreal November 12th, 1933.

"The meeting listened to reports of the three divisions, adopted the schedule of representation to the Congress, confirmed the method of election of delegates and approved a minimum budget.

"It also approved of a resolution on boycott, 'In view of the fact that all three divisions of the Canadian Jewish Congress are conducting a boycott against German goods, that the Executive Committee should co-ordinate the boycott movement throughout Canada.' It was also reported that campaigns to that date for German Jewish Relief had raised about \$15,000 in Montreal, \$15,000 in Toronto and \$5,000 in Ottawa.

"In addition, we dealt with a number of problems. We particularly concentrated to counteract the activities of the Nazis in Canada and combat manifestations of antisemitism in the Province of Quebec."

The proponents of the Congress idea had borne the concept for two decades. Now these idealists, including Simon Belkin, H.M. Caiserman, Michael Garber, L. Zuker, A.B. Bennett, and Moshe Dickstein were joined by Lyon Cohen, S.W. Jacobs, Rabbi H.J. Stern, M.J. Finkelstein and Peter Bercovitch.

The Bnai Brith and its Anti-Defamation League and the Canadian Jewish Committee jelled into the Congress. By the end of 1933 a manifesto calling for a Congress was agreed upon, and the revived Canadian Jewish Congress met in Toronto on January of 1934.

When the Congress convened H.M. Caiserman was able to report,

"The avalanche of race hatred, persecution and reaction which has swept over Germany last March with the slogan of annihilating the Jewish population of the Reich, had the immediate effect of arousing the indignation and protest of world Jewry and of democratic mankind. Canada, like other countries was also swept by a wave of condemnation and protest against Nazi barbarism.

"As early as March 1933 the western Canadian Committee already defined its scope:

- "1. To combat anti-Semitism
- "2. To collect relief funds for German Jewry
- "3. To organize Western Canadian Jewry
- "4. To organize a Western Canadian Conference
- "5. To organize an all Canadian Jewish Conference.

"On April 3rd most of the Canadian Jewish communities from coast to coast arranged impressive mass meetings which were attended by citizens of all creeds and addressed by the most distinguished religious, political and cultural leaders of the Dominion. Particularly impressive were the mass protest meetings which took place in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

"At this point it became evident that unless effective steps were taken to organize the Jews of Canada for immediate action Canadian Jewry would lose an historic opportunity of uniting for the defense of its interests as Jews and citizens here and abroad.

"The Montreal committee initiated preliminary conversations of a private nature in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg.

"The result of these conversations was an understanding that representatives should return to their committees with the recommendation that a preliminary conference be called to organize an all-Canadian Jewish organization. Conferences in Montreal and Toronto confirmed the recommendations of the conversations in Montreal, and a preliminary conference was summoned to convene in Toronto on June 10th and 11th, 1933.

"The Conference formulated its platform, decided upon the name of the organization, established rules of election of delegates to the Congress, decided upon campaigns for funds for the relief of German Jewish refugees, selected a provisional Congress committee, and charged it with the responsibility of organizing the Congress by convening of regional conferences in Western, Central and Eastern Canada.

"The first regional conference took place in Winnipeg in the month of July 1933. Every community in western Canada was represented. The conference lasted two days with no formalities, no preliminaries.

"A similar conference took place in Toronto. Quite a number of communities of Ontario attended. The recommendations of the preliminary Conference were unanimously ratified, and the Central Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress came into existence. Committees were elected and activities commenced.

"It was the Congress committee that intervened so effectively to stop the Nazi manifestations in Toronto, and it was the Congress that took an active part in the German relief drive of Toronto, which reached its objective of about \$15,000 distributed according to the formula suggested by the preliminary conference in Toronto.

"Conditions in the Eastern Division were different to those prevailing in the other sections of the Dominion, because for a number of years there had functioned in Montreal the Canadian Jewish Committee, engaged in work similar to that contemplated by the Congress. Negotiations were therefore necessary to effect an amalgamation. Both organizations selected committees which met in conference with interest and goodwill. The happy result was a signed agreement, which called for a conference of all Jewish organizations in Quebec and the Maritime provinces to ratify the agreement and thus to form the Eastern division of the Congress.

"I shall always remember with emotion the magnificent conference in Montreal on October 22, 1933, at the conclusion of which Rabbi H. Abramovitz, Rabbi Stern of Montreal and others welcomed with blessings the amalgamation of both bodies. A great deal of work was necessary to effect this all-Canadian unity.

"The Dominion Executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress was at last constituted, and therefore summoned to its first meeting, which took place in Montreal November 12th 1933.

"The meeting heard reports of the three divisions, adopted the schedule of representation to the Congress, confirmed the method of election of delegates, and approved a minimum budget.

"It also approved of a resolution on boycott, which read 'In view of the fact that all three divisions of the

Canadian Jewish Congress are conducting a boycott against German goods, the Executive Committee should co-ordinate the boycott movement throughout Canada.' It was also reported that campaigns to that date raised the following sums for German Jewish Relief: about \$15,000 in Montreal, \$15,000 in Toronto, and \$5,000 in Ottawa."

It had come back into life quickly by means of democratic elections across the country, in the course of which thousands of men and women, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, cast ballots for personal and organizational candidates who had campaigned politics-like.

In full awareness they moved from a plan for an ad hoc committee to deal with a particular problem in inter-group relations to the establishment of a permanent, far-ranging institution with all Judaism in its Canadian forms as its responsibility.

Suddenly many of the old objections and reservations fell into place, as the Congress aligned daringly to tackle the multifarious issues of Jewry, from Hitlerism, to jobs, to Palestine, to youth.

The leftist assimilationist philosophy which dismissed Jewish problems as illusory in a universe impelled by the theme of class struggle lost relevance in the Canadian Jewish drama the moment the community sentenced the Stalinists to Coventry. The socialist leftists were not enthusiastic about the Congress idea, but this was basically not for ideological reasons. Only in Hamilton did the Workmen's Circle refuse to affiliate for reasons of class. In point of fact the Jewish socialist movement in Canada in decades before and after the war was ideologically weak. It consisted largely of its periphery of Workmen's Circle with a barely existent core of Bund at the heart. But the Circle mass membership did not dismiss the current communal interests of Canadian Jewry and did not distance itself from any of its concerns.

Whatever barriers there were between them and Congress were largely organizational. There was a rivalry with the Jewish National Workers Alliance as they both competed for the souls of the Yiddish denizens of Down Town, largely on the controverted issue of Zionism, and it was difficult to ride to Congress on the coattails of the Poale Zion.

Even more important, the Workmen's Circle were branches of the American institution, and there the tradition of separateness from other Jewish groups was very strong; in fact, it was never resolved in the U.S., and even in Canada participation was at all times limited by a distant boundary. But in fact the Canadian movement cooperated with the Congress in an ever increasing measure.

The same organizational hampering force operated much more consistently in the case of the Bnai Brith. Here, too, the separatist American tradition was centrifugal in its effect. In addition, the I.O.B.B. had staked out a claim on responsibility for the protection of Jews from defamation. It was a laughable claim, but in the framework and conventions of the community game it sufficed in the argument against the Congress-not-yet-established. Tons of paper and much scarce energy was devoted over many years to develop a working relationship with the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Observant Jewry played no part at all in the new institutional structure of the community, the synagogues functioning largely as populist organizations paralleling the landsmanschafften. There was nothing remotely resembling the Agudath Israel in Canada during the first half of the century, and possibly not even since. If there were individuals of that conviction in the country, they were following its century-old, profound philosophy of ignoring modern organizations and organizations per se as the embodiment of anti-Judaism.

The crucial favorable fact of the Canadian condition was that the American Jewish Committee, unlike the Bnai Brith and the Workmen's Circle, did not consider Canada as a province in its territories, had no Canadian members and did not restrain any Canadians within its ideological orbit -- if there were any -- from cooperating in establishing the Canadian Jewish Congress.

During the forty years of growing resources, of increasing specialization and sophistication, the Congress and its burgeoning affiliates and agencies have, of course, developed greatly. But it can be stated that not one of its activities but has its clear reflection in the agenda and in the work of the Congress in its first few years.

We have the evaluation of a witness who applied the poets' test of truth. Jacob Isaac Segal looked at the "working papers of our Jewish Congress and felt there rises the vision of a new will in our community. It is Jewish history writing itself, haltingly, with difficulty, a chapter of Jewish burden, bearing the seeds of great historic significance. It seems too totally new, in its inner essence, to be appreciated and evaluated by those who shall be privileged to survive the bitter present we are called upon to experience as a people -- testing us to prove whether we are a people, whether we can meet an enemy the size of the world, whether we can revise our spiritual life which so often is petty and uninspiring.

"It is difficult to have faith in a natural therapy, in a natural resolution and revival. And then I see:

"In a corner, somewhere in cold Montreal, in the chambers (to use a term reminiscent of old Jewish, for the atmosphere bears an old Jewish simplicity) of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, a watch station has been set up where an earnest, responsible eye strains sharply in all the directions, where an ark become so insecure is carried on the wild currents of our own bloody age.

"Perhaps the people in all its members does not feel the profound dark fear which has enveloped us. Perhaps its inner ballast has not been swept away, and its security is anchored in the depths. Perhaps.

"But those who have been driven into the forefront of leadership -- however strong and fearless they

may be -- see what is before them and measure the power and the swing of the enemy who has descended upon the people. They require the certainty of the entire people.

Otherwise they could not take a pace. Otherwise they could not be responsible, the called upon, the first on the road of difficult deeds.

"In the corner of the Congress, a tireless honest hand is at work, the hand of a warm Jewish man, one of us who has grown in our exile lands, who has absorbed the joys and the agonies and the sufferings, the elevations and the darkling stumblings of the full life of scattered Jewry. We do have whole integral Jews whose faith does not bend or kneel before worldliness, for it is itself a world.

"One such responsibly true Jew is our H.M. Caiserman, the creator of the Congress. We witness his energetic, authoritative hand in constant motion. His office is an accumulated library of Jewish historic experience. No incident in the throbbing life of our day escapes him, no news report relative to our present condition on this quaking earth.

"It requires all his strong power, his iron nerves to follow every ugly torturer crawling from his lair to torment Jews with lies and with tongs.

"The Congress follows every step of the many Hamans who pullulate in our land like fungi after a rain. The blood-seeking hatred has not yet assumed here the forms it found elsewhere, but it seeks to entrap us here as well.

"It is fed by the great source whence toxic bitterness emanates to spread over the planet; in Quebec, indeed across Canada, it found soil that is not unpromising. The seeds are already planted. We must at all cost ensure they do not flower and spread. We must have a politico-economic self-defence. This is the function of Congress.

"It has the further function of recreating our respect for our own selves; it must save us from our indifference to ourselves. We are atomized and spiritually broken.

"This Congress is only at its beginnings. It has just been born. It still depends upon the abilities of those who should understand its role and serve it faithfully, but it is entering into the people."

The passion thus expressed by Canada's poet-not-yet-laureate was in the hearts of participants and organizers. Businessman-philosopher Archibald B. Bennett thus expressed it in a speech before the Congress in the months before war's outbreak,

"The Congress, as a democratic instrument of Jewish group purpose, touches the very nerve of the inwardness of Jewish life. In doing so it necessarily strengthens the vital lines of intercourse that connect the Jewish community here with the larger fellowship of Jews beyond our borders.

"Our group is red-blooded, alive. But its vitality derives from the living streams that course through the organism of historic Israel, that have sustained the Jewish people these thousands of years, and support them now in the hour of their direst adversity.

"The Jewish people are at the present going through a period of unparalleled anguish and degradation. The Jewries of Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and even Czechoslovakia are being hounded, persecuted, humiliated, starved. The Jews of Germany are being badgered, wrecked, pogromised, crushed. The cries of the victims, muffled and choked in the murky atmosphere of totalitarianism, are freezing the marrow of civilized mankind with their note of sheer terror, and their haunting appeal.

"We in this country are more happily situated. But there is hardly a moment that we do not feel the cold grip of horror on our souls. But we have also been touched, to a modest degree perhaps, by the courage and heroism with which they are bearing their fate. Their position is unbearable, but they are not crumbling under the strain. The spirit which held up the generations of their forebears in their martyred struggles is a kindle in their hearts, and impregnates them with the strength to carry on.

"We in this country, secure in the bounties of British democracy, are solemnly proud to be organically

identified with them in their opposition to the forces of darkness and evil.

"In Poland and Rumania Jewish citizens are clinging to their high traditions and superior standards of cultural values in the face of devastating odds. But the greatest portion of their energies is dissipated in the negative aspects of their lives, in the terrific battle against antisemitism, against economic strangulation, against the grinding pressure of a hostile society.

"The one place where Jewish energies and affirmative capacities are finding the greatest opportunities for self-realization is in Palestine. In Palestine the Jews have created a new culture, new concepts of social values. Jewish youth have made their pilgrimage to Palestine with an ideal in their hearts and a song on their lips. With the magic of their youth they have dried swamps and built cities. They have drained the very marrow of their bones and poured it into the arid soil. With the glow of their spirits they have melted rocks. With the light in their eyes they fashioned rainbows. The pioneers in Palestine laid bare to an awed world the very springs of Jewish vitality. The glamour of their achievements has raised the tone of Jewish life everywhere. They epitomize the tremendous spiritual reserve which is stored up in the Jewish group being."

The formation of the Canadian Jewish Congress thus, in a moment of grave crisis for Jews, for Judaism and for mankind, was a landmark in the history of the Canadian Jewish community.

But in facing its gargantuan task the Congress suffered from weakness that flowed out of its strength. The energy that Congress enjoyed derived from its legitimacy. The very mechanism of organization that brought the delegates together in Toronto, the free and universal franchise of the elections, made it one of the completely democratic and representative bodies in world Jewry. It was truly the people of the Jewish community of Canada. But this quality had a price. Every citizen had had his vote, but none need pay taxes or be mobilized for any further participation. As a result the Congress suffered from an absence of support and of funds.

Contributions to the considerable needs of Jewish causes come from the wealthy who are willing to

contribute. The financing of mass activities in the community constitutes a particular problem -- probably not one confined to the Jewish community. In the case of the Congress this money was not forthcoming, and the institution was forced to carry out its, at best nearly hopeless, mission under virtually impossible conditions, without elementary tools and without the known means of social action.

It was not only funds that were deficient in those days.

