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FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R. Econ.S., F.S.S.

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

ANTI-SEMITISM VI

EARLY ANTI-SEMITISM: THE HOLY LAND; TARDIVEL

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

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MONTREAL CANADA
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NEW SERIES
Number thirty-four

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PALESTINE: LAND OF LOVE AND OF HATE

A strange thread runs through the history of Christianity in Canada: the awareness of the Holy Land as the cradle of its faith, of the role of the people to whom Christ was born in the flesh, and of the Jewish condition in the sacred land at successive moments in history.

Much of the Canadian literature on this theme is pietistic, often a retelling of the Gospel story centering on the sites connected with the Christ saga. Of course this includes at its core, in its constant version, the theme of the Jews as the torturers and the killers of the Son of God in His earthly form, and the consequences of this awareness upon the fate of the Jews and upon Christian repugnance against the Jews ever since this story has thus been perpetuated in Christian lore. This Canadian writing is an element of western literature.

We find in this Canadian literature some references to the conditions of pilgrim travel in Palestine under Moslem domination and to the difficult access to the sites related to Christian history. But these narratives take the Holy Land out of the geography of the globe and outside the physical land where real living people -- Arabs and Jews -- were residing. A few added paragraphs sometimes reveal bits of information, travellers' observations and reflections on the Arabs and on the Jews residing in the Holy Land. These perceptions were characteristic of the particular approaches towards the Holy Land for many centuries, both by Christians and Jews. It is interesting to trace the process whereby the land of three religions was brought down from theology into geography and into international politics during the last century. This is as true for the Jewish conception of the Holy Land as for the Christian.

It is a complex thread, common to many Canadian travellers -- anglophone and francophone, Catholic and Protestant -- impelled by considerations archaeological, theological and political. (D. Rome. The Early Jewish Presence in Canada, Montreal, Jewish Public Library, 1971. Pp. 93-99)

Franciscan Father Adrien M. Malo, historian of Catholic interests in the Holy Land, recalled in the mid 1950's that "serious obstacles of various types made it impossible for many people to realize their desire to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sites...Does this enterprise involve such great risks that it must needs be reserved for a few especially audacious persons? In the past this was generally true for Christians, especially in the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. But nowadays security has been greatly improved. Since the Moslems have indicated to Pope Pius IX their good will

towards Christians, the voyage to the Holy Land poses no real danger from the simple religious aspect...

"For men of religion the problem appears under another aspect: they require the consent of their superiors..." ("Notre pélerinage aux Lieux Saints," Nos Cours, vol. 9, no. 26. Apr. 22, 1950, in series on Ecriture sainte, Institut Pie XI, 1949-50)

THE PILGRIMS

As early as September 4, 1816 the Mercantile Journal published an article on "Jerusalem the Most Ancient City in the World."

The only issue of this weekly which has survived -- or that may have appeared -- from the press of George W. Wright on St. Genevieve St. in Quebec contains a remarkable description of a deserted lawless city which "resembles a cemetery in the midst of a desert."

The writer describes the Jewish, Christian and Arab inhabitants of the country with much keenness and with some familiarity with the ways of the Canadian Indians; even a measure of anthropological awareness.

"The houses of Jerusalem are heavy, square masses, built low, without chimneys or windows; flat terraces, and sometimes domes form the roof. Altogether they appear like prisons or sepulchres. The whole city resembles a cemetery in the midst of a desert.

"If you enter you find nothing to compensate you for the gloom of the exterior. You lose yourself in narrow crooked streets without pavement and full of abrupt declivities. You tread upon loose stones and are enveloped in clouds of dust; pieces of linen spread from the top of one house to another increase the darkness of this labyrinth, which is rendered still more dismal and disgusting by several markets exhaling a most pestilential odor. A few mean shops serve to indicate the poverty of the inhabitants -- and these are often shut, from an apprehension that the Cadi may pass by. Not an individual is to be seen in the streets or at the gates of the city; now and then a peasant is discovered stealing through the twilight and carefully concealing the fruits of his industry under his clothes, lest he should be plundered and maltreated by the soldiery...The only sound to be heard in this deicide city -- and that merely at distant intervals -- is the galloping of the Arabian horse, of which the rider is a janissary either bringing the head of a bedouin to his master, or setting out to pillage the Fellah.

"In the midst of this scene of desolation and ruin there are two distinct and independent classes of people who find in their religious faith resources which enable them to triumph over the array of misery and horror. You have before you, on one side a body of Christian monks whom neither the menaces of death, nor indignities, nor robberies of every description can drive from the tomb of the Saviour...

"While the Jerusalem is seen 'shining in the midst of the desert,' you may observe between Mount Zion and the temple another

spectacle of almost equal interest. It is that of the remnant of another people distinct from the rest of the inhabitants -- a people individually the objects of universal contempt -- who suffer the most wanton outrages without a murmur, who endure blows and wounds without a sigh and who, when the sacrifice of their life is demanded, unhesitatingly stretch out their neck to the sabre. If a member of this community thus cruelly proscribed and abused happens to die, his companion buries him clandestinely during the night, in the valley of Josaphet, within the purlieus of the temple of Solomon.

"Enter their habitation and you will find them in the most abject, squalid misery; and for the most part occupied in reading a mysterious book to their children, with whom again it becomes a manual for the instruction of the succeeding generation. What these wretched outlaws from the justice and the compassion of the rest of mankind did five thousand years ago they still do. Six times have they witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem and are not as yet discouraged: nothing can operate to divert them from Zion. We are surprised, no doubt, when we observe the Jews scattered over the face of the earth -- but to experience an astonishment much more vivid we have but to see them in Jerusalem. The legitimate masters of Judea should be seen as they are now in their own land -- slaves and strangers; they should be seen awaiting, under the most cruel and oppressive of all despotisms, a king who is to mark their deliverance. Near the temple -- of which there does not remain 'one stone upon another' they still continue to dwell; and with the cross as it were planted upon their heads, and bending them to the earth, still cling to their errors, and labor under the same deplorable infatuation. The Persians, the Greeks and the Romans have disappeared from the face of the earth; yet a small people, whose origin is inferior to that of these mighty nations, still survives amid the ruins of their country with no alteration of manners and no mixture of foreign blood.

"If there be anything among mankind which bears the stamp of a miracle, it is to be found here most certainly. What can be more marvellous or prodigious, even to the eye of a philosopher, than this approximation at the foot of Mount Calvary of the old and the new Jerusalem? They are deriving consolation from the aspect of that tomb from which all the miseries of the other appear to spring."

L. GINGRAS

Montreal's Imprimerie Louis Perreault reprinted La Terre-Sainte, ou Les Lieux célèbres dans l'Ecriture sainte by G. Labbé in 1841. (111 p.) The first edition had appeared in 1837 at Le Mans.

The volumes of Léon Gingras (1808-60), member of the Séminaire de Québec, L'Orient, ou Voyage en Egypte, en Arabie, en Terre Sainte, en Turquie et en Grece, issued in Quebec by Fréchette in 1847, are of special interest to readers of Canadian history, particularly significant in view of their date of publication.

The work in its general contents is a perfect example of the pietistic Catholic travel books of the century and of their orientation on the holy sites.

But this early traveller, like the anglophone reporter of the Mercantile Journal, noticed the population of the land more closely than most later pilgrims, was concerned with the political and security conditions and was much interested in its geo-political future. He did not accept the Muslim domination as either desirable or permanent; unlike his Quebec successors, we might note, after 1880.

The visiting priest at Good Friday mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had recourse to the Christian conception of the church as being married to Christ when he noted that "the church prays for all its members and even for its enemies; the Jews were not forgotten there. How beautiful it was to see this wife, affected by the death of her husband, pouring out her prayers at the very place of his sacrifice for the welfare of his barbarous murderers! Only Christianity can offer such a quality of charity. Jews in the crowd were witnesses of this; yet their hearts were still shut to grace! Golgotha, your work will always resound these frightful words, 'Let your blood always fall upon us and upon our children.'" (Pp. 203-4)

Gingras cites Chateaubriand, "The Valley of Josephat seems always to have served as a cemetery in Jerusalem. We see there monuments centuries old and others of modern times. Jews come here from the four quarters of the globe to die. A stranger sells them a bit of ground for its weight in gold to cover their bodies in their ancestors' fields."

The Canadian priest adds, "These unfortunate descendants of Absolom are not the only ones to enjoy this privilege; the Mohammedans share it with them. The former possess the eastern part; the latter the western part of the valley. This latter part is entirely covered with tombstones all the way to the Gilded Gates near where the Jews gather in large numbers on Fridays to weep over the evils

that have befallen their common fatherland; they pray tearfully, their foreheads against the wall of the city, for the return of their brothers to the land of their fathers, and for the return, with them, of glory and prosperity. Poor blind men! Why do they not rather tear off the coverings from their eyes which keep them from seeing the light of truth? Only the Gospel will discover for them the source of their misfortune." (Pp. 221-22)

"Jerusalem can expect nothing from trade any more than from industry because of its isolation in the midst of the rocks and mountains surrounding it for miles. So it is reduced to living on the charity of pilgrims who, fortunately, do not fail it; for they are many, and no one can count how much wealth they spend here each year.

"The Jews are not less generous to their brothers; the charity which they bring from all sides is believed to be more than abundant...

"The Jews inhabit the dirtiest quarters of the city adjoining the Dung Gate which is now the Mugrabi or Barbaresque Gate. They are generally foreigners. Most of them are wealthy and dress more cleanly and more elegantly than the rest of the population. Their education is quite good and they are not failing in knowledge. Nearly all speak Italian and Spanish. They respect work. They spend their time in speculation and in small industry from which they manage to gain their livelihood; which is why they are never among the beggars.

"Come to Judea to end their career, these sons of Jacob, here as elsewhere, bear the weight of affliction which has come to be their portion since so many centuries. Sadly, on the banks of Josephat 'they eat their bread in pain, and drink their water in terror'. Their ambition is to have a small corner of land in this valley where they can add their ashes sooner or later to those of their ancestors who rest there, in expectation of the day of final judgement. There are Jews in Jerusalem of astonishing longevity; there are several among them who are a hundred years old and even some past a hundred and twenty...

"The Muslims, intolerant by principle, used to crush the Christian population of Jerusalem by the very weight of their fanaticism. Their barbaric humiliation was constant. Every Mohammedan had the right to attack Christians or Jews in the streets or in their homes; they could even treat them inhumanely with immunity, and no redress was available. But, thank heaven, this state of affairs no longer exists since the coming of the French consul, le comte de Lantevy, who was able to establish security. This was appreciated not only by Catholics but by the entire world. Since that day Jerusalem became a European city." (Pp. 234-39)

Writing in terms remarkably prescient of the Zionist dream advanced exactly half a century later by Herzl, the Canadian Gingras noted that in the past Palestine had been prosperous and fertile. He concluded that the country was so poor and barren largely because freedom and protection were not provided its inhabitants by the Turkish authorities. "If Judea could only shake the yoke which is crushing it, it would today find vigorous and patient hands ready to exploit it and we would suddenly rediscover its vegetal life; its plains and its mountains, again replanted, would render rich and abundant harvests; the ancient roads would reopen and trade would renew its contacts with foreign lands. Become what it had once been, Judea would again soon reconquer the position whence the misfortunes of time had forced it to descend and would again supply the needs of millions of inhabitants.

"This fine rehabilitation programme is worthy of the present generation. It is not beyond its power. Accustomed as Europe is in succeeding in all its efforts, because its fortune is accustomed to its successes, it need only draw again upon its love for the land where our faith was born and to seek its liberation for the country to regain liberty and prosperity," he wrote from Jerusalem on his last day in the Holy Land, on March 24, 1845.

"Armed force, the ultima ratio of nations, is not the instrument to be applied for this humanitarian work; thanks to the progress of the ideas of universal benevolence of which our century is so proud, this mode of action is no longer necessary; the weapon of the word would suffice.