It was a new organization. The challenges it faced were unprecedented. It lacked machinery and means for the execution of its program; indeed, it was not certain that the means of carrying out its intentions existed anywhere. How does a community defend itself against so vast a conspiracy, domestic and foreign? How does one neutralize such poisons injected so long and nurtured so effectively by such powerful agencies of anti-education?

The techniques of countering libels, even of spotting the responsible spreaders of this hatred, of organizing the community, establishing the needed institutions, assembling the individual citizens with their talents and potentials, developing the means of presenting the Jewish positions before government or the public -- each of these elements was a major task, particularly for a new, inexperienced ethnic society under attack.

There was an ideological phase to this problem of community mobilization. Congress stemmed from a revolutionary philosophy of Jewish reality, deliberately pursued by its devotees and as deliberately rejected by many other sectors of Jewry. The divergence of views gravely influenced not only the organizational forms of Jewry at this vitally decisive moment in history, but no less the effectiveness of whatever Jewry might have been able to do in self-defence and in shaping its own fate.

Many of the guiding spirits of the Congress were rich in European social and historic experience, but were necessarily poor in Canadian traditions. It is all too seldom noted how successful they were in mobilizing so many of the Canadianized notables and in functioning as effectively as they did on the Canadian scene. But the fact remained that that Jewish society that was long rooted, steeped in Canadian administrative procedures,

with old contacts and techniques effective in this country, was not at home in the Congress of those early years and for long did not contribute to it. This appears most clearly in the results of a campaign the Congress sought to launch on behalf of German refugees.

They sorely missed the capacities and skills the community had shown a third of a century before, in the easier days of the 1903 school question, in the 1910 Plamondon case. Lyon Cohen and S.W. Jacobs, who straddled both crises, were frustrated by the graver battle fought with fewer weapons now, a quarter of a century later.

We have the memoirs of a Canadian reform rabbi who also worked with those reorganizing the Congress. In his Can Faith Survive? The Thoughts and Afterthoughts of an American Rabbi. (N.Y., McGraw-Hill. Pp. 272-73) Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath documents the attitudes of, and the

challenges, facing those less enthusiastic about some of the ideals dominant in the community:

"As the rabbi of Holy Blossom Congregation in Toronto, Canada, I had participated in initiating the Canadian Jewish Congress, an agency which brought together all facets of Canadian Jewry. It had been a difficult, fascinating, and immensely instructive experience -- one which anticipated some of the very issues which I was to face years later in the leadership of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

"Reform Judaism in Canada was, at the inception of the Canadian Jewish Congress, a minuscule movement, consisting of three congregations. Reform Jewish leadership was largely non-Zionist. In view of the passionate Zionist sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Canadian Jewry, there was real concern among the Reform Jewish delegates at the founding conference that we would be 'majorized' -- that is, that our conscientious dissent on the Zionist (or any other) issue would be brushed aside by the zeal of the majority. Although I could not deny the reality of this danger, I felt the pressing need for Jewish unity in those tragic days outweighed the risks.

"The opening session of the Congress seemed to confirm the fears of my laymen. A resolution was presented, putting the Canadian Jewish Congress on record in favor of the 'establishment of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.' This resolution was obviously an implementation of the classic Zionist theory that Jews throughout the world live in 'galut' (exile) and that only the reestablishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine would normalize Jewish life and eliminate the constant danger of antisemitism; that only in Zion could all Jews find and found their 'homeland.' My delegates and I rejected the implication that we were thus in exile or that there could be no future for Jews unless and until such an all-inclusive single homeland would be restored in Palestine.

"I proposed a simple-sounding amendment: substitution of 'a' for 'the homeland.' Pandemonium broke loose. I was booed and hissed as if I had revealed myself as a traitor to Israel. My amendment was scornfully brushed aside. Sadly, our delegation left the hall in protest against what we regarded as an abuse of minority

rights. The unpleasant incident, which threatened momentarily to disrupt the Congress, proved a blessing in disguise. The Congress leaders, realizing that a Canadian Jewish Congress without even a small minority could not presume to speak for a united Jewish community, called upon us to work out a procedure which would respect any dissenting view without at the same time stifling the will of the majority. Thus, it was agreed that any policy statement in the name of the Canadian Jewish Congress had to have the assent of all the constituent groups that comprised the Congress; should one agency dissent, its dissent had to be noted in any statement by the Congress. From that day to this, the Canadian Jewish Congress has legitimately represented every element of the Canadian Jewish community. Its accomplishments for Canadian Jewry, and for Canada itself, have been substantial.

"To those who argue that such unity is not applicable to the United States because of the comparative numerical insignificance of Canadian Jewry (which even today numbers only 254,000), let me state that such matters are never really determined on a quantitative basis. Jerusalem was destroyed because of the acrimony between the factions of its population which, in the main, shared the same ancestry and historic background. There can be discord among a handful and unity among a multitude. Are there truly differences as deep-rooted or as valid among the admittedly diverse segments of American Jewry as prevailed among the inhabitants of the thirteen original colonies of the United States? And yet, they did form the Union. And who among the leaders of these sacrosanct American Jewish organizations, who argue that their autonomy and integrity are so hallowed and inviolate that they cannot be subordinated to some form of unified deliberation, decision, and dedication to the common good of American and world Jewry, would dare compare our differences with those of the more than one hundred sovereign powers that constitute the United Nations?

"The corollary is likewise true: if we Jews, a mere fraction of a fraction of humankind, cannot find a formula where we can act in concert for our respective and common good, then how can we continue with any sincerity to pray in our synagogues that our supplication will be fulfilled: 'Oh, may all, created in Thine image, recognize that they are brethren, so that one in spirit and one in fellowship, they may be forever united before Thee.'

"Neither the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, nor the many other viable bodies of united Jewries infringe upon the voluntary character of Jewish life, its democratic temper, or the rights of individual conscience. Rather, each demonstrates that there is a Jewish community bound together by common needs and goals, capable of speaking with one voice when necessary." (See also B.G.Kayfetz, "Rabbi Maurice Nathan Eisendrath" in Canadian Jewish Archives, new series no.6. 1976, Pp. XIX-XXII)

We are able to overhear the discussion between two veterans of the classic Labor Zionist tradition in regard to the ideological purity of the Canadian experience in the fraternal 1938 correspondence between H.M.Caiserman of the Canadian Jewish Congress and Baruch Zuckerman of the World Jewish Congress, at this moment stationed in Warsaw.

Caiserman was the practical tactician, seeking to deal with the problems of Jewry through the instrumentality of the Canadian Jewish Congress, aware of Congress limitations and of the urgency of the community program that certainly required the cooperation of all sectors of Canadian Judaism. This had been sounded out quite clearly in the greetings of the Canadian delegation to the World Jewish Congress sessions.

Zuckerman was the consistent ideologist of the uncompromising democracy for which the Congress stood. During the months before the cosmic débacle Zuckerman was battling for a continuing Judaism in Poland. "We have various difficulties here, internally Jewish and externally non-Jewish. Sufficient unto the Wise.... When we shall have overcome them I shall be ready to accept the important duty of convincing the Canadian Jewish Congress that a united movement of the Canadian Congress and the American Congress and the Polish Congress, led by a far-sighted executive, can overcome the objections that you raise, and can bring about an internal democracy within Jewry which will mobilize the necessary considerable resources which world Jewry is certainly prepared to devote in order to keep alive the creative forces of eastern European Judaism.

"This is not a question of relief, not even of constructive relief.... That can be of concern only to nationally minded Jews, for whom Jewish survival is the

essence of their lives. It cannot concern those who at best have tepid sympathy for their co-religionists overseas.

"It is in this direction that iron logic leads us to the primacy of developing the inner resources of Jewish life.... I firmly believe that when we shall succeed in setting up the broad framework of the most important forces in Jewry, then the house of cards which the directocracy of our community has set up, based on the alms raised in the U.S., Canada, Britain and South Africa, will tumble down."

Caiserman replied while en route to Winnipeg,

"Our differences about the Joint do not arise from dissenting opinions but from an important fact which has no relationship with ideas. The fact is that the engineers of the World Congress have built it without a foundation, and will pay a dear price for this.

"I feel that only when the Congresses existing in the various countries will become true Congresses, each with the authority as the recognized moral representatives of their community, and recognized as such by the existing forces in their countries -- when the World Congress will speak for such Congresses, it will become the great Jewish authority able to conduct a consistent and effective Jewish policy.

"Such local Congresses can be set up brick by brick, stone by stone, through concrete achievements, with high ethical consistency. The people do not begin by endowing the Congress with the means of doing its work. The Congress must first demonstrate that it can achieve wonders by Chalutzic efforts, and must win authority first.

"You praise our Congress, but I fear its fragility. A number of wealthy Jews who are frightened by its growing influence seek to destroy it. Because of their place in the philanthropic institutions, they have considerable influence and they can paralyze the interests of other groups. No campaign in Montreal can take place unless it is led by them. We can bring changes about only with their cooperation -- very slowly. That is the condition in Canada and in the United States.

"I attended the Washington session of the American Jewish Congress and wept quietly. This was not American Jewry, but a fragment carrying the least weight of all the fragments. Can such a Congress convince American Jews, who are led by deliberate and powerful groups, to take the relief program out of the hands of the Joint and place it with such a force just coming into being?

"If the Canadian Congress were to attempt this today or in the near future it would cease to exist within twelve months.

"Before we could establish a Congress in Canada we had to have the Canadian Jewish Committee dissolve in the interests of Jewish unity. It took eight months of negotiations for this citadel of autocracy to suspend its activities and to second to us a number of its people, some of whom have become loyal Congress workers. But the leading members of this sector deeply regret having done so out of their sheer good will.

"One result of this effort has been to force the Zionist Organization to join the Congress.... The Jewish unions in Montreal are in the Congress, but not those of Toronto or of Winnipeg. In these two cities they have become enmeshed in the semi-Communist League against War and Fascism where they are only in the way. They would join the Congress, but the Congress leaders would not have them. The Bnai Brith have remained outside the Congress. All our efforts to bring them in have failed. The plutocrats cling to them, and they have decided to open new Anti-Defamation League offices in order to break the Congress....

"All the Jewish organizations in the eastern division of Congress (Quebec and the Maritime Provinces) contributed 3% of the \$10,000 which the Congress raised in 1937; 97% was donated by the 1,000 persons of all classes. But when 30 Jews of the wealthier class refused us \$2,500 this year, my staff and I received no salaries during the past six weeks, and we will have to wait ten more weeks, the date of our annual appeal.

"I ask you in all sincerity: is this the time to begin the battle of relief, or should we concentrate on the truly gigantic day-by-day struggle against Jew hatred?

"And who can help us in this? It is the American Jewish Committee which published some 30 most important books and pamphlets on racism and on anti-semitism. They sent me a treasure of materials without charge which enabled me to place them in libraries across Canada and with leaders of public opinion, so as to create a more tolerable atmosphere.

"I received similar materials from the Board of Deputies in London and from South Africa. I am the Canadian representative of the Foreign Information Office in Paris, a subsidiary of the Jewish Colonization Association, and receive excellent articles from them in English, French and German, written by the best, most prominent writers in France.

"Let me cite a better example. The Nazis have flooded Canada with a 32-page pamphlet, The Key to the Mystery. I immediately wrote to our World Congress asking them to prepare a reply to this shameless brochure, since we in Canada have neither the materials nor the people who can do so.

"The World Congress wrote that they are not able to prepare this. But the reply of the Hebrew Union College was -- an excellent work of 50 pages by Prof. S.S. Cohen, which appeared quickly...." (Mr. Caiserman was referring to Samuel S. Cohon. Why Do the Heathen Rage? Exposing the Deliberate Falsifications and Distortions of the Bible, Talmud and Other Sacred Jewish Literature. 47 p.)

"The same is true of our research work. We would need to pay tens of thousands of dollars for the tremendous work being done. But in the name of Jewish unity, we give only Chalutzic compensation....

"It will take us some years before the Congress will be able to embrace all Canadian Jewry, become its true spokesman and suppress the sabotage of the group of die-hard rich. It will remain what it is -- a good beginning, yet to become -- as long as in the United States the entire representative group in the American Jewish Committee, in the Bnai Brith, the Joint and the philanthropies and federations remain outside the Congress.

"I am convinced that it is those at the head of the American Jewish Congress, with a few exceptions, who are responsible for the non-cooperation of this influential sector of American Jewry; it is not the principles of which we are always speaking.

"Our movement could be the one to create realistic conditions for broader cooperation with the Congress. But our movement cannot spare the time and does not have the vivacious cadres who would incite the energy and dynamic to create such a cooperative atmosphere."

Yet the Canadian Congress worked mightily and with no less achievement than wealthier and older Jewish bodies elsewhere. An examination of its documents and of its reports is as impressive as those for any other period, and its efficiency consequently greater. The corpus of its documentation, of its statements, of its appeals, pamphlets and periodicals presents a valiant picture of effort.

It was a very weak Congress, with very few resources, a few enthusiasts facing tremendous problems in Canada and overseas, very difficult situations within the community -- situations which had prevented its continued existence after 1919 and which prevented the establishment of similar institutions in other communities.

Its tackling these problems and its very survival are a tribute to these men -- statesmen is not too large a term for these men working on a smaller arena -- the more so since the spiritual and social aspects in the lives of so many Jewish citizens converged on this institution became central. The sheer social process of forming and developing this extensive institution in Canadian Jewry is an important case of process. Its activities and relationships become the substance of Canadian history, and the problems of the organization become identical with the problems of the community.

During the 1930's the institution was composed largely of the founding group, mostly labor, with a number of treasured, articulate, members of the other society. These brought with them useful instruments and

techniques, but not the adhesion or support of the established class.

The financing of the Congress reflected this. There was, in effect, no budget for the Congress. Its expenditure for running this nation-wide institution during these depression years was but several thousand dollars a year, and much of its time, correspondence and effort were spent in raising these paltry sums.

At the end of 1936 Caiserman was forced to admit his inability to pay even for meager pamphlets sent him by the Jewish Central Information Bureau in Amsterdam. "During three years of existence of Congress we have not succeeded in raising the necessary funds for the normal maintenance of the organization. Our campaign for funds yielded \$6,500 in Montreal. From the western division not a cent reached us." (Letter, Dec. 7, 1936)

In a rare moment of discouragement Caiserman wrote to Louis Rosenberg in Regina about projects "still on my desk waiting for the solution of important financial problems of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Just at present we have no funds for wages for the staff, and securing the money for stamps is a daily problem.

"Many a time during the last few years have I felt like walking out of the office and forgetting that I ever had anything to do with it. But the nature of the work and the services which we are rendering in spite of our not having money when we need it, and the good resulting from our endeavours of which we have evidence every day, keeps me here." (Aug. 11, 1937)

This was the institution that took on the endless challenges posed to Canadian Jewry during a critical decade.

Engaged as he was in the international work of organizing Jewish congresses in various lands -- at this point in Poland -- Baruch Zukerman wrote to Caiserman, not a testimonial, but in friendly controversy,

"You are probably aware that the only Jewish Congress to comprehend all the Jews in a national community, is the Canadian Jewish Congress. Of all the existing Jewish congresses, yours is the most successful. I shall be able to cite many examples of your experience to

demonstrate to Polish Jewry how a united community, albeit a small one, fights successfully for its human and Jewish rights. It may serve for them as an indication of what a united group can accomplish." (Letter of Oct. 29, 1937)

It is difficult to name the areas of its concern, over and above organizing its own structure of representation, committees, conferences, communities, personal or foreign contacts, etc.

The major urgencies were the battle against antisemitism, countering German propaganda, seeking admission of refugees. But other problems were also studied: Jewish education, youth organization, archives, Jewish literature, farm settlement, limiting communist incursions, boycott of German products, demographic research, employment, etc.

In each of these issues the Congress naturally encountered many of the underlying difficulties to resolution which still exist even now, when so much greater resources are available to specialized agencies.

It was at this time that the plan was laid down for the research program in Canadian Jewish demography and sociology under the aegis of a committee headed by Saul Hayes.

To extend Jewish education to more children, a list was made of all children of school age and of what -- if any -- such education each of them is receiving. At this beginning it was found impossible to secure cooperation between the schools of religious coloration and the secular-oriented schools.

Martin Wolff and B.G.Sack were active in beginning the National Archives of Congress. Yiddish writers found in the new institution at least moral support and recognition of the validity of the poet's universe of values.

At the same time, workers suffering from prejudice even from Jewish employers, found concerned friends in the Congress as did workers threatened by Catholic unions; and uncertain youths confused vocationally as they entered a society in depression.

The Congress which was unable to pay its secretary her \$8 weekly salary resolved:

"To conduct registration of Jewish unemployed, according to profession or manual occupations, in every Jewish community in Canada. (Questionnaire and categories to be prepared.)

"The registration in the large Jewish communities, to be made gradually, each profession or occupation separately.

"In the smaller communities, one general registration.

"Employment offices of the Congress should be established in every community where such community employment offices do not exist. They will be asked to exhaust every connection to find employment, with stress on new occupational fields.

"The Jewish employers of labour in each community of Canada be asked again to increase their Jewish labour by 5% in their establishments; this special appeal was due chiefly to the propaganda of discrimination against us, particularly in the Province of Quebec.

"A registration to be opened in youth clubs for such who are willing to join agricultural cooperatives for intensive agriculture, each to invest a sum of \$300."

From the correspondence of the early Congress, at random, a letter from H.M. Caiserman to A.J. Freiman of Ottawa,

"You probably know that the firm R. has decided to move their plant to Sherbrooke, Que., thus putting three hundred Jewish families on the street.

"I understand that Rabbi Abramovitz has used his influence to persuade Mr. R. from taking such a step. I also understand that the Minister of Labour of the Province of Quebec has promised to recommend that the agreement between Mr. R. and the Sherbrooke municipality should not be confirmed.

"My purpose of writing to you is to give effect to a prayer of a large delegation of the shop, who asked me to intervene with you that you should appeal to Mr. R. not to proceed with his plan."

Reply from Freiman:

"I am dubious whether anything that I have to say regarding the removal of his business from Montreal would have any effect for, after all, it is a business policy which has to be decided by the man who owns and has charge of the plant.

"However, I shall be happy to comply with your request and forward an appeal. But I imagine it will be of little consequence."

Disputes between citizens and between institutions were settled by arbitration procedures established by Congress.

In Winnipeg a number of unemployed were established on the land in a semi-communal farm settlement and an endless number of other variegated activities were initiated.

But the major effort went into defence. The first occasion for defence was the existence of the Congress itself. It was a minor skirmish, but very revealing.

The Devoir read the appeal concerning the 1934 Congress and was aghast. It was shocked to find itself labeled antisemitic: the Toronto renewal convention was an unjustified, conspiratorial gathering. The veteran journalist, Omer Héroux, devoted more than a month of regular attacks on Jews based on this theme. (Jan. 5 - March 4, 1934)

Characteristically, the same front page of January 19 which advertised a special offprint of its "discoveries" about the Congress (at \$15 per 1,000) also carried an editorial by Héroux, "The House in Reverse."

"It is remarkable that it should be necessary to recommend French Canadians to encourage the merchants of their own language; the grocers, haberdashers next door, whom they meet in church, their natural associates in school and church organizations.

"In a normal mixed society customers are divided, generally, by language, manners and normal custom. Generally each group encourages its own people.

"We need but look about us to see that the house is upside down.

"The small French Canadian merchant is disappearing from entire sections of our largely French city in the face of the drive of the foreign merchant -- especially the Jewish trader.

"There are several causes for this reversal. One is that the French Canadian does not ordinarily follow the example of his non-French fellow citizens -- especially the Jews who habitually practise mutual economic aid, often without even thinking; and certainly no one would think of blaming them for it.

"To show French Canadians the value of such a practice -- no need to recall it to others since it is a part of their life -- implies no hostility to others. It is not like the boycott of Germany which the Jews preach, a kind of act of war. It is simply to reestablish the normal play of natural forces which have been falsified by exterior factors.

"Strangely, neither the English nor Canadians of Italian, Polish, German or other origin seem to have taken umbrage of this *achat chez nous* campaign. Apparently only the Jews are scandalized by it. Only they speak in this context of persecution and of race war.

"Have they ever ceased to help each other solidly and fraternally (for which we do not blame them)?

"If in a city three quarters Jewish a group of French Canadians that formed, say a tenth or a twelfth of the total population, required a portion of the trade and industry well beyond its numerical proportion -- would the Jewish population keep from indicating that these French Canadians occupy too much of the space?

"But our hypothesis is fantastic. We can scarcely imagine that the Jews would permit others to take a place logically their own -- for which we should admire and imitate them....

"This is the aim of a campaign which we have been conducting for some time, without hate and without animosity." (Stickers which illustrate this idea can be procured from the Devoir at \$4.00 per thousand; two-colour posters at \$7.25)

His only disputant was H.M.Caiserman; the debate of the deaf between the Rumanian Jew and the staff of the great Montreal daily went on for years, as Caiserman attempted to reply to every attack, innuendo and comment: on Jews changing their names, on Jewish immigration, on the achat chez nous, on Jews' corruption, on Jews' control of Quebec business and on their ownership of properties.

Rumilly notes that the Devoir attack on Caiserman coincided with their leadership in the Achat chez nous campaign and with their support of Jeune Canada in its war against a provincial "government sold to high finance, English, Jewish or American."

For days streamer headlines denounced the Congress organizers for crying emergency when there was none, denying that the newspapers -- or anyone else in sight for that matter -- constituted a threat to the Jews, zeroing in on H.M.Caiserman as instigating a Jewish mobilization against French Canada.

Their heart-breaking efforts to rescue one more Jew fleeing German torture can be realized only after particular examination.

Congress' futile efforts to secure legislation protective of the exposed Jewish minority have been recorded in Section 2.

On June 28 and on July 28, 1935 Caiserman wrote to the Devoir to reply to antisemitic statements by their Ottawa correspondent of June 25, to which J.A. Bernier responded; Caiserman replied on July 5, which evoked an answer from J. Foisy. The Patriote entered into the controversy (July 18) in reply to Caiserman's letter of July 3.

In the Devoir Clarence Hogue claimed that the boycott of Jews was "An Elementary Right," on July 13. Caiserman responded on July 24, to which the response by Hogue on July 27, 29 and 30 was entitled "Our Alleged Sophisms" and by Jean-Paul Robillard on July 27, as well as by F. Venne on July 29 ("Another Reply to Caiserman") and by J. Foisy on July 30.

Paul Poirier wrote satirically about the Jewish predominance in the economy of the province in the Devoir of July 9 ("He Is Right"), and J. Foisy attacked Caiserman in a letter ostensibly addressed to Mr. Hogue. J. Bourassa joined the critics of Caiserman on July 11 in another letter to the Devoir. On July 16 J.A. Bernier and F. Venne took pens in hand to attack Caiserman.

Caiserman's letters to Devoir on August 1 and 7 drew another reply from J. Foisy. Hogue wrote on August 10, "To Close a Debate."

In canine obligato, the Patriote dealt with the Caiserman letter of July 24 in its issue of August 8 ("Again the Jew Caiserman").

Similarly, Caiserman was alone again in protesting to the Montreal Star (Sept. 5, Oct. 18), the Gazette (Dec. 4, 1935), the Toronto Star (Nov. 7, 28), L'Italia (Oct. 23), Globe and Mail (Sept. 19, 1929) and Liberty (Sept. 20), because of the German propaganda in their columns. The English language press from coast to coast was as filled with praise of Hitler and of Germany as the French press, effectively drowning out the cries from the concentration camps already utilizing the ancient instruments of the inquisitorial chambers.

Quite aside from the questions thus discussed, what appears painfully clear is the isolation of the Jewish

protagonist; not another Jewish citizen to second Caiserman, no Canadian citizen of another faith to object to the antisemitism of the newspapers' editors.

Clearly, Caiserman was not equipped for the challenges, which only indicates that the Jewish community was not.

But this situation needs to be seen historically. Education came to be used, in the course of the years, in more refined and effective ways by Jewish defenders of democracy and of the citizen's right to survive in freedom and in equality. In brutal fact it was only the crushing defeat of Hitler on the bloodier fields of battle that led to the newer modes of reply to Hogue and Pelletier and the Patriote and Jeune Canada and the Société St. Jean Baptiste, not to speak of Ménard.

But in the 1930's this defeat had not yet come and was not yet certain, and Caiserman was alone in the fight against them, with whatever weapons of whatever effectiveness; a fight that at the time was not at all certain of victory for freedom and for life.

One phase of this condition emerges in the Jewish effort to boycott German trade -- the existential abhorrence of a thinking and emotive Canadian citizen at the very idea of strengthening, and even physically touching, anything polluted with the German Cain trade mark.

To some extent it was a spontaneous, reflexive action. A shopper in a store, about to pay for his purchase, naturally rejected it when he noticed the Made in Germany ticket as he realized that he was sending his Canadian money directly to a Germany that was torturing Jews and was arming for a war to extend its torture empire. But making this reaction more general, making it more effective by identifying these goods -- often labeled as Bavarian, or unlabeled, as coal, etc., or often as elements or parts as in fabrics, components, prescriptions -- required machinery.

General indifference to what was happening in Germany and to what was emanating thence to other lands, not least to Canada -- at best an inertia against any change in social practice, utilized by the institutions established to gain from continued unchanged function -- transferred to Nazism all the good will accruing to old Germany.

The attempt to boycott German products met up with this phenomenon.

There were grave difficulties. Some of them might be resolved by adequate and clear reference to pro-Nazi principle; but some of them lay deeper in the unmanageable machinery of economics.

Jewish merchants and professional men attempted a boycott of imports from Germany, but this could be successful only insofar as Jews were consumers of goods whose origin was clearly marked.

But in the modern economy, where the citizen is very often deprived of information or option in regard to what he consumes, or of persons, companies or even governments who stand behind each transaction -- or lurk behind it -- an act of will by a citizen or by a sub-society which numbers one in a hundred of the country's population can often be futile.

A case in point: the new Canadian Jewish Congress spent endless energies seeking to ensure that German imports into the country be marked as such. Even though legislation towards this end existed, they found themselves in a cat and mouse game with international traders and government. Some goods entered marked "imported," or "product of Bavaria." Other German goods were sold as components of other merchandise, such as German zippers on Canadian sweaters. And how could one identify German coal, nuts, salt, mining machinery and other merchandise which the public never sees?

Not to speak of the reluctance of the Canadian government and of a civil service motivated by any number of considerations, not always made public. Of the attitude of the government, what can be said? It was doing all it could to increase trade with Germany as well as with Italy and Japan no less than with other lands. Even on the eve of war it extended the Most Favoured Nation clause to these fascist countries, to come into effect on January 1, 1939.

It is easy to guess the measure of success to be expected from such a Canadian boycott after reading King's letter to Goering of July 29, 1937:

"I need hardly say how much the Government hopes that it may be possible increasingly to improve commercial relations between our two countries. With

this end in view, in keeping with my promise when in Berlin, I have asked the Honourable W.D.Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, whom you will remember having met in the summer of 1936, to send to you information regarding commodities in which an increased trade might prove mutually profitable." (King Papers, Pp. 201662-64)

Protests of such citizens as P.B.Hart of Montreal -- who feared, among other ills, forced dumping by starving sweat shop workers deprived of protection and of unions -- were ignored. (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, Nov. 25-30, 1938; Pp. 214,120-23).

It fell to the young Canadian Jewish Congress to attempt such action. Its effectiveness was not spectacular, particularly in seeking the support of its neighbours.

As J.J.Glass put it, "the fight against Hitlerism was not a purely Jewish question. Hitlerism represented a threat to all liberal and peaceful people throughout the civilized world. Since the Nazi regime is deaf to the protests of world public opinion, the only means of diminishing the danger of Hitlerite threat is through the economic boycott. It has therefore become necessary to extend as broadly as possible the scope of the boycott and to draw into it all groups and shades of opinion."

But Canadians, other than Jewish, were not interested. The exceptions were few and ineffective.

Toronto Mayor James Simpson reported that at its national conference in Halifax the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada had endorsed the boycott of all German products as a penalty for the Nazi treatment of trade unions and of Jews. The Trades and Labor Congress, in adopting this resolution, was fighting in the interests of the country's citizens.

The Toronto District Trades and Labor Council went on record supporting the trades congress decision and requesting an immediate investigation by the Federal Government on the Fascist-Nazi activities in this country.

Both Canadian friends of Germany and Canadians hostile to Jewish efforts regarded the boycott of Naziland malevolently.