"All powerful as Europe is in the orient where the Turkish Porte sees authority weakening and escaping it, Europe need only claim the restitution of the country where its origins lay and where the tomb of its author stands for this demand to be quickly met. The Turkish government is too weak to defend itself against the destructive elements within its territory which are growing daily; it will be careful not to accelerate these developments and bring down its ruin the more speedily.

"Once in Christian hands, Judea will immediately be filled with innumerable strangers come from all sides, some drawn by the thought of settling there and the hope of participating in the regenerative movement there; others by the desire to shed a tear, as pilgrims, on the tomb of the Saviour. Jerusalem will shine in a new glory, as it did during the Crusades. Strong in the support of the princes who had restored it to life, it will not need to call upon them for protection against its enemies; it will be all glorious and happy because faith will have found there again its first empire."

The author was able to add a footnote to this program.

"In writing these lines I was far from believing that my plan for the colonization of the Holy Land would so soon be realized; which

proves at least that it is not as chimerical as one might be tempted to believe at first glance. Recent despatches from Europe report that there is discussion of organizing a large scale emigration to Judea which would be seized, not by armed force as in the times of the Crusades, but for money, by purchase from the present owners.

"This form of conquest possesses, as may be seen, something fine and great. Past centuries show nothing similar. But one part is regrettable in this zealous enterprise: it is that Catholics, at this moment it seems, have no active or passive part in it, and that they abandon all the glory to the Jews.

"Why this apathy on their part? Children of the Faith, do they not have, as much as anyone, Judea as their fatherland? By letting the descendants of Israel be ahead of them they have committed an error whose shame will always haunt them. Guilty of indifference towards the tomb of their saviour, they should hasten to prevent it from falling again into the hands of the impious; for what outrages may it not be exposed to once it is in their hands?

"It is a duty that gratitude to the author of the Faith imposes upon them. They should meet this obligation as promptly, as they will meet it generously." (Pp. 252-55)

The priest had added his postscript because at this period the idea of establishing a Jewish state, or at least an autonomous Jewish settlement under supreme Ottoman control, became a subject for serious discussion, as Encyclopaedia Judaica records. The idea of a Jewish buffer between Egypt and Turkey gained supporters during the conflict between the two powers. A detailed plan for Jewish settlement was advanced at that time by Abraham Benisch, a Bohemian Jew who became editor of the London Jewish Chronicle. Similar plans, though less detailed, were offered at the time on the European continent. The idea was supported by English notables such as Col. Charles Henry Churchill, Col. George Gawler, Laurence Oliphant and others.

This broad concern with the Holy Land, its realistic present and its possible future was not always to be held by Catholic Canadian travellers. Yet we can compare it fairly with the proposal of the Protestant minister Beaumont, Judea for the Jews under a Joint Protectorate of the Great Powers of Europe (Toronto, Rowlandson, 1876. 11 p.; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32), with the energetic efforts of Henry Wentworth Monk and with the author of Quel sera le dernier possesseur de la Terre Sainte? issued the same year.

Jean Ouellette reports on another Canadian priest, Abbé Noel-Laurent Amiot who left Canada in December 1844 but died in Vienna in October 1845 on his voyage back to his native land. His report of his voyage has remained unpublished. (Ouellette. "La Palestine au XIX^{e} siècle vue par un voyageur de Québec," in the

Bulletin du Centre de recherches en civilisation canadienne-française de l'Université d'Ottawa. no.19, Dec. 1979. Pp. 15-21)

From the same period, before the ultramontane sweep of the 1880s, the Canada-Palestine library also lists H. Lacroix. Excursion to the Holy Land of Thought (1867).

There also survives J. Bell Forsyth's A Few Months in the East; or A Glimpse of the Red, the Dead and the Black Seas, by a Canadian (Quebec, Lovell, 1861. 181 p.) The volume is dedicated to Bishop G.J. Mountain, Anglican Bishop of Quebec. A lithograph of Jerusalem in colour which appears as a frontispiece of the book was prepared by Montrealer Mr. Little.

Forsythe, a resident of Quebec records, "We visited the Jews' Place of Wailing, where they are permitted to come, every Friday, and mourn over the foundations of the Temple. The place, where they meet for this purpose, is on the external side, where there are exposed to view five courses of immense stones, each about twenty feet in length. These so exactly resemble the tiers of stone in the walls of Abraham's tomb at Hebron, that there can be no doubt of their great antiquity; and, in fact, the tomb of the patriarch was re-constructed, or inclosed, by Solomon. The Temple itself was razed to the ground, but part of the foundations still remain; and to this spot, where these are visible, the Jews flock to weep and wail over their lost temple and departed glory, kissing the stones and reciting from the Old Testament. Here they read the Penitential Psalms and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, presenting a vivid picture of their abject and degraded condition.

"The Jews resident in the Holy City do not exceed six thousand in number; they are mostly of Spanish origin, and very poor. Their ancestors were driven out of Spain by the short-sighted policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, towards the close of the fifteenth century; and their descendants still speak a kind of corrupt Spanish, and with the exception of a few, they are in a miserable condition. The five chapters of the Lamentations of Jeremiah present a true, though sad, picture of the present state of Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants. The very opening of the book is thrillingly accurate:- 'How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks.' -- And again: 'Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude: she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits.'

"'It is a touching scene' (says the writer in Murray's Handbook, in eloquent terms,) 'which presents itself to the stranger

every Friday, on this retired spot, the Place of Wailing; Jews of both sexes, of all ages, and from every quarter of the earth, raise up a united cry of lamentation over a desolated and dishonoured sanctuary. Old men may be seen tottering up to these massive stones, kissing them with fond rapture, burying their faces in the joints and cavities, while tears stream down their cheeks, and accents of deepest sorrow burst from their trembling lips!'

"During my brief sojourn in Jerusalem, I was fortunate enough to be admitted to their principal Synagogue, on the Day of Atonement. A large number of wealthy Jews, from all parts of the world, were present; for it is a prevalent custom, among the scattered race, to visit the Holy City at this season. We were surprised at seeing so many of these zealous Israelites clad in gorgeous garments, and were forcibly reminded of the beautiful painting (by Holman Hunt) of 'Finding Our Lord in the Temple,' in which the dresses of the rabbis and the attendants are represented as very rich and brilliant.

"When we entered, we could not find seats; but one of our party, Mr. Brown, of St. Louis in the United States, a very good linguist, was recognised by a Spanish rabbi, who happened to be expounding the Scriptures at the time. Mr. Brown had crossed from Marseilles to Alexandria in the company with this same rabbi, and had made his acquaintance. When he perceived that we could find no seats, he paused in his discourse, and said a few words to another person, who was with him in the reading-desk or raised dais, in the middle of the building; and we were invited to take our seats alongside of them, one of our number being a minister of the Gospel. Few Christians, probably, have ever been so favored in a synagogue; for the Jews are jealous and intolerant in such respects, and the eyes of many seemed to look upon us as unduly privileged. We remained, with out hats on, for an hour and a half; and during this time we witnessed the very interesting ceremony of the elevation of the Law. The parchments are carried round, and the people touch the fringe, kissing their fingers afterwards.

"No women were in the building -- they remain outside at the windows; and it would appear that, in matters spiritual at least, they are regarded or treated as inferior to the male sex: I have, since my return, been informed by way of explanation, that the ark, in which the Pentateuch is deposited, is considered as a Holy Place, and can only be approached by the male line of the priestly family of Aaron; that on the Day of Atonement (on which anniversary I was present), on the Festival of the New Year, and some other stated occasions, the Parchments are carried round, the Priest repeating, 'This is the Law of Moses,' and blessing the people in the words which are directed to be used, in the 6th chapter of the Book of Numbers:- 'The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.'

"The Jew has no longer High Priest, Sacrifice or Temple; but he continues to live in hope, and, annually, numbers find their way to the Holy City, there to die, and to be buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where (both Jew and Mohammedan believe) the final judgment will take place.

"In company with Mrs. Finn -- who, with her husband the Consul, takes great interest in matters connected with the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem -- I visited several schools and hospitals, founded, for the benefit of this ancient race, by the charity and liberality of English and Prussian Protestants. These were all remarkably clean and tidy, in marked and pleasing contrast with everything around them.

"Great efforts have been made, in a spirit of enlarged philanthropy, to induce the poor Jews to labour for a livelihood, instead of existing on the miserable pittance annually doled out to them, or the supplies of bread and other necessaries begged for and collected by the servants of the synagogues for the sustenance of the needy. A farm has been purchased, for the promotion of this important purpose, by the Jerusalem Agricultural Association; and from this well-intentioned project happy results are anticipated. Sir Moses Montefiore has done much towards founding schools in Jerusalem, for the benefit of his impoverished co-religionists. He is also, at present, in conjunction with a wealthy Hebrew of New Orleans, building a large range of almshouses outside the Zion gate, and they have employed an English architect to ensure the due accomplishment of their beneficent intentions. These wealthy and benevolent men deserve high commendation for their charitable undertakings, and they do well to leave such memorable 'Footprints in the sands of time.'

"Before leaving the Jews' quarter, I may state, that it is the most filthy and uninteresting part of the city, being literally 'heaps of stone' and rubbish. Taking up my prayer-book, I could not help reflecting how completely had been verified the words of the first verse of the seventy-ninth Psalm:- 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy Holy Temple have they defiled; and made Jerusalem an heap of stones.'" (Pp. 76-81)

In 1875 Torontonian Thomas Stinson Jarvis published Letters from East Longitudes, Sketches of Travel in Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece and Cities of the Levant. (Jones Campbell, 1875. VIII, 267 p.)

Jarvis reported on the "hardships, privation and trials of Jews in Jerusalem, Morocco, Gibraltar and elsewhere."

He found the Jews "the most interesting race on the face of the earth in whose virtues and vices, wisdom and folly, customs and prejudices are seen a height and depth which mankind cannot fathom."

If Jerusalem retained any interest for westerners, the anglophone traveller noted, it was only because of "the handful of Jews still there, and not because of the turbaned devotees of Allah and the harem who have command over it." (Michael Gary Brown. The Jewish Foundations in Canada: the Jews, the French and the English, to 1914, Ph.D. thesis. State University of New York at Buffalo, 1976. Pp. 107-8)

The following year, 1876, saw the appearance of the Rev. Beaumont's Judea for the Jews (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, P. 196).

"In 1880 Henry Wentworth Monk launched a campaign for the elimination of anti-Semitism. Britain would acquire Palestine for the Jews, and a Bank of Israel would finance resettlement. The London Jewish World as well as Hamagid and Hamelitz welcomed the scheme.

"A year later the Russians unleashed their pogroms. Monk poposed the immediate establishment of a 'Jewish National Fund' to assist in resettlement, chiefly in Palestine. Monk upheld the Dominion of Canada as a model for a projected 'Dominion of Israel.' In 1884 Monk returned to Canada to spread his ideas.

"The 1891 pogroms inspired Monk to renewed activity. He suggested that Queen Victoria invite all persecuted Jews to England. The Ottawa Journal and other English-language Canadian papers supported the idea.

"Five years later in Ottawa, Monk published his last manifesto, in 'Stand up, O, Jerusalem, that the Land of Israel may soon become the Garden of Eden, The Joy of the Whole Earth.' He pleaded once age for the return of the Jews to Palestine under his own leadership and British tutelage." (M. Brown, Pp. 307-8)

The closing passage in an 1885 work on the region by one of the great figures in the history of McGill University is remarkable for its dissidence from his Quebec voyaging neighbours.

Sir J. William Dawson's work, Egypt and Syria, Their Physical Features in Relation to Bible History, was published in London by the Religious Tract Society as the fourth in its series of By-Paths in Bible Knowledge. He concludes with a call for the development of Syria and Egypt by the joint efforts of English and American statesmen.

"They have to deal not only with the decaying Moslem power, but with the influence of those European nations which still, for political purposes, prostitute their power in upholding systems of priestcraft and shameful superstitions that disgrace the old sacred places of Palestine, and repress the efforts of the Christian populations to attain to higher culture and a better moral and spiritual position.