Georges Pelletier of the Devoir opposed the Jewish effort to secure marking of origin upon imported goods. It is even more important to mark the real identity of those we are called upon to do business with every day. (Quoted in La Boussole, Feb. 4, 1939)

When the Congress committee pointed out that over 150,000 tons of German coal was being sold under the guise of the Welsh product, for the ultimate enrichment of the Nazi \$4-billion war chest, it was sharply criticized even by the friendly Le Canada.

This Montreal Liberal daily adopted the views of its reader François Monty as its own: "It is an effort to upset the diplomatic and commercial relations of Canada with Germany. It is an effort to identify the Jewish complaints against Germany with the Canadian people to whom these are completely strange. It is an attempt to hamper the commercial treaty which Canada has recently completed with Germany. All this represents neither more nor less than open interference of a state within a state, with all the dangerous consequences in the political and commercial life of the country which we alone will have to bear.

"This Jewish effort to bring their hates and their differences to this country is dangerous and blameworthy in every way."

To which Le Canada added its own thoughts,

"Have the Jews thought whether, in the final analysis it will not be they who will suffer from this weapon -- according to the example they set -- which is at the reach of any group which considers itself aggrieved?" (July 13, 1937)

The Congress replied the following day, "You somewhat misunderstand the true position of the boycott against Nazi Germany. The boycott is not only a Jewish activity. The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, during the last three years, adopted the boycott against Nazi Germany; so have most of the trades and labour councils from coast to coast.

"Persecution in Germany has not abated, it has extended to the most serious religious persecution of Catholics and Protestants and boycott against all in Germany who are non-Aryan or who are unenthusiastic supporters of Nazism.

"Literature distributed in the public schools of Germany is evidence of the greatest human degradation of Nazi authorities.

"The leaders of public opinion throughout the world have done everything that could be done to bring about a change in these conditions in Germany. This intervention and these appeals have been treated with brutal derision, as is evident from the German press on the addresses of Eugenie Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state in Paris.

"Brutality and persecution are the reply of Nazi Germany to the complaints that the 600,000 Jews in Germany have, in the four years of the Nazi rule, been reduced to about 350,000. In other words, Nazi Germany exterminates a minority which has been doing its share all the time, in peace and in war, for its fatherland. We are expected to fold our hands and remain indifferent to such a crime.

"Need I remind you, sir, of governmental protests of various countries against persecution. Such protests have been to no avail. The boycott of Nazi goods and services is the only effective argument that the Nazi persecutors will take seriously.

"We agree that boycott of anything or anybody is a most negative activity. But, unfortunately, the progressive forces have no other alternative. Moral intervention has been again and again dismissed.

"Nazism is not a danger only to Jews. We protested about this four years ago, predicting that the Catholics of the Reich and the Protestants of the Reich would also suffer. They feel the truth of this now.

"As for the persecutions of Catholics in Mexico and Russia, the Canadian Jewish Congress publicly condemned the persecution in Mexico, resolutions to that effect having been printed in the entire French press of the Province. Our disapproval of communism is also too well known for us to reiterate it."

A survey memorandum by the Congress puts it:

"Business men throughout Canada have since the beginning of the boycott against German goods and services displayed an undisguised antagonism to this movement. At no time has the press taken a friendly attitude to the efforts of the Canadian Jewish Congress in this direction.

"Moreover, the government of Canada, far from exhibiting any sympathy for the boycott, has religiously endeavoured to further trade with Germany.

"The boycott has been effective as far as the Jewish population of this country is concerned. This is indicated by statistics concerning imports from Germany by the so-called 'Jewish' industries. These industries include clothing, furs and textiles, and German imports by these industries have dropped spectacularly since 1933.

"There are, of course, exceptions to the above. Some Jewish importers have continued trading with Germany and refuse to discontinue this practice. On the whole, however, the efforts of the Congress to institute a rigid boycott in the Jewish community has met with considerable success.

"It is evident that the further boycott work must be done among the non-Jewish population, where the boycott has not taken hold to any appreciable extent.

"Here four important obstacles present themselves:

"1. The indifference or antagonism of the general public.

"2. The recent trade treaty with Germany.

"3. The unfriendly attitude of the press.

"4. The attitude of officials of the government.

"The recent incidents in Kitchener are revealing. At the Nazi German day held in Kitchener the Hon. Mr. Euler addressed a mass meeting and stated that the efforts of certain groups to institute a boycott against Germany were 'damnable.'

"Two other incidents indicate the extent and reasons for opposition to the boycott:

"The Kitchener City Council has just passed a resolution condemning the boycott.

"Secondly, an organization cooperating with us sent a letter concerning the importation of German coal to a coal company. The reply indicated that the company would not consider even discussing this question while the government is making every effort to encourage trade with Germany.

"As far as the non-Jewish population is concerned, another method must be employed.

"(a) Boycott work must be undertaken by labour and liberal organizations who are willing to do this work.

"(b) We must endeavour to have the marking laws amended. Because of the laxity of our marking laws, Jews as well as sympathetic non-Jews are unwittingly purchasing German merchandise. While it is deemed impossible to change the marking laws in their entirety, it is probable that a regulation can be passed requiring the marking of individual articles. It has been suggested that we endeavour to rectify the regulations concerning gloves, which do not require marking as to the country of their origin. More than \$500,000 in German gloves are imported to Canada annually, many of these are unknowingly sold by Jewish retailers.

"(c) We must educate the public to the reality that trade with Germany cannot be profitable -- as a result of Germany's juggling of foreign exchange and its sale of exports in the open market at a loss in order to secure foreign currency. Moreover, it must be emphasized that Canada buys more than twice as much as she sells to Germany.

"The most obvious anti-Nazi propaganda is that dealing with Germany's utilization of foreign exchange for her armament program.

"We are making efforts to expose the coal situation whereby German coal is being sold as Welsh coal. While there have been outright refusals of cooperation, a number of coal companies, including one of the largest in Toronto, have refused to handle German coal.

"We have checked on this through the Coal Handlers Union. It is estimated that 20,000 tons of German coal will not be purchased as a result of these efforts." (Minutes. Montreal Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress, Oct. 28, 1937)

The Congress summarized the problem in a letter to the British Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi Council (May 27, 1937),

"In Canada we are faced with four difficulties which greatly weaken the effectiveness of the boycott.

"Firstly, we have an ineffective Marking Law. We estimate that almost 50% of our imports enter the country without individual articles being marked with the country of origin.

"In cooperation with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Manufacturers Association, we have spared no efforts in trying to persuade our government to amend the present Marking Law. The problem is now being considered by the Department of Trade and Commerce.

"Secondly, it is illegal in Canada to publish the names of Boycott breakers.

"Thirdly, it is illegal to picket the business establishments of Boycott breakers.

"Our legal committee has tried to devise some method whereby we could, in effect, publish names or picket (as is done in England and the United States). But their efforts were unsuccessful. No matter how ingenious our methods, such procedure would lay us open to claims for damages. Only last year we were almost involved in a major law suit for publishing the name of a boycott breaker. We escaped complications by making a complete retraction of our statements, although they were true statements.

"Fourthly, there seems to be a complete lethargy in the general press regarding the Boycott. There was a time when the press would publish our boycott releases, but today they consider that the subject has lost its news value and publish very little on it."

The Congress wrote to the Joint Boycott Council in New York (Oct. 29, 1936),

"The position in Canada, with regard to boycott, is entirely different from that in the United States.

"For about two years we endeavoured to convince our Government to pass another marking Act so that all imports into Canada should be stamped with the country of origin.

"At a certain period during these negotiations we were even able to secure the cooperation of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Manufacturers Association. But all our efforts have proven fruitless and the new Minister of Commerce, Mr. Euler, has categorically refused to create legal barriers to the flow of commerce between the two countries.

"Long before the present negotiations between the 'two countries,' our intervention with the Government, asking them not to permit barter transactions, proved a complete failure, due to the fact that producers of Canadian goods who could not find markets were happy to exchange their products for German coal or other important items and the Government refused to interfere even when we had proved beyond doubt the dumping of German goods, to the detriment of Canadian industry.

"In theory the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada are cooperating with us in our boycott work against Germany, but to state that we have a strong boycott movement, sponsored by Jewish and non-Jewish people, would be a great exaggeration.

"The Canadian Jewish Congress and the Unity and Goodwill Association of Canada are conducting active propaganda from coast to coast in favour of the boycott, but I must report to you that all efforts to convince Gentile leaders to assume organizational responsibility have proven unsuccessful, although numerous attempts have been made.

"In order to give you a sample of our activities in this direction, we beg to enclose a report on the Olympic Games, which speaks for itself. Our most recent manifesto, 'A Challenge to Humanity', which was sent in thousands of copies all over the country, is also enclosed.

"We are doing boycott work daily by communicating with all who break the boycott and by exercising moral influence, because any other type of influence, which you may use in the United States, is against Canadian laws.

"In addition we are offering to the merchants and manufacturers all over the country the service of your Research Bureau and many people are taking advantage of this service."

At the same time another group of Canadians were promoting German imports. W. MacTaggart reported from Kitchener, Ont., in the Toronto Globe and Mail,

"The Deutsch Bund -- roughly translated, it means German League or Association -- is national in scope. It has chapters in many centres. Theoretically they exist under the rules and regulations of the national body.

"The Bund proclamation, outlining a four-year plan, opened:

"'In accordance with the proclamation of our leader, Adolph Hitler, as implemented by Major-General Hermann Goering, we hereby make public the four-year plan of the Deutsche Bund in Canada.'

"Under a heading, 'Plan for Acquiring Foreign Exchange,' it continued:

"'Every member of the Bund, when purchasing merchandise, is to ask for German goods at all times and in all places, and he is to influence all his acquaintances to do the same thing.

"'The greater the demand, the greater will be the increase of German goods to Canada. Foreign exchange will thereby be available to Germany and because, of orders placed in Germany, many Germans will again earn their daily bread and livelihood.

"'It is the duty of every German to take care that he is served with German goods when he is making purchases. If the demand is always for German goods at

every opportunity, the stores will find themselves compelled to submit to the wishes of their customers and buy in the German market.

"By these means we fight also the Jewish world conspiracy which has been aligned against everything that comes from the Fatherland." (Nov. 26, 1937)

A remarkable challenge to all who abhorred adding to Hitler's power was posed by the Olympics.

To go to Berlin in 1936, to parade and to compete under the banner of the swastika required an obtuseness not to be expected of a Jew or of a Canadian or -- for that matter -- of any civilized person.

The Olympics in Germany "were one of the biggest confidence tricks in history. Everything about it, from Hitler -- least sporting man on earth -- upwards, was an utter and total sham. Nazi Germany, host and winner of the games, represented the negation of the Olympic spirit in the crassest form conceivable." (London Jewish Chronicle, March 23, 1975, P. 41)

From the beginning it was clear that the jousting was between Adolf Hitler and Jessie Owens, and that the confrontation with the negro on the open arena was but a reflection of the Germans' violence then going on upon Jews in the less open dungeons.

The very concept of athletics as an expression of sportsmanship and idealism, taking place in Nazi Germany under the patronage and for the benefit of Hitler, was grotesque, and might have been expected to nullify itself by definition. Many Canadians felt so and voiced their opposition to having Canadian athletes demonstrate their skill on behalf of the Swastika.

This axiomatic position formulated by Jews -- why was it left to the Jews to formulate it? -- when put on paper read,

"Whereas Catholics, Jews, Masons and certain Protestants -- although they comprise more than one-third of Germany's population -- have not even a remote chance of training or competing on the German teams; and

"Whereas many Canadian contestants of the proscribed race or religion might incite the spectators to riot and rowdyism;

"Whereas the Reich has permitted and abetted unsportsmanlike indignities on many of its people and, therefore, similar indignities might be inflicted on Canadian contestants or spectators, and Canadians may be denied equality or fairness of treatment in the games held under the auspices of the German officials; Canadian sportsmen should not defile themselves by association with adherents of a government so intolerant.

"The Olympic Committee of Canada, true to the principles of the Olympiad as a great festival of international sport and goodwill, should therefore decline to participate in the Olympic Winter games in Germany."

The controversy about the Olympics, in Canada as elsewhere, indicated a profound pathology, moral and social.

The mumbo jumbo of this condition, the ravings of this high fever is fully conveyed in Rabbi Eisendrath's report on an interview with P.J. Mulqueen of Toronto.

"He was cordial and sympathetic, but diplomatically noncommittal. He assured me in strictest confidence that his personal sympathies were with our cause. But, as one of the leaders of the Canadian athletic group, he felt it necessary to refrain from giving definite expression to his opinions until the group itself meets in Halifax on November 21st. He intimated that because this meeting would be held at so remote a city as Halifax, there would be a very small representation and that his own feelings might be able to influence the body there.

"He revealed that the Canadian organization is in constant touch with the English organization, and Canada would be largely guided by British policy.

"Mr. Mulqueen expects to attend the decision meeting of the American Association on December 6, and that likewise will have its influence upon the Canadian organization.

"Canada's representation would be at best very small, and the difficulties of financing the Canadian team would be very great, due to the war conditions in Europe and the agitation which has already been quietly aroused. Most of the clergy with whom he has been in touch are 'bitter against Germany.' He furthermore admitted that public opinion would be an effective influence on the decision of the Halifax convention."

It would have been no very complex matter for Canada to absent itself from Partenkirchen. If the idealism of athletics was invoked it was only to prove that false gods were being worshipped in a decade and a universe of atheism.

The Jewish community addressed itself to the Amateur Athletic Union meeting in the relative obscurity of Halifax,

"We draw your attention to events that have caused us and millions of our Canadian fellow citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, grave alarm and distress, and we pray in the name of Olympic Ideals that you decline to permit Canadian teams to participate in the Olympiad, which will be held in Germany.

"The latest enactments in Germany, only a few days ago, have deprived our brethren of the right of citizenship, which is a definite denial of the public statements made by the German Olympic Committee, to the effect that the Jewish athletes shall be given the opportunity to represent Germany in the Olympic Games.

"Since citizenship is an essential requirement for representation of any country, and such citizenship is denied to Jewish athletes, how amazing then is this publicized statement by German olympic authorities that representation is given to all athletes, without discrimination?"

"The American Committee of Fair Play in Sports has convincing evidence that the German Reich has failed to keep her pledge not to exclude Jews from the German Teams; that she has broken other formal pledges given to the American Sports Representatives; that she has violated her pledge to observe the Olympic Code; that she has introduced race, religion and politics into the Olympics.

"The German Government has, besides, studiously discriminated against Catholics, Jews, liberals, Protestants, Masons and others, and the discrimination has assumed the cruel form of insults, ostracisms, pogroms and outrages beyond description; so that Canadian participants in the Olympic Games risk attack.

"We appeal that, true to the principles of the Olympiad as a great festival of international sport and goodwill, you decline to participate in the Winter Olympic Games to be held in Germany in 1936." (Nov. 18, 1935)

In Hamilton the District Trades and Labour Council addressed itself to the prime minister following a mass meeting convened for the purpose on March 18, 1936,

"The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, two of the world's greatest democratic institutions of learning whose athletes compete in all branches of sport, have expressed their disapproval of competing in sporting events held in Germany by declining to send representatives to Heidelberg, the third oldest university in Europe, and

"Officials of amateur athletic bodies in other countries have expressed their disapproval of sending athletes to compete in the Olympic Games in Germany because of that country's exercising a dictatorship of Fascism, curtailment of free speech, free press, suppressing the democratic rights and liberties of a free people.

"The dictatorship of Fascism as exemplified by Hitler and his officials in high command has destroyed and almost annihilated the trades union movement in Germany, thereby refusing the right of assembly to workers to protect their crafts and trades from exploitation. This group of citizens are of the opinion that Canadian athletes should refrain from taking any

further part in the Olympic games this year in Germany." (King Papers, Pp. 196068-69)

Of course, to no avail. Both private and government moneys were spent for the advancement of Germany as a centre of universal idealism, and the Canadian ensign flew as unprotesting witness to the German scandal of the Olympics.

A very warm personal letter to Dear Sam (W. Jacobs) was scribbled at the Continental Hotel in Berlin on August 3, 1936. He was scarcely imagining how his Jewish correspondent would feel as he read about a mutual friend -- "So far he has met Goering, Dr. Schacht, Hess, Von Feffer and one or two others, but not the Fuehrer. He is very ambitious to meet this gentleman. I have been making side trips and visiting plants and Saturday attended the opening of the Olympics. It was a wonderful show. I doubt if any other nation in the world could have organized it. This is the opinion of all whom I met. There were 125,000-150,000 at the Stadium at the opening on Saturday. There was not a single accident and when the performance finished at 7. o'clock the stands emptied with less fuss than you would see at the forum in Montreal after a hockey match." (Public Archives of Canada, Jacobs Papers, Pp. 3,417-18)

The moral obtuseness was not only of A.K. Cameron who wrote the letter, but of too large a section of the Canadian people.

Only occasionally was there a glimpse of the gehenna yawning below. Abbé Groulx by 1934 had sensed the brutality of such programs as the Achat chez nous and the thoughtless blaming of the problems of French Canada on the Jews, as he made abundantly clear in his address to the Association catholique des voyageurs de commerce at the Palestre nationale. (Orientations. Montreal, Editions du zodiaque, 1935. Pp. 220-39)

Canadian Jewry was justifiably concerned. It could see that the same propaganda that was creating so much havoc overseas, under the same auspices, was meeting with the same success in Canada.

ASSOCIATION

Harry Johnson was one Canadian who was deeply disturbed by these developments.

The patriarch of French-Canadian nationalism, who had founded the Jeune and Jeune and had only a few years ago been elected to the House of Commons, had been elected to the House of Commons in 1905 and had since then been a member of the House of Commons.

Mr. Johnson was a member of the House of Commons and had been elected to the House of Commons in 1905.

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Dear Sam (W), ... Continental Hotel in ... he was scarcely imagining how ... Dr. Schack, ... to meet this gentleman, ... it was ... to ... of ... There was not a ... finished ... that you ... hockey match."

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HENRI BOURASSA

Henri Bourassa was one Canadian who was deeply disturbed by these developments.

The patriarch of French-Canadian nationalism, who had founded the Devoir as one of the great institutions of Canada and had directed it for a quarter of a century, had gone far since his 1905 antisemitic outbursts which had been worthy of a Russian minister.

Oliver tells of it in his study of the nationalism of those decades,

"Henri Bourassa was the personal friend of many of the leading figures in the Action française group and he had contributed to their journal; but he was nevertheless the spokesman of a quite different viewpoint. His nationalism extended beyond the bounds drawn by the Abbé and his colleagues and it was based in part on different premises.

"Yet the similarities were sufficient for confusion and ill-feeling, more bitter when they arise between partial allies, to dog Bourassa's relations with L'Action française. The nationalists of the twenties borrowed the castor element in Bourassa's ideas; added to it ingredients which came from sources Bourassa had never admired; and then expected him to be as pleased with the new concoction as if he had brewed it himself."

Now his successor Georges Pelletier was filling the Devoir with antisemitism and with pro-German apologetics which will enter the annals of journalistic infamy.

An exchange of letters with S.W. Jacobs illustrates this:

On Jan. 17, 1934, Jacobs complained about an article in the Devoir,

"which is scurrilous, against Jews. It is entitled 'Quand Israël est roi', and I am prompted to write complaining of the publication of stuff of that kind, as it does not make for harmony, but on the contrary merely stirs up strife among our people and French-Canadians.

"You can understand that a Jew reading such an article would naturally come to the conclusion that it expresses the views of all French-Canadian citizens when, as a matter of fact, those of us who are on intimate terms with your people know that this is not so. No doubt your absence from the City is responsible for the appearance of the item, and I am sure that it is only necessary for you to make your staff know that it has given pain to people without being beneficial to anyone, that an end will be put to such journalism.

"In past days I had occasion to draw your attention to similar articles in the Devoir, and I am glad to say that for long periods nothing objectionable appeared. Your people and mine have worked together in this City for unity, politically and otherwise, for many decades now. I trust we have reached a basis of understanding satisfactory to all."

The days when Bourassa might have signed-- and brilliantly defended-- such an article were past. Now his reply was milder.

He still did not take the matter too seriously. But "you have every reason to believe that, if I had known of this article before its publication, I would have forbidden it. You know better than anyone else the feelings that move me in regard to your compatriots. I may have occasion of making them evident before long in regard to the school question, and I imagine that there

will then be good Jews who will find me too Jewish for their taste." (His reference was to his stand in regard to a separate Jewish school commission which he supported -- boldly opposing the men of the church, the denizens of the Goglu and the Jews of the Montefiore Club. See On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-31. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975. Canadian Jewish Archives, new series no. 3, Pp. 75, 86, 114, 122, 124.)

To return to Bourassa's reply to Jacobs, "As to the article, or rather the hurried sketch, it is a caricature, possibly of poor taste, but not more wicked than others of its type which have appeared in the Devoir at the expense of the French, and of the Irish and even of the French-Canadians. We must learn to read these things in the spirit that inspires them and react accordingly (et faire la mise au point). What surprises me is that you, who have so much intellect, should have taken this whim seriously.

"But I can understand this from one aspect: it is the extreme susceptibility of your compatriots, the result of the humiliations to which they have so long and so stupidly been subjected. This is what I have made clear to those of my colleagues who are impelled by temperament or by turn of wit to use and even to abuse irony and farce.

"I have observed the same susceptibility or something akin to it in the Irish, the French-Canadians, and even the Italians. These are psychological particularities we must learn to understand, and we must bear in mind in our relations between peoples. But as you know, there are very few people who know how to act thus.

"Come, my dear colleague, return to your good humour and do not attach too great an importance to this incident." (Public Archives of Canada. Jacobs Papers, Pp. 2202-3)

Early in 1934 Bourassa met with S.W. Jacobs, Caiserman, Marcus Sperber, H. Carl Goldenberg, Joseph

Cohen, Peter Bercovitch and S. Belkin. Jacobs pointed out to Bourassa that it is the small people that are affected first by antisemitism. The entire society becomes touched by it in due course. The Jewish community was concerned that the institutions of the country -- the French-Canadian church, government, press and bar -- had not spoken out in defence of the Jewish citizens.

Bourassa promised to bring the matter of antisemitism in Canada before the House. (Minutes of eastern division of Congress, Apr. 8, 1934).

He kept his promise faithfully. On March 30 he closed a wide-ranging address in the Commons, dealing with a variety of national issues, with a call for general cooperation,

"At this point, may I open a short parenthesis and deplore the wave of antisemitism now passing in the province of Quebec? Launched by a handful of irresponsible individuals, may it soon die out! It is so unchristian, so contrary to the best traditions of Quebec! -- the first part of the British Empire in which the Jews received, at the hands of a French-speaking and Catholic majority, twenty-six years ahead of England, the full recognition of their civil, political and religious liberties. Should any French-Canadian of sense and understanding be tempted to encourage that propaganda of hatred, let him remember that an attack upon any minority is a threat to all minorities. Jews are in the minority in Quebec, but Catholics and French-Canadians are in the minority in eight provinces out of nine. Beware of reactions."

In another speech before parliament, he noted, the Jew-devil myth that "was being carried on in Quebec for some weeks past. I have thought it my duty to show up -- I will not say the hypocrisy, for I do not like such words -- but the levity of mood of some people and the danger of fixed ideas. Some people have always before them Jews and Bolshevists, and every good that happens has been in spite of the Jews and the Bolshevists, and everything bad is their fault. I have no admiration for the Bolshevists; I

love the good Jews; I do not like the bad Jews any more than I do the bad Christians. But I do say that if we educate the people of Quebec in such disregard of facts.... the province will soon cease to be the vanguard of social order." (May 2, 1934)

In the spring of 1935 Bourassa delivered three lectures in which he reaffirmed the legitimacy of French-Canadian patriotism and restated the position he had classically formulated in the historic Discourse at Notre Dame. He condemned the neo-nationalism developed by Action française and accentuated by Jeune Canada.

During these years of distancing from his own people, Bourassa again chastised even as he taught, to paraphrase his biographer. He called upon them to reexamine their conscience, to reform themselves, to restore their Catholic character before setting forth to fight others, to fight other groups, other doctrines, other faiths. Bourassa's oratorical talents may have been enfeebled, but left beautiful remains. He could say anything to his audiences and still evoke respect, if not necessarily acceptance. His lectures were warmly applauded, but they did not arouse the mad enthusiasm of other days.

In his first lecture, Bourassa laid it down that "we have no right to endanger the principle of human fraternity in our efforts to safeguard race or language."

He recalled, "In all our battles we never took a position of being French-Canadians first, or only; or that our rights are sacred and that the rights of others do not count. We demanded the rights of all minorities, including those of the Jews."

In adverting to the rights of French-Canadians in Western Canada, we could claim these rights legitimately only by convincing our neighbours of the reality of such rights. But we can do so only by claiming such rights for all minorities, including those who live in Quebec." (Devoir report by P.S., May 1, 1935).

In each of these lectures, Bourassa repeated that he had always been an ultramontane Catholic. "This has protected me as moderate political nationalism collapsed into extreme nationalism and into racism. The conflict between universal Catholicism and doctrinaire nationalism led me to understand that a teaching so contrary to the evangelical law on the supernatural level can only be a dangerous expedient in politics and can lead to extravagant results which will lead the contemporary world to the abyss."

In the second of the lectures, delivered at the Palestre nationale, one of the great homes and fortresses of the French Canadian idea, he recalled his 1926 audience with the Pope.

"Since that hour, so decisive in my life, I have resolved for life or for death to do everything to combat the evil pointed out by the Pope, and to begin by reacting against everything in my words or earlier acts which had contributed to this evil. If I blame myself it is not for having gone beyond the teachings of the Holy Seat; it is for having hesitated to fight certain stubbornnesses, whether for reasons of person or circumstance." He warned the youth of his time not to follow "those who flatter your pride of race."

The last of the three, read on May 15, analyzed the new directions which rabid nationalism in French Canada had taken. As a case in point he took the Jewish community.

At the time a lengthy but still abbreviated report by Paul Sauriol appeared in Le Devoir of May 16, 1935. But a quarter of a century later André Laurendeau published Bourassa's full denunciation of antisemitism in Le Devoir of Jan. 29, 1960. ("Conflits des nationalismes religieux" ; Canadian Jewish Chronicle, May 24, 1935).

Bourassa went back to the case of the Hart elections. "Ezekiel Hart was elected Member by the mass of Catholic French-Canadians of Trois Rivières in 1807 against - I am using a term which had not as yet then become current but which did become common a few years later - against a Chouayen by the name of Thomas Coffin. He was a Jew. He did

not hide the fact. But he had another fault: he was an intimate friend of Governor Craig.

He had known Craig as a junior officer in the British Army; later he was to become governor.

"You know how Craig treated us, du haut en bas, beginning with Mgr. Plessis. A bizarre situation developed: Coffin petitioned the Legislative Assembly against the admission of Hart, who had received two-thirds of the votes cast, claiming that a Jew did not have the right to sit; the French majority had nothing against the Jew, but it was against the friend of Craig. It therefore used existing law to annul the election.

" French-Canadians reelected Hart the following year, in 1808. The same procedure, the same refusal

of admission; and there matters stood for the time being.

"Two or three years later his brother, Benjamin Hart - this at a time when they were readying for the War of 1812, that is in 1811 - Benjamin Hart applied for a commission in the Canadian militia. The same Coffin, colonel at Three Rivers, refused him admission, always because he was a Jew. Then Hart petitioned the governor.

"And do you know who were his god-fathers (parrains) before the Prevost government to establish the right of a Jew to serve in His Majesty's army? It was the grand-vicaire Noiseux and Judge Foucher, the ecclesiastical head and the civil head of the population of Trois Rivières. The same Colonel Coffin pressed his oppositions and matters remained so."

Bourassa referred to the analysis of Jewish emancipation in Lower Canada early in the nineteenth century by Judge S. Pagnuelo, the authoritative historian of religious liberty in Quebec. Pagnuelo had studied the extension of rights of various religious groups in the country, and had seen it as a long process in which Jewish, Catholic and other denominations fought together against the monopoly position of the Church of England. In a country with a plurality of faiths, it was natural for the Catholics to support other groups in order ultimately to ensure freedom for themselves and for all citizens. It so happened that the first to win royal assent to their claims for religious recognition were the Jews. (Etudes Historiques et Légales sur la Liberté Religieuse en Canada. Montreal, Beauchemin & Valois, 1872. 19,19,409 p.)