"With this great work is also connected the possible restoration of the Jewish people who are now flocking into Palestine in unprecedented numbers, and if the time has really come for the turning back of the long captivity of these Eastern peoples, the way will be prepared, and the power of those who oppose will be broken down. God's mill grinds slowly, and the time may be longer than we could wish, but it may also be shortened; and, in any case, the path is opened for any amount of educational and missionary activity that Christians may be enabled to put forth." (Pp. 182-83)

FATHER EMARD

The Breton prelate Mgr. Louis de Goesbriand, Bishop of Burlington since 1853, was well known in Quebec for his work among French Canadians who had migrated south. He went on a pilgrimage to Palestine in 1879 which he recorded in Voyage en Terre Sainte (Montreal, Librairie St. Joseph, 1884. 189 p.)

He was accompanied as secretary for the journey by Father Joseph Emard whose permanent position was as secretary to Mgr. Fabre, archbishop of Montreal. Father Emard also published his records of the pilgrimage, Souvenirs d'un voyage en Terre Sainte in 1884. (Montreal, Chapleau. VII, 469 p.)

There is compassion and some understanding for the Jews whom Father Emard met in the Holy City. "More to be pitied even than the Musulmans are the 12,000 Jews who live in Jerusalem, almost huddled in the quarter which is known by their name. They are almost all Russian or Polish; when we were there it was easy to recognize them by their long and curly hair, their fur hats; their features are generally prominent." he wrote.

"They are confined in a captivity in spite of the protection of their European brothers who supply their needs generously.

"Every Friday of the year they troop near the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar to a spot where several stones from Solomon's ancient temple are preserved; and there, how sad it is to see them in their stubbornness, kiss and dampen with their tears these remnants which remind them of the happy times when God Himself manifested His glory in the midst of His temple, heard the songs and the prayers of their ancestors and heaped His blessings upon them, which justly entitled them to the name of the People of God.

"They weep the devastation of their temple, the fall of their city, the dispersion of their people. They pray for the return of their children to Jerusalem and the restoration, the glory and the majesty of Zion.

"Many of them, after wandering over the world, return to the city of David, desirous of dying in the shadow of the walls which recall to their desolate souls the memory of the ancient glory of Israel.

"The Jews are strictly forbidden entry to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. They are also forbidden, on pain of death, to

penetrate into the Mosque of Omar which has been raised on the site of their temple.

"In the past two large marble statues of pigs, an animal abhorred by Jews, had been placed before the Jaffah gate to keep the Jews away from the city.

"Today, when the Sultan of Constantinople dies the chief rabbi must return to the pasha of Jerusalem the keys to these same Jaffah gates; which makes the Jews prisoners until these keys are restored to them by order of the new sultan.

"There are several synagogues in the city and the Jews meet there regularly to read and to comment upon the Scriptures and the Talmud." (Pp. 88-90)

"In the convent of Ecce Homo nuns, some of them Jewesses converted by the zeal of Father de Ratisbonne, supplicate divine mercy for these unfortunate descendants of the God-killers who, these very same Fridays, meet some steps away, near the west wall of the Mosque of Omar, where, persisting in their blindness and rejecting the call of God, also chant songs and prayers which do not reach heaven and are only constant proof of the fulfillment of the prophecies."

Before the Chovevei Zion and more than a decade before Herzl, Father Emard noted,

"They do not lose hope of reconquering or even of purchasing the Holy City. They wait and pray; they weep and they sigh."

A PILGRIM FROM FRANCE

Canadian readers had accessible a Quebec City edition of Father J.-F.-C. Delaplanche, Le Pèlerin de Terre Sainte, Voyage en Egypte, en Palestine, en Syrie, Smyrne et Constantinople distributed by N.S. Hardy, Lower Town bookseller in 1887.

The second edition had appeared in France in 1876. The Canadian version was prepared by publicist J.-N. Duquet who had revised, corrected, annotated and enlarged it with a map, plans and engravings. This Canadian edition carried as a preface the 1886 favorable report of Abbé (later Cardinal) L.-N. Bégin, then principal of the Laval Normal School, addressed to Cardinal E.-A. Taschereau, Archbishop of Quebec.

As we read the reports of this French pilgrim and those of Quebec pilgrims of this decade and later we note the hostile ultramontane influence that marked their francophone writings originating west of the Atlantic.

The French priest had visited the Jewish cemetery near the valley of Cedron:

"There we saw innumerable modern tombs, each covered with a slab of stone or with debris from the mountain. Hundreds of Jews each year leave the distant lands where the winds of the anger of God had cast them to come here to be buried in this little corner of earth in the valley. They want to rest in the land of their ancestors..." (Pp. 187-88)

In Jerusalem he wrote,

"We are in the Jewish quarter, the most populous. Eight to ten thousand Jews are crowded between Mount Zion and the temple square, in a very limited area. They are nearly all strangers who have come to Jerusalem only at an advance age to die in the land of their forefathers and to be laid to rest in the Valley of Josephat. Who can understand the blindness of these unhappy sons of Jacob who are still stubbornly awaiting a Messiah, in spite of all their misfortunes, in spite of the fulfillment of prophecies, in the face of desolate Jerusalem, of the temple destroyed, after eighteen centuries of captivity? But even as I deplore their blindness I pity the sheep of Israel who come to weep on the ruins of their homeland and seek a grave amidst the tombs of their fathers...

"We cannot leave Moriah without saying a word about the Wailing Wall.

"At the southwest corner of the great square are the remains of a wall which the Jews consider as having belonged to the Temple of Solomon. They come to pray and to weep before this wall every Friday except during the week of the feast of Tabernacles.

"In earlier times this desolate nation used to come to pray and to weep on the site of the temple; but since Omar has raised his mosque they must need to be satisfied with pouring out their tears before this outer wall, a small paved space, some 50 metres by four. It would be difficult to fix the precise date of the erection of this section of the wall , but it probably was built by King Solomon or one of the kings of Judah. It was constructed of stones two or three metres long in bossage, well worked. As these courses of stone rise, the size of the blocks diminishes and the rows retreat from the earlier ones.

"I wanted to witness this sad gathering of a people weeping on the ruins of its motherland on the Friday of the Passion, the day of compassion for the Holy Virgin. We came down by winding narrow streets on foot from Mount Moriah and found ourselves in front of this place of tears which was full of men and women quite neatly dressed, praying and reading out loud, sometimes sighing. It was a curious spectacle, but lamentable. The men stood at the wall, with their Hebrew Bibles, heads against the stones, drawing away from them and nearing them as they pronounced the sacred words, sometimes repeating the same words. The only terms I could catch were Halleluyah and Amen.

"The women, like the men, occupied a part of the wall, or kept near it; some stood as they made melancholy salutations or they squatted as they read the Bible, sighing. Not one was seen to turn or to make the slightest sign of lightness of temper in spite of the curious people who were walking about and looking at them. What were they saying in their prayers? They were lamenting as they read the psalms and Jeremiah. They were asking God to stop the punishment weighing upon them, and all were repeating as they anguished their cry of pain, 'How long yet, O God?'

"The spectacle aroused strong pity, and it seemed to me that, in spite of time and space, I hear them and I see them still. This poor blind people, which reads its condemnation in the only ruin still standing after its temple has been destroyed. For eighteen hundred years it seems to say to God, 'Why have you abandoned us? When will you establish again the Kingdom of Israel?'

"And in their hands they hold the divine book, as if they were calling upon God to keep His word; even as they fail to see that they are themselves fulfilling the divine word and the malediction which they called forth when they said, 'Let His blood fall upon us and upon our children.'" (Pp. 119-20)

Father Delaplanche knew that "after the ruin of Jerusalem, Tiberias was a place of refuge for Jews, the seat of the Sanhedrin. There they formed a celebrated school whence came the Talmud which is today the code of the dispersed Israelites...

"As we crossed the city we met a crowd of Jews going to the synagogue; it was Saturday. Most of the men were in impressive costume, in silk robes on which flowed long and well-kept beards. The women were not less well dressed. All were carrying fine examples of Bibles or Talmud volumes in their hands, indicating their constant respect for Holy Writ. There was something grave, dignified and serious in their demeanour; nothing hostile towards Christians in their bearing." (Pp. 303-4)

Father Delaplanche concluded, after his pilgrimage that the Jews of today are the Jewish debris of the ages.

A NEW HOSTILITY

In the 1880s we hear a new tone in the recitals of Canadian pilgrims to Palestine.

The reports are narrower in interest, more pietistic, more exclusively concerned with the Holy Sites and their ancient history and more hostile to the Jews. More clearly the land sanctified by three great religions to peace, justice and love became an instrument and an inspiration for hate of the descendants of its first monotheists. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 44, 108-12)

Among those who introduced this durable tradition into Canada was the energetic, Becancour-born Father Léon Provancher (1820-92), curé of Portneuf, editor of Le Naturaliste canadien, become one of the initiators of important anti-Semitic propaganda. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 50, 81) The creation of La Vérité was due to him in no small measure. Robert Rumilly writes of him as disciple and longtime correspondent of Mgr. Laflèche.

After his studies at Nicolet he served several Quebec parishes. Later he founded the first Canadian fraternity of the Franciscan third order at Portneuf. (Fr. Marie Victorin, in Action française, vol. 3, Sept. 1919. Pp. 385-93)

In 1883 Father Provancher made a voyage to the Holy Land and issued De Québec à Jérusalem, journal d'un pèlerinage du Canada en Terre Sainte, 724 p. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, P. 50)

Abbé Antonio Huot, who had entered his name indelibly in various pages of Canadian anti-Semitism, recorded his visit to the Ain Karem grotto where he saw the large painting of the baptism of Jesus by Saint Jean Baptiste, done by Montrealer A. Rho and placed in Palestine by the artist's uncle Abbé Provancher in 1890 on behalf of contributors across Canada. (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Sept. 20, 1928. P. 37; Clouds in the Thirties, Section 1, Pp. 20-21)

After a pilgrimage to Palestine, Father Provancher met Father Frédéric Janssoone (or Janssoonne) de Ghyvelde in Paris and invited him to come to Canada.

Long before coming to Canada, in 1876, Flanders-born Franciscan Father Frédéric Janssoone had visited the Holy Land and had been overwhelmed by the ruinous condition of the sacred city. As he wrote at the time,

"Do the worldly spirits of our days understand the divine lessons? Alas, no more than do the blind Jews and obstinate Jews who come every Friday to Jerusalem to the lane they call the Wailing Wall to shed their tears in streams on the ruins of the temple,

awaiting Messiah as did their fathers." (R.-P. Mathieu M. Daunais. Vie illustrée du bon Père Frédéric Janssoone, Trois-Rivières, 1934; Romain Legaré. Le Pere Frédéric Janssoone, o.f.m., un apôtre des deux mondes. Montreal, Librarie St. François, 1953. 387 p; English translation by Raphael Brown; An Apostle of Two Worlds, Father Father Frédéric Janssoone o.f.m., de Ghyvelde, with preface by Paschal Kinsel. Chicago, Franciscan Herald, 1958. 382 p.)

The friendship between the two priests and their common interest in the Holy Land, where the Franciscans have special responsibilities, without a doubt stimulated the Canadian priest to work with him.

Five years later, on the initiative of Father Léon Provancher, the Dutch friar returned to Canada. The two were associated in Le Chemin de la Croix à Jérusalem (Quebec, 1881. 50 p.) and led the Pèlerinage canadien en Terre Sainte (Quebec, Léger Brosseau, 1883. 28 p.)

The Franciscan came to the dominion in 1881 where he remained for a year. He had already compiled his Journal de voyage --France, Italy, Palestine, 1876-77 which was later published by BPF in Trois-Rivières in 1946. (112 p.) (Vingt-cinq années de vie franciscaine au Canada. Montreal, 1915. Pp. 141-47)

Here Brother Frédéric Janssoone was active in the Oeuvre de Terre Sainte, and wrote Notice historique on the oeuvre (Quebec, 1882. 79 p.) and, in 1897 L'Egypte et les franciscains, épisodes de la dernière guerre, documents inédits. (Quebec, Franciscan printery Marie Antoine, 234 p.) In 1905 he published the Album de Terre Sainte, first and second series. 62 p.)