(Pagnuelo figures in another and parallel chapter of Canadian Jewish history. Just as Catholics, Jews, and some Protestants had had to assert their rights against the established Anglican

church, so the newcomer Jews of the 1880's had to struggle hard against the older synagogues in Montreal in order to set up congregations of their own. It was Judge Pagnuelo who shattered the half-century old legal restrictions and opened the way to the Bnai Jacob congregation and then to scores of others.)

Bourassa foresaw that he would be attacked as a Liberal who could not in honesty base his case on Pagnuelo, a conservative of the conservatives. But Bourassa pointed out that, aside from all ideology and theology, the early nineteenth-century Quebec French-Canadians had no alternative but to cooperate with the other non-Anglicans he defended.

Pagnuelo's view of the Jewish emancipation,

"You will object that this is Catholic liberalism. As a religious thesis, possibly. But in the hypothesis in which we found ourselves it was the only means by which the Catholics of the province of Quebec could free themselves from the domination which for sixty years they had attempted to impose upon them in the name of and in the interests of the Church of England.

"The attitude of the Legislature and of the population of Quebec was adopted after long reflection and with the explicit or tacit consent of all the bishops of the province.... The steps taken by the Church in Canada to recognize its liberty in common law, the only possible course under British rule; let us not forget it, the only possible course in a country where at first the basis of public law eliminated the Catholic church, to recognize only the Church of England."

This view of Pagnuelo, expressed

"in a work designed only to prove that the Catholic Church found its temporal and local

salvation in the pursuit of the freedoms of the common law - this work was not composed by a Catholic liberal; it is the work of one of the intransigents who were known as Beavers; and this work was highly recommended, in a manner unique in our history, first by a circular letter addressed by Mgr. Bourget to all the priests of the diocese - I assume no one will ever accuse Mgr. Bourget of liberal tendencies -, then recommended by the same saintly bishop in a mandement to all the chaires in his diocese, then supported by the letters-mandements of all the bishops in the province, and finally crowned by a special brief from Pius IX, who, I presume, will also not be burdened with charges of practising heresy."

Bourassa pointed out that, according to Pagnuelo, the Catholic Church in Canada has freed itself from the double domination of Gallicans and Anglicans by establishing the rule of common law. It was a dilemma: they had to recognize all minorities, or else; if exceptions were to be made, to recognize the supremacy of the Church of England. It would have been absurd in these circumstances to seek supremacy for the Catholic Church, and our ancestors were wise enough not to smash into a wall.

"So for fifty years the religious and civil authorities in the province agreed in seeking the liberty of the Catholic Church in the freedom of the common law recognized by the Catholic and French majority of our province for all other denominations."

"In this regard Confederation changes nothing. The province of Quebec has been constituted within confederation with its preexisting régime. Whatever change there was came not in the precise letter of the law. That Article 93, introduced at the last minute at the demand of the Quebec Protestants, was worth nothing. All the battles we fought and lost have proven this.

" But, from the point of view of the spirit of the law, what entered into Confederation was that the rights of the Catholic and French minorities in the eight English provinces are correlative with the rights of all the minorities in the province of Quebec - the Protestants, the Jews, and others.

"I refer to the broadest sense of the term rights. The purely legal rights are worthless in practice when we face the ill will of the majority. We must begin with the conquest of the intelligence and the conscience of the majority."

Bourassa said he chose to deal particularly with the Jews in the province and elsewhere because it is the minority against which most prejudices arise.

Bourassa told of French-Canadian interest in Jewish emancipation.

"The struggle on the religious level bore its fruit. French-Canadians came to understand the power they could exert in allying themselves and making friends out of all the civil and religious dissidents, of all citizens and of all groups who were not attached by all possible ecclesiastic, civil, and hierarchical bonds to English domination. And just as they recognized the full religious rights of the Jewish community, so the following year they voted an act, on the motion of Mr. Neilson, then the intimate friend of Papineau, the leader of the group that has come to be known as the Patriots of the Quebec District....Not simply the right to cemeteries, synagogues, not only the right to maintain registers of civil state like other minorities, but all civil rights whatsoever... No protest, neither; neither from ecclesiastical authorities or anyone else. No groups of self-styled patriots arose to state that persons living in Canada, who respected the law, and who paid their taxes should be treated differently from others just because they were Jews.

"This law was still reserved by the crown. It took another year for the crown to consider, and then, on June 5, 1832, it received royal sanction."

Bourassa points out that royal assent for rights of Jews and Methodists had been delayed. During this period,

"George III passed away. His successor, William IV, was much less aware of his prerogatives and of his duties as head of the Church of England. He assented to the two laws, and by a singular chance, it was the Jews' bill that was signed first, and the Methodists' second...."

"In all of North America, it was Maryland, the only Catholic state in the thirteen colonies, which legislated complete equality for all faiths, and Quebec, a century later, did as much for the Protestant minorities and the Jews."

He was sarcastic about the separatists. He hurt many in his society: "It is something of my function to say things which no one likes to say," in his own words.

He revealed the hypocrisy of the current campaign against Jewish Sabbath observers by pointing to Christians who desecrated the Sunday.

Bourassa's address on antisemitism and on Pagnuelo's theme -- which brought into focus the significance of Jewish emancipation for French Canada -- proved traumatic for a generation of Quebec nationalists.

It was an event to be suffered or assimilated -- the difficult problem each generation of youth always faces -- how to make peace with its differing elders whom it loves. French-Canadian antisemites spent years in studying the Canadian Jewish history of 1809 and 1832 to understand Ezekiel Hart and Papineau and the Lower Canada emancipation of the Jews.

Bourassa was repaid with many forms of vilification -- among them a historical revision of Papineau, the supporter of Jewish emancipation, the political moderate, grandfather of Bourassa, whom the twentieth century chief "de l'idée française" was constantly invoking.

The first issue of Fasciste Canadien, of June, 1935, formulated the antisemites' reaction to Bourassa.

"Having become an internationalist apostle of Jewish 'tolerance' ever since he has been friends with the Gardiners and the Woodsworths, he has repudiated his old 'nationalism'.

"Let us say at once, Bourassa has never been a nationalist; he has always been for the minorities whereas in this country there is only one minority. He is always repeating the rallying cry of the masonic lodges and of the synagogues, the cry of 'the rights of man'.

"Where was his discipline when he spoke in favour of a divorce law in the Commons after a joint warning of the Canadian bishops against the divorce; when he cried out in the Commons 'Those who condemn the CCF movement are wrong', after the condemnation of the CCF by the Archbishop of Montreal?

"In his older days Bourassa is seized by the same congenital illness that his grandfather, Louis Joseph Papineau, had suffered from.

"Papineau had exalted the Patriots and then let them hang high while he fled to the United States; Bourassa, having exalted other patriots, has deserted them to save himself in internationalism.

"Papineau, who died, excommunicated for refusing submission to his bishops, ended his career by fighting successfully to secure the emancipation of the Jews. His grandson, who lectures to the bishops, is finishing his career by slandering

his race and by excusing the Jews. It is the call of the blood!

"His lectures are in favour of the Jews securing special school legislation as an official minority, and for pillaging our share of the neutral school fund.

"Today he strikes treacherously, in his tremendous and incurable pride, those who 'made' him."

An editorial in Action nationale was characteristic. It captured the tone of bereavement, and yet horrified indignation, with which Bourassa's accusations were greeted:

"Several lectures which left regrettable associations were recently delivered in Montreal. It would be better to let them pass in silence, but that the reputation of the lecturer attaches an echo of scandal to them.... Mr. Bourassa must know several facts: firstly his large share of responsibility for the modest nationalist awakening that shocks him.

"There was a generation, our own, the generation in their thirties, forties and fifties, which was impassioned for him and for his ideas. He was a wonderful awakener. He was rarely fortunate to have been the voice of a nationality two or three times in crisis. In him we had our chief. Our people began to feel the law of redress. Between 1910 and 1920, when the past had so little sunshine, he enabled us to believe that in this sad world we could draw a fate other than perpetual misery.

"When his strange evolution began ten or fifteen years ago some consoled themselves with the conviction that he could never do mischief enough to efface the good he has done us. Do they still think so?

"For this evil that we feel in our soul and in our bodies we can only grant him Christian pardon and immense pity. May the young forgive us for the pessimism and pain we bear in our soul. The politicians will again grab their empire. The redress that has begun will cease. Our people will again continue their descent.

"He is much too intelligent not to appreciate that in our frightful world an ethnic group as weak as ours must constantly defend its soul, must have a perpetually restless and active patriotism -- in a word, a healthy, legitimate patriotism.

"He must also know very well that if Catholicism establishes an order of duties in the name of the priority of the spiritual, it does not command the neglect, and certainly not the contempt, of any of these duties.

"At the very moment when our people seek to rise to the surface, he considers it elegant to kick us back to the bottom of the abyss.

"He most certainly knows that never in all their history have his compatriots sunk so low morally, their defeatism had never conquered them. Yet it is this people without national pride that he is warning of extreme nationalism. He calls upon them to live their lives of pettiness, good sheep that are sheared without an outcry, who do not disturb the sleep of other people.

"To be the teacher of a generation one must know how to speak of hope and of the future, to offer clear thoughts, firm objectives, intoxicating and exalting, so that energies are coordinated. But the old chief has thrown his old teachings to the four winds without putting anything in their place. And this alleged teacher has given only generous doses of tranquillizers, of veronal, to this little people which is often seized by suicidal vertigo, which needs an infusion of stimulating strychnine. Mr. Bourassa would do best to leave us alone. If for no other reason that may impel him, at least out of respect for his past and for his white hair may he learn to be silent and to alter his speech. The good that he has done us does not give him the right to do us harm for ever. And it is no longer in his power to stop the sweep of a youth which has decided, in spite of all who toll the knell, to cry out its faith in life and its decision to live." (Vol. 5, May, 1935, p. 265).

The successor to Bourassa's Canadian greatness, André Laurendeau, later analyzed 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 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 antisemitism -- basically practised by persons who were not connected with the nationalist movement -- and the aggressiveness of the youngest members seemed to justify rigorous condemnation.

Laurendeau 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 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 practically 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 criticized on several grounds notably, his articles, lectures and private conversation -- 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 long time disciples were contrasted with the directives which Bourassa had continuously given before 1920: at that time, in spite of evident weaknesses for Canadianism, 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."

Of his Rome experience of 1926 Bourassa had written, "the best and most powerful lesson of my life" and "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 in contemporary nationalism," to quote from Laurendeau's recollections of his criticism of Bourassa.

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

"I recall it now as a painful memory. For deep inside I began to wonder whether we were right in speaking of Bourassa as a teacher.... Were we not mistaken in looking back and taking the thinking of Bourassa as that of Abbé Groulx?"

"Nevertheless there are the three lectures of 1935 at the Palestre Nationale. I had heard them. Bourassa addressed the young nationalists harshly and sarcastically. They hurt for a long time. He ascribed ideas to us we had never entertained, or placed them in such a light that we did not recognize them. He pronounced a public confession of his errors, and himself carried out an auto-da-fé over his own works...."

Laurendeau recalls the third of the lectures,

"At the beginning it deals with the relations between church and state, in doctrine and in Canadian history; Bourassa emphasizes the gallicanism from which we have suffered.

"But this was only a preface to his real subject: antisemitism. Here we read noble pages, explosive and justified, on the excesses, the failure of understanding, and the criminal foolishness of the systematic campaign conducted against the Jews.

"The pages have profoundly influenced French-Canadians; together with certain articles by Olivar Asselin they have kept 'Neo-nationalism' from embarking on this venture of furious folly. His indignation found expression in light mockery,

in tight irony and in sarcasm. Here Bourassa is dealing with life's realities; he plunges into it; he swims against the current. None of his other writings of this period have this vivacity, this felicity of expression. He closes with a fine plea for 'that sense of universality which extreme nationalism is destroying in all Christian lands, the sense of unity and authority in the Church and, finally, of charity.' So he forced the young people who claimed him as their own to reexamine their positions and contributed to purge the nationalism of his people.

"He was very hard. 'While they are flying fast, I call them to stop.' He believed he found among them a deviation from the national aim and from the religious purpose. He painted them as 'fomenters of race hatred and of civil and religious dissension.' I do not know how many schisms and heresies he detected at the root of our thinking.

"In short, we became his adversaries. And I could not doubt my ears. I was there. How did this happen?

"Much water has run under bridges since. We have known the disappointment of 1935-36, the debility of the pre-war years. Bourassa was heard from less frequently; we seemed to feel a near calm. Then the universal torment, the silence of the first months of war, the atmosphere of the moral ghetto which we all breathed together -- and the unforeseen rapprochement with Henri Bourassa. It came without explanations. We were together because we had ideas in common which we felt were threatened. We would never risk compromising this new reassuring and comforting unity for the pleasure of asking the questions which never ceased haunting us. Besides, activity was pressing us; deeds were more important than retrospection. Then came Bourassa's illness, his long silence, his death."

There are many levels of irony in this episode in Quebec hagiography. These harsh words came from André Laurendeau, a young appreciative but rebellious and tragically harsh pupil, who was himself a great Canadian thinker.

In his vigorous youth-- which coincided with Bourassa's middle age and with the older man's descent from nationalistic leadership and from the direction of the Devoir which he had founded -- Laurendeau was prime mover of Le Jeune Canada, as dangerous an antisemitic group as this country had ever seen. Laurendeau was the author-orator of Les Politiciens et les Juifs. It was Laurendeau who followed Georges Pelletier as director of Bourassa's Le Devoir. During the years of Hitler's growth to world power, it was they who spewed the hatred that Bourassa condemned.

In his Notre nationalisme Laurendeau rejected the antisemitic label and the negativism of Le Goglu, but he urged governmental regulation of the Jewish question and attacked the head of the Canadian Jewish Congress as an adroit humbug, thus belying his alleged distance from Le Goglu. (Notre nationalisme. Montreal, Tracts Jeune Canada, no. 5, 1935, Pp. 26-27, cited by Oliver, P, 183).

Came Laurendeau's turn, some years later, when he suddenly realized the meaning of his own words. According to his own fascinating confession, he learned better from a child, his own. What decades of controversial arguments and theoretical analyses had failed to accomplish became evident to him when a child brought the ugliness of racism into the Laurendeau dining room. The political editor and journalist became a different man.

But the mystery and the shame remain: the biographical record of great Quebecers is stained all too often with anti-Jewish activity. It is a blot upon the tradition and background of Canadian and upon more general classic western education. It is a profound challenge to the conscience of this nation and to its historic self-image and self-respect.

Bourassa's apostles would learn the lesson of 1926 only at the cost of a world war, of thousands of Canadian lives, of six million Jewish martyrdoms, of half a world destroyed. In the meantime, during Bourassa's last decades, there was substantially shattered communication with those he had raised and whom he loved.

With Bourassa's condemnation of anti-semitism and of the xenophobic nationalists, it would be tempting to categorize him into our liberal democratic groupings. But this would be to ignore the originality and frequent inconsistency of his political and humanistic thinking.

Bourassa remained close to continental rightist traditions which he felt close to Catholicism. His address at the Cercle universitaire on October 3, 1936, soon after his return from a trip to Europe, is both characteristic and startling.

He approved Italian aggression in Ethiopia, the scene of the greatest slave trade of our time, and he condemned the League sanctions against Italy; a possible cause of a World War if applied, and of universal derision if not applied. He told Mussolini that many supported him because the British and French empires hypocritically condemned the extension of the Italian empire, he said in his lecture.

Italian fascism is a product of generations imbued with Catholicism and has not lost the sense of universal human unity and of the community which ought to exist between all civilized peoples. Italy remains the cradle and the home of Catholic western European civilization.

The current world struggle is not between democracy and autocracy, for the Italian and German fascisms are a form of democracy. Their leaders are what they are because of the love and confidence of their people. They have come from the people and more truly represent public opinion than do the representatives of cliques in parliamentary countries. They are to be believed when they say they want peace; not one German in a hundred wants to reclaim Alsace or Lorraine.

But Hitler, he said, is preoccupied with making the Germans love Germany without considering whether other peoples will love or hate Germany. Unfortunately, Hitler, with his brutality and tactlessness, has been screaming so long that he is the sole bulwark against communism that no one can follow him. It could all have been avoided after the first World War if the advice of Pope Benoit XV had been followed. (Le Devoir, Oct. 9, 1938, p.6.).

There is something perverse in Bourassa's support of European racism as late as 1938. His voyage to the continent months before the war is reported in his Impressions d'Europe, Articles parue dans Le Devoir (July, 1938. 31 p.)

Bourassa was not the only Canadian to see Germany "objectively," that is, not to see the brutality of its antisemitism but only as a bulwark against Communism and as a victim of the western democracies. But Bourassa and Le Devoir were Catholic, and claimed to be moral institutions. Yet Bourassa was neutral between the Rome-Berlin axis and that which bound "our two motherlands," London-Paris. Indeed, the Fascist axis was formed into being, as he saw it, by the errors of London; Paris, even Léon Blum's Paris, he could praise for non-intervention during Franco's take-over in Spain. Hitler is justified in his anschluss of Austria, a long range blessing for the church and even a subtle good for France.

And so on, to the endless embarrassment of Canadians for many years to come.

In another sense, also, Bourassa is not completely guiltless in the tragedy of this parricide. In the search for recruits and for supporters from the very beginning he was flattered by the adhesion of young people who accepted only some of his teachings and who retained other ideas which Bourassa did not share. Even this teacher-philosopher "needed partisans and, far from disavowing them, he accepted those who came forward." He tolerated a measure of misunderstanding at the beginning, as he welcomed the cooperation of young people whose aims were not his. Bourassa did not deny this: "I needed lieutenants, partisans. And these were the only ones to come forward." (Rumilly. Henri Bourassa. P. 112)

Incidents in the 1942 wartime conscription story are revealing. Bourassa was the major speaker on Feb. 11 at the St. James market meeting organized by the League for the Defence of Canada, together with Jean Drapeau, Maxime Raymond and Dr. J.B. Vincent. Bourassa's speech was powerful and specifically urged that the movement should show no intolerance to Canadians of other races or faiths. He pleaded for a more intense Catholic faith and practice by French-Canadians in their search for national fulfillment.

Nevertheless, the meeting was followed by violence, and several weeks later another anti-conscription parade was violent, with Jews as their intended victims. (Israel Medres in Jewish Daily Eagle, Feb. 13, 1942; Israel Rabinovitch, March 21.)

Ménard published a special issue of Le Patriote (May 30, 1935) which consisted of one long article -- a point by point reply to Bourassa's lecture which, Ménard wrote, constituted an attack on the French-Canadian people.

He identified himself as the champion of his race and traditions, of Holy Russia, and the very Christian Mexico.

"The Jew becomes a revolutionary by his education in the synagogue and in school. The example of Russia, where he is master, proves it" --- a further reason why the Jews of Montreal should not have their own schools.

He proves this by citing the Devoir ("Jews Rule in Russia") and Jesuit Father Ledit who lectured in 1934 in Rome on the Soviet Atheists. Cardinal Villeveuve told the Anti-Communist Week at Montreal that there were no Russians in Lenin's cabinet; all were Jews. Similarly Ontario Abbé Brosseau issued a pamphlet "showing" that Otto Kahn, an American Jew, had helped to finance the Russian revolution.

Above all, Bourassa was not loyal to his own words, for in 1906 he had spoken of the Jews as vampires, as a people that was damaging to the public good, as the least desirable people that a country can have.

Ménard said that Bourassa's error was in defending the Jews, because "there is an abyss separating him from those who believe in the peril which Jews constitute in the midst of a Christian society. Bourassa does not wish to understand that Jews are trained to be diametrically opposed to the Christians." He does not follow the teachings of St. John of the gospels or the doctrine laid down by the Canadian theologian, Mgr. Louis Adolphe Paquet who, in his Droit publique de l'église, had described the Jews as marked with the stigmata of shame, the enemy of all other peoples, making a profession of usury, a virtue of deceit, a dogma of hate of Christians.

The privilege accorded to some Jewish Sabbath observers, the privilege of working on Sunday, had demoralized Sunday observance among Quebec Catholics. Bourassa, who was now defending the Jewish stand on this question, had in 1906 opposed any such privilege for Jews and had opposed making "a privileged class out of the least productive group a country could have, one that takes most and gives the least, the least desirable which a country could admit." Bourassa had then said that "Jews do not adapt themselves to the manners and customs of the country where they live. On the contrary, instead of contributing to the general good, they become vampires in the midst of the community. This is what experience has taught everywhere, and it is this that has brought explosions of unjust cruelty against this people, as many writers have noted and I have noted myself before this House when I quoted the opinion of Professor Goldwin Smith,

"These explosions are not due to religious or national antipathies, but to the feelings of organized societies who are not disposed to maintain within their midst a population which is harmful to public prosperity...."

"I am against affirming the principle that Canada is a Christian land and then exempting one class of the population from the application of this principle....

"By this bill we impose fines and legal obligations upon two million Catholics for acts which their conscience does not forbid. They are deprived of the liberty of doing what their conscience and the rules of their religion say are legitimate. We have no right thus to restrain the liberty of conscience of two million Catholics and then to create an exception for some Jews in Toronto and Montreal, in order to secure their vote."

Bourassa had changed as he had grown older and softer. Under the influence of Sam Jacobs the philosemitism and the liberalism of his grandfather, Papineau had reemerged in his blood. "Is it out of pride of not thinking like the masses of his countrymen? It is a new sin of which he is accusing himself implicitly."

Ménard stated that the Gallican movement within the church, old in Canada, was "a form of liberalism. Gallicanism sought to have nationalism dominate over religion, but the liberalism preached by Bourassa seeks to have the false principle of humanism dominate over religion and nationalism."

Bourassa insists that "only the rule of civil equality of all racial and religious groups is possible in Canada. The Catholic Church cannot admit this liberal thesis of the equality of religious worship, since the Catholic Church is in possession of the true teaching and that it alone ought to be recognized, to the exclusion of all others.

"Our ancestors, led by their clergy, fought to make this a Christian land. They fought for widest freedom for the Church because they believed that Catholicism was the highest form of Christianity.

"There is an abyss between fighting on the one hand for the greatest liberty for the Catholic Church and, on the other hand, recognizing the civil and legal equality of all Christian groups when they could do no other.

"There is another abyss, similarly, in placing a Christian religion and an anti-Christian idea on the same level. Our ancestors knew these dangerous abysses and took care not to fall into them."

Ménard accused Bourassa of misreading Pagnuelo whose La Liberté religieuse au Canada is one of the bases of his pro-Jewish theory: Pagnuelo was not a proponent of equal freedom for all denominations, and this ideal was not the objective of the French-Canadian thinkers of this time. He did not find in Pagnuelo any support for "equality of religions as a practical assurance of the religious freedom of Catholics. That is Bourassa's thesis, also the liberal thesis and therefore the Jewish thesis. They claim, thus, that obtaining religious freedom for their sect they have served Catholics."

To read Pagnuelo through Ménard's eyes: in the complex struggle of the early 19th century the French-Canadians fought first for the groups which were most oppressed by the law, for the dissident Protestants and for the Jews. The Anglicans needed no protection, being the recognized church; the Catholic church had its rights guaranteed by the articles of capitulation and by the peace treaty. The French-Canadians had expelled Ezekiel Hart as an aberration from their constant policy: foiled in seeking to expel judges from the assembly -- being frustrated -- they avenged themselves on Hart. We witness there possibly the only occasion of its type in our history, when the Canadians persecuted another faith, and the government became its indignant defender. But in 1827 the parties returned to their natural roles, and Catholics fought for the religious freedom of Jews and of dissidents and ended by securing these liberties for them in spite of the united effort of the crown and of the established church.

To be accurate, the dissidents were emancipated in 1830 by the act which permitted them to hold property by mort-main for worship and teaching.

Pagnuelo noted this as a historic development without approving the principle that Catholics ought to protect sects which teach error. The conduct of the Catholics of the time can be understood only in the light of their constant opposition to the government power. Religious liberty for Jews and dissidents in 1827 was considered a victory over the oligarchy which they freely identified with the Anglican church; this establishment was opposing religious liberty for Catholics as for dissidents and for Jews.

"Public law in Canada is based on the freedom of the Christian faiths (Judaism enjoying this liberty only by virtue of a special law)," Pagnuelo had written.

Ménard drew on his arsenal of calumnies: a Jew's oath is nullified by the Kol Nidrei prayer; Jewish schools are nests for bolshevism; Jews created the Russian revolution (if only on the evidence of Cardinal Villeneuve and Father Joseph Ledit, s.j.); Jewish criminals, Jews owners of the great trusts, killers of Christ, pornographers -- the pen tires of the uglinesses.

The deep searching attack also struck at Bourassa's family roots.

The expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the assembly came not because he was a friend of Governor Craig, but because, being a Jew, he could not take the requisite oath according to the Christian constitution, well founded as it was and enjoying as it did British support. Jews prefer to blame it on the Craig friendship and on the French-English conflict.

"Why all this solicitude for the Jews, who numbered only several hundred around 1831?" Even forty years later there were but 1,115 across Canada, .003% of the population. "It was the influence of Louis-Joseph Papineau and his radical and liberal ideas which won the Jews their religious liberty and

equality with the Catholics."

Indeed, as "Bourassa adds perfidiously: none of the so-called patriots protested or declared that some persons should be treated differently than others just because they were Jews.

"Evidently at that time no antisemitic group had yet been formed because the evil had not been defined. Eyes had not yet been opened. The consequences of the law were not seen, because the Jews were but a handful. Besides, Papineau, the great liberal,radical and therefore pro-Jewish, grandfather of Mr. Bourassa, one of the authors of the pro-Jewish measure, diverted public attention from the subject to centre it on the struggle against the English oligarchy."

As early as 1933 Ménard had taken 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 order 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 battlefield 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 villain was Papineau who "planted the seeds of liberalism in Canadian soil, inspired as he was more by Voltaire, the Encyclopaedists and by Lamennais, than by St. Thomas. There are the beginnings of a conflict which,

after periods of war and of scandalous sharpness, threatens to arise again more bitterly than ever against the very clergy and the institutions which belong to the people 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 and the troubles of 1837-38 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." (Aug. 31, 1933)

Ménard recalled that Papineau had not been laid to rest on ground hallowed by his church because he had been in revolt against religious authority. (May 30, 1935)

Bourassa had himself admitted that Papineau had been an ardent anti-clerical; he had lost his faith at the Séminaire de Québec, and later an apostate priest had cultivated his anti-clericalism.

The truth as Ménard pointed it out, was that it was not the séminaire influence that was responsible; he had been perverted by dangerous reading. The former priest whom Papineau had met often during his stay in Paris only confirmed the anti-clerical sentiments of a man already contaminated by reading pernicious authors. "We must also recall that his friend the Jew, Samuel Hart of Trois Rivières, like all the sons of the God-murdering race, could well undermine a faith already threatened."

Ménard would not go so far, he said, as to repeat what evil tongues were saying, that Bourassa was opposing the nationalists of his day in the hope of a senate seat and of running with the powerful of the day, but....

Ménard found support for his theses in the works of the influential churchman, historian and nationalist, Mgr. Louis-Adolphe Paquet, professor of theology at Laval, apostolic protonotary, Ménard's teacher and peer in vicious antisemitism who might also have served thus to Goebbels.

Paquet had written in his Droit publique. L'Action religieuse et la loi civile (Quebec, Laflamme & Proulx, 1915) that "while Catholic societies were assuring for themselves during the last century a stable position among the legal institutions of Canada, the Jews, those inveterate enemies of the name of Christian, were admitted to the enjoyment of all political and civil rights. Later the Orangists, another association hostile to Catholicism and imbued with the most odious fanaticism, petitioned the Canadian parliament for legal and corporate recognition. As for masonic societies, the law endows with legal existence all who are established under the authority of mandates from the Grand Lodge in the United Kingdom or Canada.

"It is doubtless regrettable that error enjoys in law the same favours and the same guarantees as the truth, and it is permitted in its daring to display and to raise its altar opposite ours." But

this tolerance is justified in the view of some scholars because it "is better to allow the different sects based on the principle of God the liberty of exhibiting themselves openly than to push them all back inside temples and thus to create an atmosphere in society which is charged with atheism. Atheism kills; belief in God, even impaired by schism and deformed by heresy, still retains in its depth certain germs of life...."

"Therefore, religious freedoms were guaranteed to Catholics by the treaties. They needed only to defend them without having to emancipate the Jews in order to secure these rights", wrote Ménard. "This equality of religions has mainly benefitted the Jews. It was to their advantage mainly that our parliamentarians opened the breach through which all other religious denominations passed through."

"And let us note, as Pagnuelo noted, that it required a special law to accord a religious status to Jews. Our constitution foresaw only Christian worship....."