Father H.-R. Casgrain reported in February 1892 that Frère Frédéric had just founded a Procure de la Terre Sainte in Canada. A Franciscan Brother Lazare from Bethlehem had spent some months at Cap de la Madeleine with him. (Semaine religieuse. Apr. 16, 1892)

Readers of Semaine religieuse were told of the hospital situation in Jerusalem where the pasha had decided to establish a new care institution. They were considering naming Jewish nurses, Jews being more than half of the population and 14,000 more being expected soon.

Eventually the municipality decided to entrust the task to the Catholic Sisters of Charity. At the official opening of the hospital the chief rabbi said,

"'What I find best in this municipal hostel are the Sisters of Charity. During the first four years we have been seeing them at work. They have never failed. They are mothers and sisters to all whoever they may be.'" (July 11, 1891, Pp. 538-40; reprinted from Le Journal des débats)

Québécois Father H.-R. Casgrain reported to the Semaine religieuse de Québec from Jerusalem on February 20, 1892 on his "visit to the ruins of King Solomon's temple where the Jews come every Friday to weep.

"They are there in three rows, not less than two hundred in number, beating their heads against the walls, reading the Talmud, weeping, groaning; some of them, mainly women, shedding warm tears.

"An English lady -- it goes without saying -- was taking photographic pictures of the different groups.

"One of our group said, 'those Jews have heads harder than the stone walls against which they beat them.' They are the damned hardened by Jesus Christ, these uncircumcised hearts destined to be rejected by God." (Apr. 9, 1892)

We hear about the Jews of Tiberias from A. Tetu who accompanied Abbé Casgrain on his pilgrimage to Palestine,

"The city of Tiberias is surrounded by walls in ruin. It is inhabited almost entirely by Jews; there are only 240 Christians out of a population of 6,000 souls. We had neither the time nor the desire to visit it; it is very dirty, our guide tells us, and we readily believe them after all we have seen in the east." (Semaine religieuse, Apr. 23, 1892)

ABBÉ J.-F. DUPUIS

In 1894 Abbé J.-F. Dupuis issued Rome et Jérusalem, récits de voyage first published in installments in La Presse. (Quebec, Léger Brousseau)

In Jerusalem he had witnessed "the unusual and heartbreaking scene of Jewish mourning service on Friday at the Wall.

"Every Friday the unfortunate Sons of Israel meet at the northwest corner of the great courtyard of the ancient temple of Jerusalem and there, standing or squatting, face buried in the corner of the stone wall which is probably of Solomonic construction, they give free rein to their immense pain. For a time they limit themselves to murmured prayers sweet and plaintively modulated; a haunting, melancholy chant. Sometimes an old rabbi chants Lamentations of Jeremiah, Psalms of King David or some prophecies about the ruin of the city and of the temple. Then the rabbi calls out, 'For the palace that is devastated; for the temple that is destroyed; for the walls laid low; for our majesty that is no longer; for our great men who have perished, etc.' and at each exclamation the people respond, 'How we sit solitary and we weep!'

"When the rabbi is silent, the men approach the wall, cover it with kisses and tears, and the dolorous psalmody begins again with desperate accents. All together they pray, nodding their heads and bending their shoulders in a cadenced movement. They suddenly break into sobs and call out still with their lips and foreheads at the stones which they venerate but which God has cursed."

Father Dupuis noted the Jewish funeral customs in Palestine.

"Among the ancient Hebrews funerals were the occasion of loud lamentations. Today women are still paid to follow the cortege as they emit piercing cries, lou-lous to melt the heart and to awaken the dead.

"Similarly they have continued the custom of painting the tombstones with chalk, a tradition which goes very far back in time as the Saviour has compared Pharisees to 'whited sepulchers.'"

He estimated that the 12,000 Jews of Jerusalem constitute half its population of 25,000; only 4,000 Moslem are in the city.

He describes the graveyard -- Jewish and Muslim -- that is the Valley of Josephat, "an immense necropolis where for many years Jewish and Arab dead have been brought together. The left bank is carpeted with Jewish tombs, as the right bank is full of Muslim

graves. The Jewish slabs are of stone, flat and carved with inscriptions in Hebrew." (P. 393)

Father J.-F. Dupuis of Quebec was sorry for the Jews at the Western Wall, "without a homeland, without altars, rejected by God and man," but of whom the Lord had said that their suffering is well deserved, incurable, the result of many sins. (Rome et Jérusalem. Quebec, Leger Brousseau, 1894)

Brown notes that Father Henri Cimon, professor at the Séminaire de Chicoutimi, was so successful with his Aux Vieux pays that it enjoyed three editions after first appearing in 1895. (P. 273)

That spring Father Joseph Emery Grandbois published a series of "Lettres de Jérusalem" in La Semaine religieuse de Québec (March 20, 1897, Pp. 471-73, 550, et seq.)

One Jerusalem observer noted that in 1897 he met Father J.-E. Grandbois who was studying with the Dominicans in their St. Etienne convent in Palestine prior to assuming a post as professor at Laval.

In his first letter from the Holy Land in La Semaine religieuse the Quebec priest says a word about the Jews of Jerusalem.

"Like in America and everywhere else, they are moneymen. When they made their fortune in Europe or elsewhere they consider it their duty to come and pass the years of their age in Palestine and then to be buried in the Valley of Josaphat always awaiting the coming of the Messiah whom they refused to recognize two thousand years ago. Father Marie Alphonse Ratisbonne, a Jew converted by the Sacred Virgin, established a community of men and women to work for the conversion of his coreligionists. In spite of all the efforts of this priest and nuns only few Israelites ever convert." (March 20, 1897)

He promised his brother in Quebec "a copy of the only newspaper published in Jerusalem; it is a Jewish paper, written in Hebrew; I do not even know the name. In any case, before sending it next week I will translate at least the title." (May 22, 1897)

Father Grandbois took an interest in international political affairs insofar as they were reflected in the Holy Land. It is interesting that he preferred the domination of the land by Muslims to the threat of Russian control (Apr. 24, 1897), presaging the developments of the decades ahead, in 1917 when the same Quebec Catholics regretted the transfer of the control of Palestine from Muslim hands to the Protestant English as the mandatory power.

Years later he appeared as one of the authorities summoned by Plamondon in the famous libel trial. During those proceedings he cited as one of his authorities the convert Rabbi Drach and referred to the ritual murder accusations against Jews. His testimony about

the Talmud was demolished by L.A. Cannon, associate of S.W. Jacobs.

It was Father Grandbois who signed the Nihil obstat to the 1916 edition of the anti-Semitic Droit publique de l'Eglise by L.-A. Paquet. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

With the coming of the new century there was no moderation in hostility towards the Jews of their ancestral homeland.

The Vérité corpus of writings on Palestine and on Zionism constitute an early Quebec publication of Jewish historical interest:

A report on the laying of the cornerstone of a synagogue in Washington provided an occasion to reprint the vehement protests of Rabbi Stern against the ridiculous and absurd Zionist proposal to return the Jews to Palestine.

The same issue of the Quebec weekly, published during the year of the first World Zionist Congress, reprinted from the Paris La Croix a Constantinople report in Secolo denying that the sultan was ready to sell Palestine to the Jews for the establishment there of a Hebrew state with the help of Jewish proletarians from Russia, Austria and other lands. The Paris publication gave assurance that the Vatican had "protested preventively" to the Catholic states against a Jewish body taking possession of the sites considered sacred by Christianity.

Tardivel added, "It would truly be a shame if Christian states permitted the sacred sites to fall into the hands of the Jews. If the sultan is indeed prepared to sell Palestine, it is Christians rather than Jews who should buy it.

"Is there enough zeal and faith among Christians to take up again this new form of the crusade?" (Oct. 2, 1897)

La Vérité followed the early history of Zionism constantly.

As early as the fall of 1898 La Vérité was alerted to the Zionist movement which it opposed vehemently. On October 1, 1898 it reprinted a long article on this Jewish movement by L.M. Mustel from the Revue catholique of Coutances which recognized "the Jewish fear of the hatred which was being disseminated all about them.

"They feel that anti-Semitism is spreading and may one day explode one of these popular uprisings too vast and too deep for any police to repress."

"So a number of influential Jews in various lands, notably in Russia, Austria and Germany, have been dreaming of restoring a kingdom or a republic of Israel, hoping as they do to secure by virtue of their millions, the cession by the sultan of this province; which they are no more assured of retaining than of their other kingdoms.

"The proponents have met twice, more recently in Switzerland where a clear division appeared.

"Some remain faithful to the utopia of reuniting all Jews in one territory, preferably on the ancient soil of the Holy Land, an autonomous government with Jerusalem as its capital. The prophecies of our Lord have told all Christians the fate of this effort by the cursed people condemned until they are converted to remain dispersed among the nations.

"The others, more serious and practical, have limited themselves to encouraging the migration of poor Jews to Palestine where they could establish settlements with the help of their fellow-Jews."

The review noted that "during the past twenty years the number of Jews in Jerusalem and in Palestine has increased noticeably, and Christians agree with the Muslims in denoting this immigration as a calamity and as a danger to the country."

La Revue catholique cites Drumont who finds in the Zionist movement that Jews are a race, a people whose members are not true citizens of the countries where they reside, a position the Catholic journal had maintained all along. It had proposed that Jews be limited to a particular status in which they may live in security, but which would protect other citizens from their perfidious manoeuvres, their voracious usury and their pernicious domination; that they be forced to live honestly, not ruin or betray their hosts.

The Paris anti-Semite saw "confirmation of his anti-Jewish arguments that Jews are a people, a race, who will not assimilate or incorporate into another nationality; they remain strangers in the lands which accord them hospitality, united in a common hope which their national feeling has nurtured over the ages."

The Catholic review confirmed this thinking of La Libre parole as it recorded the statement of a Jewish professor at the University of Prague before Jewish students faced with differences between Czechs and Germans that "we are neither; we are nothing but Jews."

As the Zionist movement came into being at the end of the nineteenth century, there entered into the Catholic perception a new and constant hostility towards the Jews as the enemy who would dispossess the Muslims from the Holy Land. This opposition continued from the days of Herzl, through the British occupation of Palestine, and the establishment of the Jewish state, with Tardivel and Action sociale catholique as its prime early voices in Canada.

At the time of the first Zionist Congress the gazette of the Quebec church was recording the efforts towards a Jewish state. ("En Route pour la Palestine" on October 16, 1897, Pp. 121-22; "Les Aspirations des Juifs" on November 6, 1897, Pp. 162-64)

Stanislas Lemay, commenting on the conference of American rabbis in Montreal in 1897, wrote of their "seizing our soil, provoking us by their alliance with international freemasonry." (August 14, 1897)

Drumont's La Libre parole, like Léon Daudet, was of course the Parisian Bible for La Vérité. Typically its article on "What the Jews are Doing to Rome" on its front page on February 29, 1908 was introduced by L. Hacault; after his full page lucubration of January 11, 1908.

La Vérité reprinted a report on the 1901 Zionist Congress at Basle from the Paris La Croix in its issue of February 1, 1902.

Years later Omer Héroux commented at length, not without a fair understanding of the situation, on the Ottawa convention of the Zionist federation of Canada, this "one of the most curious movements of our time."

Héroux doubts "the eventual establishment of a Jewish state, in Palestine or elsewhere, because of the indubitable lack of a strong Jewish farming class. An essentially parasitic people can live only in a foreign land.

"But the Zionist movement remains extremely interesting. It attests to the permanence and to the marvellously interesting unity which eighteen hundred years of living under the most varying skies could not dissipate; it enables us to note again its growing power in most countries."