"Our country is a Christian country, and anti-Christians or non-Christians can only enjoy laws of exemption. Jews should therefore be on the same level as Negroes or Chinese."

"Bourassa affirms in vain that Jews are a minority by virtue of the constitution. It is false. To bring a non-Christian minority into being is contrary to the spirit of the same constitution."

"Jews are not so recognized as such. To recognize them would be an immeasurable error. Furthermore, the Jewish spirit refusing to recognize Christian doctrine can only tend to destroy the Christian spirit so necessary for an understanding between groups."

Adverting to the Sunday question Ménard joyfully repeats the anti-Jewish statements of Chanoine Harbour, curé of the cathedral and editor of the authorized Semaine religieuse de Montréal.

He attacks Jewish businessmen by name --

among them A.J. Freiman of Ottawa - who succeeded in business.

Ménard's endless spreading of his "reading of world history" is beyond summarization; it includes a repetition of the ritual murder accusation and its reaffirmation in Quebec by Abbé Antonio Huot of the Association canadienne de la jeunesse catholique.

He cites a statement in the Devoir by German bishops approving the Hitlerite anti-Communist policy. This and the statement of Bishop Gfoellner helped him identify with Hitler, Catholic Communicant and Christian legislator. Ménard was confirmed in these views by Father Cyrille Labrecque, published with the approval of Cardinal Villeneuve in the official publication of the archdiocese, the Semaine religieuse de Québec and Action nationale.

Bourassa was disgusted with the trends in the nationalist movement in French Canada and with the moral failure of the Quebec church where he found it difficult to find his place. Indeed, he announced that he belonged to no religious organization.

In October 1937 he delivered a lecture on the rebellion of 1837 and on the role of his ancestor in that untimely uprising. Ménard devoted pages to attacks on Bourassa, recalling that Papineau had, "as some historians tell it, fled when the danger had become too great, leaving behind those who were to be hanged some time later for having followed him too docilely."

Similarly Ménard attacked Jean-François Pouliot, federal member for Mémiscouata, for an address he delivered at Ottawa 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 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 insure 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 November 1934, on the seventh centenary of the Decretals of Gregory IX and the 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 intervention 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 practise their wicked faith on the same basis as the Catholics."
(July 5, 1934)

The Quebec version of its own Protocols was the durable Ile de Salut, reprinted forty years later by Louis Even.

Paul Bouchard's anti-Jewish, separatist Nation took Bourassa as its target nearly as often and as viciously as the Jews it hated. Hamel also sullied Bourassa's name (with such epithets as "dupe of the Communists" on October 29, 1936)

This hatred was echoed by the Quebec City "Organ d'action nationale," Franc parleur, Journal de combat et de critique. A sample issue (Jan. 14, 1938) has a banner headline, "The Jewish Thieves" referring to an obscure criminal case before the courts. This leads into a full page of conclusions about boycotting "the enemies of our faith," about Dreyfus who betrayed France, about Jewish Communists menacing France through their control of Russia, etc.

One of the tentative essays of Canadian political thought of the age, infected with no little menace for Jews and for others, was corporatism in several denominations.

Significantly, in Quebec the social doctrine of the church, as formulated in the Rerum Novarum encyclical of 1891 and in Quadragesimo Anno of 1931 was interpreted in support of this teaching, while the Non abbiamo bisogno of 1931 and the Mit brennender Sorge of 1937, which criticised fascism and nazism, were much less popular.

"Abbé Groulx felt he was in harmony with the religious authorities in wishing for corporatism, for on May 30, 1959, he declared in an Allocution at Saint Hyacinthe that 'In accord with episcopal directions we dared dream, in the interests of our social entity, of a solid corporative structure.' There is no doubt that he was right, for the French Canadian clergy had experienced deeply the influence of L'Action française of Paris, and this myth of 'the national revolution' was not repugnant to them." (Gaboury. P. 147)

The Catholic religion was one of the elements in antisemitic bouillabaisse being concocted at the time -- the anglophone, Protestant-inspired social credit served out in Quebec in the mid-thirties. It was a poison teaching which was to threaten Canadian decency from coast to coast (as well as from Ottawa) in both Canadian languages for over a decade.

When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation suspended the antisemitic Father Charles Lamphier from its programs General Manager Gladstone Murray heard the protests of Lt.-Col. J.E.McFarland, D.S.O., of the Catholic Legionnaires of the Archdiocese of Toronto. (P.A.C., King Papers, Jan. 20-31, 1939, Pp. 231,129-31)

Gilles Bibeau relates the form of this 1936 propaganda pamphlet to Thomas More's Utopia, for its lesson in revolution via monetary reform, which tells what happened to a perfect society. (Les Bérets blancs, essai d'interprétation d'un mouvement québécois marginal. Montreal, Editions parti pris, 1976, Pp. 56, 74)

In this case it is five shipwrecked Canadians on a rich and happy island called Canada or Québec whose happy condition is destroyed with the arrival of Abraham Rabinovitch with his barrel of gold and his printing press. By introducing money into this contented society he soon acquired all the assets of the island, divided the people, and created political parties.

Happiness is restored when Rabinovitch and his barrel of gold (it turns out to contain only rocks) are thrown into the sea.

The propriety of this movement in Catholic terms was put in question, not in regard to its advancing antisemitic ideas, but: was it advancing a form of communism?

Father T.M.Lamarche of the Université de Montréal, condemned the movement. Prof. Lévesque of Laval disagreed. The bishops of the province appointed nine theologians to decide whether Social Credit teachings are contrary to papal encyclicals. The decision, dated November 1939, was clear: Social Credit per se does not appear to be tainted with socialism -- an absolution, incidentally, that did not meet with universal assent. Not only did the president of the Banque canadienne nationale differ, and the Canadian Bankers Association issue a counter-document. The Holy See had prepared a document on the question and the apostolic delegate wrote Cardinal Villeneuve of an important verbal message from "a very high personage of the Vatican."

This political and economic doctrine was promulgated with such a mixture of religious dedication, ceremony and ritual that Bibeau can ask of the 1941

provincial Social Credit Congress at Sherbrooke, "Are we dealing with the general assembly of a Marian movement or the convention of a political party?" (Pp. 77-79)

Cardinal Villeneuve found it necessary to intervene a few days after the Sherbrooke meeting, "I would have nothing to say if, once again, the at least partisan proceedings of the leaders of Social Credit in our province did not seem to imply that their movement is a religious crusade. They include in their programs a hymn to the Virgin, Our Lady of Canada, followed by the official dedication of the creditists to the Virgin, Queen of Order. Their use of holy water, following the directives I have issued on this, is an insolence to say no more, against which I must protest. I cannot permit simple people to remain under the impression that Social Credit is a brotherhood of the devout.... It is in vain they claim pontifical authority.... They must stop attempting to prove their theories by (religious) banners and consecrations if they wish to be taken seriously." (Action catholique, Nov. 7, 1941)

But all this was after 1939.

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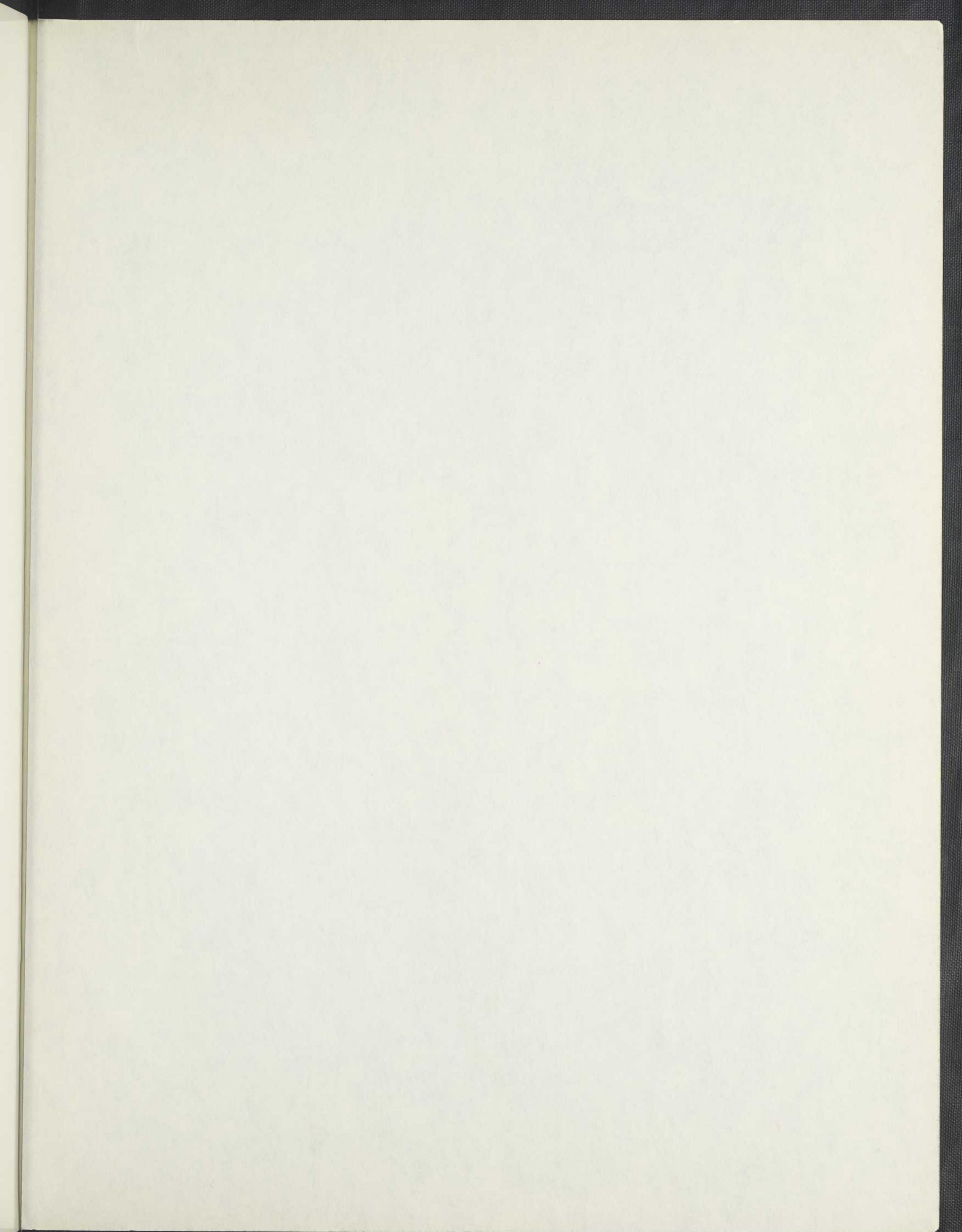
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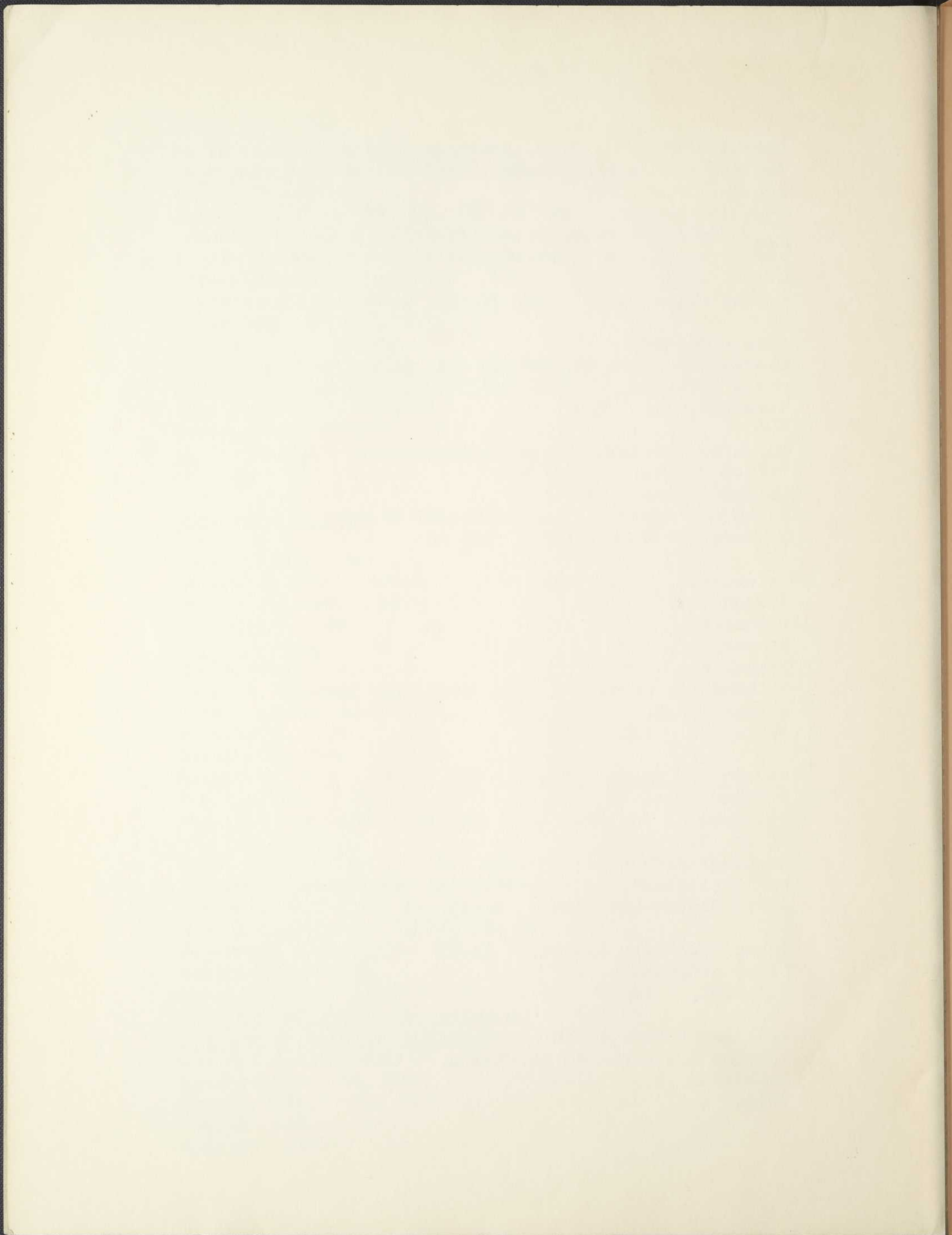
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