On November 4, 1899 Semaine religieuse de Québec worried about Jews making a point of buying land in Jerusalem and not selling to others. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 109-12)

Early in the century the Franciscans in Canada established the Commisariat for the Holy Land or the Oeuvres de Terre-Sainte in Ottawa whence it has been conducting its "good work of the Holy Land." Its annual reports in English and French editions constitute valuable documentation on this Catholic concern. "In 1917 the Franciscans, aware of the growing interest by the faithful in missions, changed their Revue du Tiers-Ordre et de la Terre-Sainte." They began the publication of L'Oeuvre de Terre-Sainte. (J. Hamelin. L'Histoire du catholicisme québécois. 1984. vol. 1, P. 171)

This interest is exemplified in a 40-page edition, La Semaine sainte à Jérusalem, Premier pèlerinage officiel des Canadiens en Terre Sainte, sous la direction spirituelle du T.R.-P. Mathieu-Marie de l'Ordre des freres mineurs. Montreal, Cook, 1922) Father Mathieu-Marie was the authorized commissioner for the Holy Land in Canada, representing the custodian of the Holy Sites in Palestine.

We have seen La Croix of 1906 refer to the condition of Palestine-become-desert as a justification for its anti-Semitism. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33 P. 8)

"The Zionist federation recruits its numbers in all the lands of the world; its committee in Europe issues orders to Jews in Quebec and Montreal and has branches in nearly all Canadian cities. Delegates from Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and even the prairies of the far west attended the Ottawa congress.

"We need only look about us to see the growing influence of the Jewish element. If there were no other signs, the gentleness which politicians show them would edify us on this point. The presence of Messers A.B. Aylesworth and Patterson is very significant in this regard.

"Mr. Aylesworth made it a point of declaring that he spoke not only personally but in the name of the entire cabinet in favour of the Zionist movement.

"By virtue of what principle did the federal cabinet, speaking in the name of the country, express an opinion on a question which does not touch Canadian politics immediately or distantly?

"Unless he wished to indicate that we are finding that when Laurier opened his arms to the Jews from Russia, the immigration has in the end proven excessive, and that we would be happy to see the Jewish element spread further afield from us.

"In this eventuality we applaud him warmly, for the Jewish element as a whole is the least desirable, or one of the least desirable we could receive." (La Vérité, July 6, 1907)

FATHER J.-A. L'ARCHÉVEQUE

M. Brown cites Father Joseph-A. L'Archévêque, parish priest of Cocagne, N.B., who went to the Holy City, there to find the native Jews "in withdrawn quarters, the crooked noses, the stooped backs, the ghostly faces...people of appalling debilitation... degeneracy peculiar to their race." (Pp. 272-74)

"It is easy to understand their wasting away. In their filthy tatters they wilt in the midst of emanations and miasma which threaten pest and death. Poor families are housed and maintained at the expense of some Zionist societies; it is among them that you find these beggars who haunt the busier roads. A small sack with openings for head and arms is their dress. It serves to attract sympathy, and it is hard to refuse these pleading voices, these emaciated arms reaching out to you. In return they pray to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to bring you happiness.

"The rich wear caftans of crimson velvet, of old yellow velour and fur-bordered toques, felt hats with wide brims. I have seen them on the way to the Wailing Wall. After treading a narrow lane they come to a section of the wall which forms the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar; these are the remnants of the foundation stones of King Solomon's temple. These vestiges of their destroyed temple, of their abolished worship, of their forsaken homeland remind them of the happy time when Jehovah manifested His glory to them; now, overwhelmed by the ills that have been afflicting them for nineteen centuries, they come here to sigh over their sins and to weep in memory of their sad destiny. They pray plaintively, strike their heads against the stones and water them with their tears.

"It is a moving spectacle, and we are sorry for them. Ah, but they will not see the Messiah whom they awaited for centuries so that they may be delivered from this terrible servitude.

"A gleam of hope is now shining for these poor Jews. The new constitution in effect after the fall of Abdul Hamid, sultan of Turkey, opens Palestine to all the Jews of the world. The freedom of which all conquerors had deprived them is again restored them and they will live unmolested in the land of their ancestors. For how long will Ahasvérus (the Wandering Jew) rest?" (Pp. 174-77)

But not only the Jerusalemites are such. Of all contemporary Jews he says in his Vers la Terre-Sainte, Notes de voyage (Montreal, La Croix, 1911, VIII, 427 p; reprinted from Moniteur acadien),

"We see few Jews in Jerusalem crowds, even though they are many and form the majority of the population. The esplanade of

Moriah does not see them since it is forbidden to them on pain of severest punishment. Besides, they would desecrate the Holy of Holies by treading on it. That would be the greatest profanation in their eyes.

"We also do not see them near the Holy Sepulchre. Would they come to venerate the tomb of the Christ, they who still await His coming as they awaited Him in the days of Moses?! They feel that from that spot 'He who speaks in the name of Beelzebuth' cast the anathema upon them; victims of the spell of this powerful one, they are doomed forever to wander without the happiness of a homeland. What a curse! The blood of 'the King of the Jews' has fallen upon them and upon their children..."

The Acadian traveller cited the theology of Father Doublet: "The Jews were so deeply attached to the law of Moses that they rejected the law of Jesus Christ. They would accept no substitution which would offend their pride and lessen their influence. Their jealousy made them fear a dangerous competitor. 'You see,' they said, 'the entire people runs after him.'

"Their law was that of their homeland. They refused to share a religion with other peoples on earth. Besides, could the Jews, being a carnal people, submit to a gospel which was spirit and life, and rise to the heights of supernatural and divine law? This opposition to all that the new law was became an implacable hatred towards Jesus and His church.

"What are we to make of today's Jews?

"The Pharisees, Saducees and Essenes of the time of our Lord divided and subdivided into different sects.

"One meets now Pharisees weighed down under the Law, interested only in money. There are also those pretentious Jews, the devotees of cunning, the cowards...Their general mentality is all the same: faithfulness to the outmoded rituals of the Talmud, war on Christianity and continual efforts to monopolize power, to dominate. That is the life and the happiness of any true Jew."

As Father L'Archévêque travelled north he recalled Jewish history. "After leaving Jerusalem the Jews sought refuge in Tiberias. The scholars among them created the seat of high learning, there where they composed the Mishna, the Masora and the Talmud, precious collection of rabbinic traditions and Judaic rites. Tiberias is considered the second holiest city of the Jewish people. So we see them flow there to the ten synagogues of the small city. (H. Guernin). The population is of 6,000 souls, two thirds of them Jews, which enables us to see the sallow faces and the hooked noses of our little old friends at the Wailing Wall; the men with their long velvet capotes, the women with baggy pantaloons, full blouses, scarves and veils of precious cloths.

"We were sometimes tempted to laugh, but it would have disturbed these ladies greatly.

"Since these Jews have some acquired majority rights they sometimes become fanatical and it is not good to become subject to their malevolence." (Pp. 231-32)

Father L'Archévêque had a strange experience during his travels near Nablus.

"Our guides took us to the synagogue at the centre of the city of 20,000. We floundered along on very bad streets in danger of breaking our necks, streets so narrow that we felt lost in passages at the end of treacherous holes. We came into a sort of temple where all was old, even the rabbi. He was descended from the first Levites who served in the temple; indeed he looked like one of the Jewish antiquities which history has painted for us.

"This great priest said that he had an extraordinary relic: the oldest known text of the Pentateuch which contains the first five books of the Bible written by Moses when he was in the desert with the people of Israel. A real antique. It is well worth seeing -- Will these evil Christians pay something? Let's go up, and we shall...

"The rabbi was clenching his worm-eaten case with his eyeglasses when the sound of clinking coins changed his interests and awakened in his Jewish soul the sweetest hopes as his crooked fingers feverishly passed through his long white beard a flow of sparks streamed from his small eyes and his face was lit with happiness. Coins...! Money! Blessed be the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Joseph!

"After receiving our offering which he would have wished more generous he decided to pull out from the folds of his coat the famous parchment which he told us was 3,700 years old. That was the assured opinion of our interpreter who spoke of Moses as if he knew him intimately. Under the light of the torches on this scene we seemed to see the shadows of the prophets approaching us. It was a strange vision of the illustrious personages of the Old Testament." (Pp. 197-98)

The traveller even sought out the Jews in Damascus in their quarter "where we see these living phantoms maintain their hatred of the church and plot its destruction." (P. 245)

In this tradition a decade later Victorian Father Paul-Emile Farley, professor at the Séminaire de Joliette, wrote on Palestinian Jews in his La Terre-Sainte, Témoin de l'Evangile, impressions et souvenirs bibliques d'un pelerin canadien en Palestine (2nd ed., cover illustration by W. Corbeil. Joliette, L'Action populaire, 1926. 32 p.),

Action populaire was founded in 1913 by the crusading journalist Louis-Charles Farley, "with two models in his mind: Le Devoir which called itself a journal of combat, and Action sociale catholique." In 1918 he ceded the newspaper to a company formed by Mgr. F.-X. Piette, curé of the cathedral of Joliette; the periodical became an element in the network of Catholic newspapers which the episcopate had set up in 1907. A priest named by the bishop assumed its direction, and it became the official voice of the bishopric of Joliette, just as Action sociale catholique was that of the cardinal in Quebec. (A. Beaulieu and J. Hamelin. La Presse québécoise. vol. 5, 1982. Pp. 81-84)

Father Farley conveyed his impression of the Jews in the Holy Land,

"Divine vengeance befell this 'cursed race'. It is weeping now, and this literally. Every week, on the eve of the Sabbath, we see the Jews go towards the Square of Lamentations where part of the enclosure which was built by King Solomon and which today is significantly called the Gate of Tears still remains. Most of them are old and decrepit, waxen of complexion; their eyes are deceitful.

"They become a heap of old yellow, green and red backs, balancing nervously and rapidly -- to avoid all distractions at prayers, they say -- while their lips recite Bible passages. At first it seems comical, but soon becomes tragic, poignant, painful! For they weep true tears. Holding their books in one hand, the other caressing the sacred stones, they beat their heads against the stones in despair. Women wring their hands; children, moved by the general outcry, weep with the others, possibly not understanding it all but in suffering all the same. Long groaning shakes these tearful souls as a rabbi stands on a rise of land and begins a litany which expresses all the humiliation of a deceived nation:

"'Because of the temple that has been destroyed,' and the people respond in sighs,

"'We sit solitary, we weep!'

"'Because of our walls broken down!'

"'We sit solitary, we weep!'

"'Because of our priests who have failed!...Because of our kings who despised God!'

"'We sit solitary, we weep!'

"That is the sad refrain of the rivers of Babylon. But now the harps are not hanging from willows of the valley. They are forever broken in the hands of captive Israel in the very heart of its own city, stranger in its own country.

"They have rejected Jesus," he writes, and "Christ has cursed them. The Jews did not heed the clear warning. The strange illusion of an unhappy people obstinate in remaining blind and deaf!" (from Moniteur acadien, Pp. 29-31)

Even before the war La Vérité was terrified when it learned, from the Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes associated with Mgr. E. Jouin, that Jews were migrating to the Holy Land, that they engage in agriculture and trade there; that they had founded Rishon-le-Zion and that the Jewish National Fund was buying land. (Mar. 1, 1913) A few months later it traced the history of Zionism to Mordecai M. Noah, La Vérité's L. Hacault having discovered P. Wiernicks History of the Jews. (July 26, 1913)

It was from this weekly that he learned of the Montreal Zionist conference of June 1905 when Mr. de Sola told the 260 delegates that "the Jews are a distinct race which must continue its awareness of its ancient glory and of the greatness that the future hold for them." (III. 1212)

Active anti-Semite L. Hacault wrote on Jerusalem, concerning Belgian interest in the city, in L'Idéal catholique of December 1917.

The Quebec Action, major anti-Jewish organ in Canadian history, accused the Jews of working simultaneously for cosmopolitanism and for Jewish nationalism and a national homeland in Palestine. The shabby, squalid among them, the spitting loquacious ones who are still kept under observation by the few clairvoyant governments, support Zionism; but they are opposed by those who have been successful, the powerful ones, who are comfortable where they are and who at any price reject the national restoration which will remind them of their origins and of the anathema that hangs over them. All this threatens the Holy Places with profanation at the hands of the Jews. To show their contempt of Christianity they may well build factories on these sites, in Bethlehem and in Jerusalem; or even places of debauchery.

Action sociale watched over the Jews in Jerusalem, "a majority of 80,000 in a population of 120,000, living in a few streets within the walls. But they have built and are still building new quarters, sometimes passable but more often filthy. They are mostly in trade, but receive hugh subventions from all parts of the world, mostly from America and the tribe of Rothschild. Of their many schools those of the Alliance universelle israélite, where French holds first place, are worthy of note." (Oct. 27, 1910)

The taking of Jerusalem by the British forces was received by Action catholique in its daily review of "War News" in a very significant manner.

"The most important events of recent days and one of the most important of the entire war -- if not militarily, at least in regard to

the religious memories it will bring to all Christians and from the moral influence it will have on the Turks in the loss of one of the most respected of their sacred cities -- is the capture of Jerusalem by the allied troops, British, French and Italian, commanded by the English General Allenby.

"To avoid destruction of the city by bombardment and to keep its religious monuments, the most venerable in the world, intact, the allies proceeded much more slowly and exposed themselves to enemy attack. But the besieged Turkish and German posts had to surrender. It is not yet known whether the population was evacuated by the Turks, whether there was any massacre of Christians before the withdrawal, whether they respected the sanctuaries which were still intact, whether the many religious of all rites who were on the sites which witnessed the passion of the Saviour were left in peace to see the coming of the liberators who, in a sense, renew the work of Godefroy, of Bouillon and the Crusaders.

"Their victory, occasion of joy in several regards, nevertheless stands under a question mark as for the future. We are aware that the Jews' Zionist movement, with the cooperation of the British government and a certain help from the government of France, wishes to turn the Holy Land into a Jewish country, governed by the Jews.

"It is a program in the course of realization.

"Then may we not fear that freemasonry, with Jewry its mother, may take advantage of this to secularize the seminaries of the Holy Land, turn them into museums, drive away the religious and their representatives, and provide a fate for the Christians worse than they suffered under the Turks? There is cause for disquiet." (Dec. 12, 1917)

THE WORLD WAR

As far back as 1919 Mgr. Paquet was concerned with "the future and the security of the Holy Places, not the least of the questions which recent military events have raised. On the morrow of the victory of the British army over the Turkish it rises like a cloud. It has not dissipated since." (Action catholique, Jan. 1919, reprinted in Etudes et appréciations, nouveaux mélanges canadiens. Quebec, Imprimerie franciscaine missionaire, 1919. Pp. 247-49) "Important personalities are concerned with Jewish-masonic activities in the part of the world so dear to Christian hearts. From all the lands where they have been flung the Jews turn their eyes to Zion more than ever. Jewish influence is not insignificant. Are they speaking of an Israelite republic to replace the Turkish régime on Palestinian soil? This possibility has evoked the following justified comments from the Hon. Mr. Chapais:

"'Someone has launched the idea of constituting Palestine as a Jewish state. Are we to understand that Jerusalem, the sacred city, would be placed under Judaic sovereignty? The Christian statesman and diplomats who will be the immense majority at the Congress will put aside, we hope, the unsupportable anomaly of confiding the tomb of Christ to the people who have crucified Him.'" (Revue canadienne, Dec. 1918)

Readers of Canadian Jewish history are not surprised to read Paquet quote anti-Semitic Thos. Chapais (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 20) to the effect,

"Somewhere the idea has been launched of constituting Palestine as a Jewish state. Are we to understand by this that Jerusalem, the Holy City, would be placed under Judaic sovereignty? The Christian statesmen and diplomats who will be the immense majority at the (Peace) Congress will, we hope, dismiss the unbearable anomaly of confiding the tomb of Christ to the people who crucified him." (Revue canadienne, Dec. 1918)

Abbé Huot's article on "The Question of Palestine" in the Semaine of September 7, 1922 (vol. 35, no. 1, Pp. 6-7) was factual and objective but hostile to Zionism for it held that Catholic interests in the Holy Land were threatened.

These attitudes were faithfully reflected by Canon Lionel Roy, professor at the Grand Séminaire at Rimouski, in a letter written at the invitation of the editor of the Semaine, "Jérusalem of our Days." (Apr. 2, 1925, Pp. 482-85)

It was therefore not surprising to note (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 111-12 and Clouds in the Thirties, section 1, Pp. 20-23) that such authoritative voices as the Semaine religieuse de Québec published hostile reports from the Holy Land.

After the war Mgr. L.-A. Paquet, the anti-Semite whose Droit publique de l'Eglise has been hailed by fellow anti-Semite Father Ceslas-Marie Forest of La Revue dominicaine as a Bible to inspire generations of bishops and other clergymen, turned his attention to the Holy Land.

"Distinguished personalities are preoccupied with the activities of Judeo-masons in this part of the world so dear to Christian hearts. Wherever Jews are scattered their eyes turn to Zion. Jewish influence is not slight. Are they not planning an Israelite republic to replace the Turkish regime on Palestinian soil?"

Paquet continued, "It is appropriate that His true disciples enjoy the right to honor and serve Him in full freedom on the soil where Jesus Christ was born and where He died." (Etudes et appréciations, nouveaux mélanges canadiens. Quebec, 1919. Pp. 248-49)

AFTER THE LIBERATIONS

The double thread of anglophone-francophone attitudes to the Jews and the Holy Land continued over the decades. It influenced the Canadian people and shaped the history of Palestine. The Canadian anglophone tradition is writ in the Pearson role in the creation of the Israeli state in 1947, avowedly an outcome of the Protestant tradition in the country.

With the defeat of Hitler and the blooming of the liberations -- the liberation of Quebec from its oppressive four score years of narrowness and anti-Semitism, and the liberation of the Jewish people from millenia of homelessness -- it became possible for philosopher Jean Le Moyne, associate of Claude Hurtubise in the strongly liberal Catholic movement in the province, to formulate a profound view of the Return of Israel. ("Le Retour d'Israël" in Revue dominicaine, vol. 54, tome 2, Sept. 1948. Pp. 82-91; reprinted in his Convergences, essais. Montreal HMH, 1961, Pp. 164-84; English translation by Philip Stratford, Convergences, Essays from Quebec. Toronto, Ryerson, 1966; two offprint editions of the essay were distributed by the Canadian Jewish Congress.)

S.D. Cohen, an officer of the Congress at the time wrote that "this article by the well known Catholic publicist and lay theologian is one of the warmest pro-Jewish statements in Catholic writing." (Nov. 24, 1947)

Paragraphs chosen at random from this essay, placed beside the French Quebec literature on the Holy Sites show clearly that the instant World War II ended a sad chapter closed and a new chapter opened brilliantly in Canadian Jewish history.

"Without failing to appreciate the gift of Jewish thought in the middle ages and various 'renaissances' of Judaism we recall some constant elements of Jewish history...of the people of all exiles, the displaced people, the people that bears the absence of God himself exiled from it, camping in the desert of the nations, cloistered in the obsolete Law, bent over the unfinished Book... Without temple, without priests, without sacrifices, without a chief. Its synagogues are noisy, sad, ill-kept. Its festivals are bitterly distant from the Palestinian seasons and Holy Sites; it repeats vows mixed with melancholy and irony and tastes ashes. Its customs clash in time and space...

"With civil emancipation, source of so many renewals and new beginnings, temptation and disappointments, came crises marked by terrible catastrophes. Jews experience a brief renaissance. They shine in all the disciplines of the west. Their gifts are revealed and

are elevated as our most advanced cultures and they bring inestimable contributions. They are involved in the best that is in us and in the worst...

"Retaining only vestiges of its primitive ethnic character; composed of a mass of disparate, orthodox, heretic, schismatic, freethinkers and materialists formed into divided communities; sparse fragments allied to various cultures and belonging to mutually impermeable social laws -- Israel reached a point where it can no longer define itself...

"Soon the Jews realize that they are scarcely more secure than they had been and that the new justice in the triple incarnation of liberty, equality and fraternity remains the instrument of the new Pharises of ravaged Christianity. Anti-Semitism -- the product of low conscience, of the ignoble, inferior in all senses who know of no better justification than the scapegoat; not a symbolic one but a real one in the heart of humanity -- this anti-Semitism formulated itself as a philosophy and found degraded accomplices in the most advanced circles.

"American Jews were disappearing; the old central European and eastern Jewries foresaw their annihilation; as for French Jews what did the Dreyfus case forbode, what a symbol Drumont was! The search of a refuge, of a land of their own where those most threatened could live or could die in peace became urgent for the Jews who sensed the chain of contemporary anti-Semitism.

"Their very lassitude and disappointment became catalysts which acted on their ancient nostalgia for Palestine, and their constant, dwelling upon the Books and upon the promises in them which had been maintained there for centuries.

"Depending on place and circumstances, pure sentiment or a passive hope for an ever more improbably reality, or theme of messianic faith -- the idea of a return to Palestine became more concrete as an immediate objective, an urgent enterprise.

"Zionism has a complex history... It springs from the deepest levels of conscience and of Jewish history. Expressing the most authentic inspiration and responding as it did to needs all too real; it could not but awaken an irresistible solidarity. Could the masses of Jews remain indifferent to the sole hope of so many communities in danger? Could they be hostile to an enterprise which, if it succeeded, would bring a homeland to an important core of Judaism and by the radiance of a recognized national existence and by the very fact of a reconstituted motherland imply the identity of all of them? If it did not replace orthodoxy as the bond between Jews, it would at least renew the cohesion of Judaism.

"Palestine had to be the true fatherland because it demanded more than fidelity; it had to snatch at a promise which the powerful

of the world held of no account; to regain, almost to recreate. No one but the Jews truly loved this wicked little country at the western end of the fertile crescent, like a garden planted on a highway. Without Moses and without Joshua, with nothing but the Name of the Strong men before God and before men, Israel entered into a new Canaan worse than the first and wherever it settled it renewed the land and transformed itself.

"Seen from the heights of Biblical perspectives, Zionism appears to us as an eternal enterprise dating from Abraham... Its long history is played in an atmosphere grandiose with defeats and victories, sieges and carnage, gigantic events, the churning of peoples.

"As it is today, whence the Zionists? From revolutions, wars and contemporary persecution. Where are they going? To the high places of history, to the most troubled spots on earth. When? Just when irreducible fates encounter...

"Whatever arises, Israel always escapes ordinary politics, economics and social measures and remains incomprehensible unless we borrow something of the Divine perception...

"Israel's title to the land bears the signature of God. What does history add? Jews always exist... The absentee owners had always left someone behind, indicating that their departure had never been an abandon. How can one doubt prophecy? Even if this fulfillment is but partial, very partial, who would dream of denying it?

"Even putting aside the religious elements (which it is almost impossible to do) and confining ourselves only to human considerations, how can the Zionist venture be seen other than sympathetically? Let us consider only the citizens and those who aspire to citizenship in the Jewish state... They are sons whose families knew the last pogroms; Naziism had modified the style of the massacres. They are men and women whose lives even in peacetime were only one long bullying. They are among the survivors of the Nazi extermination program; only time did not permit the Nazis to kill them on the edges of common graves and in gaz chambers...They are among the chief witnesses of the greatest shame that ever inflicted humanity. They deserve better -- do they not? -- than the ignoble smile which comes spontaneously to so many Christian lips at the very mention of the Belsen furnaces.

"This is one of the explanations of these frenetic immigrants who surge the Mediterranean ports and who pile aboard old tubs to brave the pitiless blockade, risk new internments exposed to the brutalities of an exasperated militia to settle in an ever more hostile area, veterans of wartime persecution to affront a formidable coalition. This explains the unseemly energy which Jews evoke in defence of a territory acquired at a heavy price from adversaries who

are now jealous of a prosperity from which they benefitted, a prosperity of which they have proven congenitally incapable before the intruders came.

"Is our sympathy well balanced between these men come from beyond despair to occupy a tiny unexploited country with a declining population and these nomads wandering from oasis to oasis four millenia behind time; between these labourers who were city people yesterday who force the desert to give milk and honey, and after centuries of enforced immobility enter upon fascinating social experiments, and the absentee seigneurs who let their backward peasants starve; between these dispossessed men deprived of a fatherland, and that dust of nations who have so long and so uselessly dominated all from Persia to Morocco and whom nothing moves, neither time nor space nor fecundity; between the sons of a faith which has become limited but whence ours has sprung, and the sons of a religion founded by a plagiarist and false prophet who pillaged Judaism and Christianity; between those who gave us the Bible and, since their liberation, so many philosophers, writers and scholars, and those who burned our books, censored, reduced and falsified the remnant of our Greco-Latin heritage?...

"It is possible to see the question more cooly than we do if we set aside the essential facts in the Bible to acquire the soul of a sub-committee. But can we be cool where we need to recognize the fraternity of an older brother and where we see the tracks of God?

"If in spite of all we refuse to bless, should we not conclude with Balaam, 'How can I curse when God does not curse?'"

THE POLITICS OF RACISM

Looking back upon the record, a striking fact seems to emerge: for the first century and a quarter of Jewish settlement in Canada there was scarcely a single anti-Semitic act or word. Not even during the election campaigns of the Harts and the Judahs; not even while Jewish matters were being legislated, not during the first movements of Jewish immigration, not during the period of synagogue development.

Suddenly, as Canadian confederation fell into place and as Quebec churchmen clarified to themselves their position and that of the Catholic province in the new federal order, a new policy emerged which was most influential in French Canada for nearly a century and cannot be considered non-existent even at the present time. It operated on the religious, ethnic, constitutional, political and philosophic levels, and was able to gather under its standard a very large proportion of the creative, original and high-minded men, the product of the family and educational traditions of French Canada.

A.I. Silver studied Tardivel's ¨1895 Religious and Separatist Vision of Quebec¨,

¨Two elements in particular came to symbolize the secret forces which were thought to be working underground against Catholicism and order: the Jews and the freemasons.

¨Both groups were (at least in western countries) supporters of that secular individualism to which Catholic conservatives were opposed. Freemasonry was, too, a secret society, which, in some repressive countries, had been associated with liberal revolutions. The Jews, for their part, were necessarily outsiders in any society that defined itself as Catholic, and for that reason, they had in modern times fought for a liberal society whose members would be considered as independent individuals regardless of their racial or religious background. To Catholic conservatives, who believed that society was not just a collection of autonomous individuals, but an organic unity whose members were held together by common language, institutions, and traditions and given purpose and strength by a Catholic religion, Jews necessarily appeared as an alien and dissolving element.

¨Thus, in 1883, commenting on the secular school laws of France, L'Etandard of Montreal complained of 'the horde of atheists, free-thinkers, Jews, and other foreigners, who are trampling upon the disfigured body of our unfortunate mother-country, insulting everyhting we hold most dear.' (Feb. 3, 1883)

"The next year, in an article 'exposing' a masonic conspiracy to take over the world, the same paper claimed:

"'By ingenious manipulations, by various astute manoeuvres, freemasony has little by little enabled the State to become so powerful that it has gobbled up all the belongings of its constituent elements, dropping them in turn into the voracious belly of the Jews. This is proved by the gradual impoverishment of all the peoples of the world, and, in contrast, the excessive wealth of the Hebrews.'" (May 3, 1884; Introduction to Tardivel. For My Country, transl. by Sheila Fischman. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, Pp. X-XI)

Another student of history reports,

"During this period a particularly vicious anti-Semitism, well honed in Europe, made its way across the ocean to Quebec. There were few aspects of the European strain of the disease which were not in evidence in French Canada, so long otherwise insulated from European influence." (M. Brown, P. 266)

It is one of the painful elements of Quebec history that in the late 19th century a syndrome became apparent and strongly operative which combined the ultramontane religious, ecclesial-political forces with French Canadian group and national awareness, regional rights; provincial authority, nationalistic organization -- with anti-Semitism; truly unselfish, dedicated, spiritual and moral personalities became spokesmen for the ultimate vice of genocidal anti-Judaism.

There is a clear transition in the Quebec history of anti-Semitism becoming more replete with political implications, rather than religious -- difficult as it was in this province during those decades to distinguish between them. Although all personages in this saga are equally devout and militant Catholics, we may note that the racist impulsion began to come at the turn of the century less from La Semaine religieuse de Québec than from the nationalists Tardivel, Paquet, Bourassa and Action sociale catholique.

From that period the champions of Quebec interests came to be stained with the sin of anti-Semitism; a Jew-hatred ever more clearly unforgiving, incapable of erasure or of modification, an evil deeply rooted for very many past centuries in the culture and religions of Europe and clearly leading to the holocaust of the European future.

Attacks upon the Jews of Quebec enter in our printed documentation and were not confined to the French language.

From as far back as 1884 we have Hebrew reports of the Canadian phenomenon, for during that year Joseph Elijah Bernstein reports from Montreal in the columns of Hamelitz (vol. 20, no. 59, July 30 and Aug. 11, 1884, Pp. 981-83),

"If we look more perspicaciously at the condition of our brethren and the relations with the peoples amongst whom they live, we can see that national hatred and religious jealousy have not yet disappeared from the heart of the nations who live in this country, and that ignorance and primitive ideas have their place here as well. Here too the ignorant people accuse the Jews of becoming wealthy and dishonest, of being consumers and not producers, and of living at the expense of others and becoming rich from one branch of the economy -- trade. For only in this field do they work, they say, and all of them without exception are engaged in this work, because it is the surest means of fulfillment of their desire to accumulate gold and silver; that they avoid and hate labour; by this means, they can accumulate jewels and wealth."

He also notes that Prof. Hingston told an assembly of medical men in Montreal, convened to discuss health measures, that "Until we adopt the Jewish mode in meat inspection, our food will be unfit for human consumption and we shall all be subject to all types of diseases."

Bernstein referred to the case of a dishonest Jewish merchant who ran afoul of the law. The daily press of the city reported the case fully, highlighting the Jewish origin of the accused. "This is a common practice in all reports to find mention of the nationality, and sometimes the religion, of persons who come in for unfavorable notice. It may not be good taste, but reporters are not infallible," the Jewish Times noted.

"No class of men, however, are more free from prejudices than reporters for the press. At the banquet given by the Jewish citizens of Cincinnati, Rev. E.N. Calisch, of Richmond, Va., in proposing the toast of the Press, said among other things:-

"'While it is true that there is no denser or crasser ignorance than that of the average reporter on a daily newspaper on things Jewish, yet nowhere and at no time have the Jews ever been treated with the consideration, the justice, the fairness and the delicacy that have characterized the American press, as a whole, in its treatment of the Jews and of Judaism.' We cordially endorse this statement." (Apr. 14, 1899)

But Dr. Samuel Marks of Temple Emanuel protested strongly in a letter to the editor against the invidious references to Judaism. The practice was discontinued.

In the same year Mr. Bernstein recorded that a Quebec parliamentarian had used the phrase, "a Jewish transaction" in an offensive manner. A leading member of the community protested against the expression, and the legislator publicly apologized for his unfortunate wording.

Another Quebec voice is heard at the height of anti-Semitic agitation:

In his political memoirs T.D. Bouchard recalled the religious fanaticism of the successors of the first ultramontanists and of the scribes who were in the pay of the intransigent clergy and clericalists that impelled the reactionaries of 1905 to combat citizens of the English language, and above all the Jews. As he saw it, since the Jews did not enjoy powerful influence in the political domain of the province or the country, the churchmen attacked them openly. "I can cite the Chicoutimi ultramontane Travailleur to illustrate the appeals to racial and religious prejudice to arouse French Canadians against their compatriots of Jewish origin.

"I found them so shameful and blameworthy, that I decided to become the only defender in the press of my province of a class of citizens so despisably maligned by one of the official newspapers of the separatists of the time, even though I was in the midst of a bitter electoral campaign.

"The author of the diatribe in the Travailleur had signed Petit Poucet to the program which he promised to adopt were he political dictator,

"'I would set all wheels in motion to keep far from our beloved country the most fearful of all plagues, the plague of the peoples, the Jews. I will not commit the incredible stupidity of receiving with open arms this contemptible race which seeks to stifle true civilization, to destroy Christianity, to undermine nations; which bears on its forehead the indelible mark of its horrible crime; the deicides across the ages who strive ever to destroy the divine religion founded by Him whom, with their hate, they nailed to the cross of Calvary.'

"The broad-minded clergymen, the true apostles of the brotherhood of the races which inhabit our country, who oppose the continuation of ignorance among the people -- these progressive thinkers have been drowned out by the mass of the retrograde, and their influence is nullified." (Mémoires. Montreal, Beauchemin, 1960, vol. 2, Pp. 100-4)

Forty years later his voice was heard again from the floor of the Senate when he attacked the Order of Jacques Cartier. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 33-34)

THE COMPLEXITY OF QUEBEC

Students of French Canada since the Bourassa of 1935 have dealt with this phenomenon of the history of this civilization and have sought to explain and to justify the harsh record of a Tardivel, a Groulx, an early Bourassa, a Paquet by describing the hardships of the period and by relating them to Quebec's "colonial" condition.

This remarkable religious-political movement has long interested students of Quebec nationalism. (Denis Monière; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 16-17)

There is no machinery for erasure in the workings of religious teaching, and the revived theme of ritual murder so rampant in Quebec in 1880-1915, if we choose an example, has never to this day been formally renounced or denounced by Christianity.

The application of this Catholic/Protestant, Anglo-Saxon/French contrast to the Canadian condition is complex and subtle, and does not lend itself to a simple one-to-one comparison. This difficulty enters all problems of the country, not least the nature of its anti-Semitism and its consequences upon civic peace in its multiculturalism. There is no simple thermometer to quantify the generalised racial or religious prejudice.

Historian L. Bergeron describes how Quebec became hostile to its Jews,

"The immigrants who came from all over Europe at the beginning of the century found themselves, like many new arrivals, at the bottom of the scale. But they succeeded in rising from the class of the exploited by playing the capitalist game of exploitation, and they became operators of petty businesses, food shops and small factories, with a life style approaching the Montreal English bourgeois class. They adopted English, the language of the exploiter, and resorted to French only to issue instructions to their Québécois workers and their domestics. In the eyes of the Québécois the exploiter was less the Englishman who pulled the hidden strings of high finance and great enterprise than the Jew of St. Lawrence Blvd. and Craig St., the manufacturer of slippers and clothing who was more clearly exploiting them."

As recently as 1983 nationalist historian Denis Monière, biographer of Laurendeau, sought to explain the thinking of the organizers of the 1933 anti-Jewish demonstration of the Jeune-Canada.

"Unfamiliar with the problems of international politics and overwhelmed with the anti-Semitism that beclouded the time, the

young nationalists attacked the French Canadian politicians. They did not intend to support the Nazi racist policy. Rather they sought to exploit the situation to show the inequality of the treatment which the politicians accorded to the minorities and the factual resignation of the francophone political élite. They blamed the French Canadian politicians for their concern with Jewish affairs while remaining silent about religious persecution in Mexico, Spain and Russia and for their disinterest in correcting the injustices against francophones in their own country." (Pp. 58-59)

Monière recalls the Laurendeau letter to H.M. Caiserman, (Clouds in the Thirties, section 4, Pp. 27-28) where the nationalist leader complained that "Jews had received favourable treatment upon their arrival in Canada," which was partly true early in the century when Canadian immigration policy was generous as it sought to industrialize; it needed to attract masses of immigrants, among them Jews. So their number grew from 2,703 in 1891 to 60,087 in 1931. The nationalists feared that this population increase threatened the linguistic balance, for the immigrants integrated into the anglophone community which dominated business and politics. But that was not the Jews' major failing; according to Laurendeau they represented a further social menace: internationalism and communism.

Monière notes a contradiction: he maintains that, good communists as they are, the Jews grab trade and finance and are the agents of our proletarianization. (Pp. 59-60)

He sees "xenophobia appearing in Quebec ideologies at periods of collective insecurity. It is not a cultural phenomenon; rather a consequence of socio-economic conjunctures, and should be seen as a perverse effect of colonialism. In this sense anti-Semitism served as an outlet for the anguish suffered by French Canadian society which experienced, at this period, changes imposed by outside forces. It was to some extent motivated by material interests. So the Jews were viewed by the urban petty bourgeoisie then as a threat because their roots of social mobility were the same as those of French Canadians who competed with them in the liberal professions and in small trade.

"Finally, under the conditions of colonial domination, the colonialist resorts to the strategy of diversion which strengthens ethnic rivalries to divide the dominated groups and diverts them from the real causes of their lesser condition. In this context the Jew becomes the scapegoat, responsible for our ills.

"At the same time the relationship with the Jews is ambiguous, for they are blamed for doing what French Canadians are themselves incapable of doing. They are blamed for not assimilating and for practising economic solidarity even as French Canadians are urged to do just this. We can well believe that in French Canada anti-Semitism feeds on our political subordination; this would explain the position of Les Jeune-Canada who had barely left the classical colleges and feel helpless in the face of their socio-economic problems; they accept

uncritically the ideas which their environment places before them." (Pp. 59-61)

Yves Laurendeau, in very positive supplementary comments to the Monière volume on Laurendeau, records certain reservations in regard to biographer Monière's analysis of anti-Semitism.

"I can readily follow Monière when he finds French Canadian anti-Semitism 'a perverse effect of colonialism'. But I do not quite follow his meaning in an otherwise well reasoned page on the anti-Semitism of Les Jeune-Canada.

"He writes, 'In situations of colonial domination, the colonizer resorts to a strategy of diversion which serves to arouse ethnic rivalries to divide the groups dominated and diverts them from the true causes of their subordination.'

"Does Monière mean that Les Jeune-Canada was directly manipulated by St. James St. or Bay St. when they denounced 'international Jewry?' The hypothesis is so improbable that I presume that he meant something else.

"But then what is the relationship between the events of 1933 and this remark seems coming straight from De bello gallico?" ("Note critique: En guise de supplément au Laurendeau de Monière," in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, vol. 38, no. 1, Summer 1984, P. 83)

For to accept reaction to economic or political conditions as an inevitable cause of the moral horror of anti-Semitism and to justify this murderous ideology and genocidal practice as a consequence of such conditions is to endorse and to participate in the Canadian phase of the cosmic Auschwitz and in the Canadian attack upon its victims. It is virtually to promise further such atrocities under similar conditions; it is to void any hope that in the future Canada will not repeat its horror record which was described in part in I. Abella and H. Troper's None is too Many when and if in the future the country may have occasion to face painful problems. (Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1982)

Aside from the political and social implications of these anti-Semitic teachings -- implications which exerted their influence over a very long period -- it must be remembered that they were also expressed on the religious level; the attitudes and the lessons thus conveyed became a portion of the dogma of the church; the ideas thus disseminated by churchmen and by ecclesial institutions were not only permitted to the faithful but have become part of the unchanging teaching and tradition which united the communicants and, by definition, bound them permanently. They may not be reiterated during a certain period, but they are never erased from the corpus of church teachings, and every idea expressed by a Canadian church authority can be revived any time in the future and cited as binding

and authoritative anywhere in the universal church; as such obscure statements have been revived and imported into Quebec.

But then another question arises in the face of this hostility: how did the Jews manage to immigrate, to live, to multiply, to trade, to serve -- in a minimum of violence, in peace and in peacefulness? How did so much love of Canada and of Quebec grow in such circumstances, and how much regard between man and man? Precious little thanks to the teachers and leaders.

The gross population statistics provide one challenge. The reader of Jewish history in Poland -- not to speak of Germany or the Ukraine -- is familiar with the fate and the condition of the Jews in a society where nationalism and church are set on the Jews. Even for the reader of this history in more civilized France, of the wild campaign in France following the suicide of Col. Henry, the Quebec fact became astounding; for there was nothing like it in New France!

The sheer demographic count of Jews who have chosen from the first Canadian day to settle in this geography belittles and belies the sweeping anti-Semitic label on Quebec and the philo-Semitic label on anglophone provinces. The anti-Semitic record in the other provinces and in the federal capital and the immigration story between the world wars warn against easy general conclusions.

The key to the problem seems to lie in qualities of character which are difficult to quantify or to track, yet cannot be ignored. But they are themselves a product of the ethical and familial teachings of the religious and political authorities which are in question.

For there was or is a Quebec human characteristic of moderation which led the citizen to set limits to extremism, led him to listen and consent -- up to the point where excessiveness became apparent. He set parameters even to following his revered teachers. It may not have appeared in print frequently but was often imprinted in family tradition, in speech conventions and in political behaviour.

It is a delicate task to examine this record without losing sight of the character of the French Canadian people who were the beneficiaries of the leadership qualities of these great men -- yet also the victims on many levels of their moral weaknesses.

The conceptual and methodological problems became the more difficult because the printed record is so nearly unanimous in its anti-Semitism. Of most of those who did not share in this hate campaign, often the best that can be said is that they were silent. In that beleaguered and traditionally conformist and disciplined world none or few ever raised their hand, to call a halt or to disagree. To disagree with the archbishop? With Tardivel? With reactionary European philosophers and churchmen who have been granted a monopoly access to Quebec?

For there were dissidents in the very heart of the unanimous Quebec society. Silent in public they constituted the brake upon the extremism in the establishment. Sometimes they were high in the church structure; sometimes they were cosmopolitan Montreal restraining the insular capital of the province. Sometimes they were the voices of the moderation and decency inherent in the balanced paysan tradition, the habitants hospitable to the Jewish peddlers; the men and women who ensured restraint of violence, who guaranteed the sophisticated peaceable character of Quebec politics.

They resolve in part, a basic question at the root of Canadian Jewish history.

For one element must be noticed, difficult as it is to assimilate. The anti-Semitism was sincerely Christian in its vocabulary, even when it came from nationalistic sources. They were Christian even if they often preferred to choose anti-Semitic positions rather than religious positions when choices had to be made. But as Christians they frequently, perhaps constantly, drew their own Christian limits to their teachings, however contradictory it may have been and seem to be to the present reader. They constantly reiterated in the midst of their tirades: "We must remember at all times we must act as Christians, without hate, without violence, without injustice." And this did mean much.

TURNING ANGLO-SAXON

In examining the record we might note that the ideology of Old Quebec was based upon the ancient Catholic theology while the civic religion of anglophone Canada was taught in social terms of political democracy; they were not mirror images of comparable realities.

But in both cases they reflected the ideals of the two societies. In both cases their ideals were not identical with their realities.

For a variety of fundamental reasons the Jewish heartland in eastern Europe was becoming increasingly aware of the west, and notably of the British empire, during the nineteenth century. The traditions and the hope underlying the anglophone world became increasingly the premises and the ideology underlying world Jewry, not least the Canadian Jewish community.

Michael Brown notes that "At the end of the eighteenth century perhaps 20,000 Jews lived in English-speaking countries, most of them in the British Isles. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, about a quarter of world Jewry, some 3,000,000 people, lived in the English-speaking world, most of them in the United States. It was foreseen in 1900 that by the end of the twentieth century half of the world's Jews would be Anglophone.

"There was also the quality of Jewish life in Anglo-Saxon countries. The freedom, which Jews as individuals experienced in the English-speaking world, contrasted most favorably with mounting public manifestations of anti-Semitism in France, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and especially Russia. London and New York were rapidly becoming major Jewish centers rivalling eastern and central Europe in religious and cultural achievements. Aaron Mordecai Ashinsky, Montreal Orthodox rabbi, spoke for much of world Jewry in 1900, when he rejoiced that the Anglo-Saxon 'race would finally govern the whole world.' Rabbi Ashinsky found Anglo-Saxon 'institutions just...and their laws...worthy of the highest respect.'

"Canada was, however, more than just an Anglo-Saxon country to Jews, it was a British country. Readers of the eastern European Jewish press were reminded from time to time that 'the state of Canada is governed by Britain.'

"The British government made what seemed to be a direct response to the Kishineff massacre. It offered the Zionist Congress a territory in east Africa, which the Jews might use to colonize their long-abused brethren of eastern Europe. Canadian Jews were

enthusiastic. A Montreal meeting urged the Zionists to accept the British offer, but also to remain mindful of the ultimate goal of Palestine. The offer was rejected by the Zionists and withdrawn by the British government. Among Jews, however, it served as testimony to British concern. Among non-Jews the offer furthered the anticipation that some day Britain intended to make Palestine a colony and to settle it with Jews." (Pp. 133,39)

A century full of impressive events shaped the impression that the legislation passed in Quebec might be hostile to Jews, and that only federal and anglophone laws could be relied upon for fairness and justice towards Jews and other minority groups.

Canadian Jews appreciated the protection of the Anglo-Saxon law of the land the more keenly, and this perception communicated to Russian Hebrew writers who had occasion to touch on Canada. Brown refers to Vilno writer Kalman Shulman, author of Mosdai Eretz (1871),

"Many Jews live in Canada, although we do not know exactly how many. One thing we do know, however, is that in Canada there is but one constitution for all the...citizens, that under it no one is any better than anyone else, that all march together in the light of freedom and enjoy peace."

M. Brown cites notes the contrast with the attitude towards the Jews taken by Protestant writers,

"Many Anglo-Canadians believed Judaism to be a part of their heritage and found Jews acceptable, if not desirable, neighbors. Protestants in Canada continued to be very caught up in the Hebrew Bible and language."

The Montreal Daily Witness dealt with the Jewish community.

"The Hebrew citizens of Montreal and, perhaps in a less degree, of other places in this province, are at present enduring severe and bitter attacks from an anti-Semitic section of immigrants from the continent of Europe.

"The Jew has been called a thief, a murderer, a scoundrel, and a dangerous enemy to the state. He has been vilified, calumniated and lied about without limit or compunction. He has, as a rule, suffered in silence and borne his lot without a murmur. Finally, these tactics have been adopted by recent arrivals in Canada, who make Montreal their place of abode.

"'We do not feel that it would be right,' said a well-known Hebrew citizen to a Witness reporter a few days ago, 'to let these things go unchecked, and we have decided to invoke the protection and justice guaranteed to British subjects.

"'Scoffs and sneers have often been the lot of our people, and men in the highest positions in our land have not disguised the curl of the lip, the frown, the gruff tone and the disdainful glance which betrayed the heart-hatred which they dared not openly express.

"'We do not believe that these sentiments are deep or widespread, but if the lies and calumny that have appeared in certain sheets published in Montreal lately are allowed to be circulated in the future among the uneducated classes and those easily susceptible to prejudice, serious results may naturally be expected. It is in an effort to avert a national calamity that now takes the representatives of our community in this city before the courts.

"'We now number ten thousand souls, hold several thousand votes, and possess no small proportion of the wealth of the city; and in any case are entitled to fair play. We merely ask, in the name of justice and equal rights, the enjoyment of unmolested citizenship. It is anticipated that the events of the next few weeks will put a new face on the situation.'

"The Witness has obtained the opinions of several prominent Hebrew citizens on the general Jewish situation in Montreal as arising out of the recent attacks on citizens of that nationality by a local French paper. The views expressed by Mr. Harris Vineberg may be taken as voicing the sentiments of the Jewish community.

"Mr. Vineberg says that those persons who have been employing their talents in vilifying his race are not Canadians; they could not be loyal to our country and utter such sentiments as have been published by them. They cannot have the welfare of this Dominion at heart, for if they had they would be matters of common knowledge. The Jewish people of this country have nothing to fear from the publication of the truth. They do not wish to boast of their loyalty, though they would be willing to shed their blood, if necessary, to cement the empire; but they do wish to express their appreciation of and gratitude for the friendly and kindly treatment they have ever received from the Christian communities and all fair-minded men of the Dominion.

"'It was at first thought best,' he said, 'to treat the false and scurrilous statements which have appeared in certain irresponsible sheets published in Montreal with contempt; but, when these libellous and mischievous articles continued to be written and circulated as widely as their authors could possibly circulate them, and it was felt that to allow such malicious action to continue might endanger the lives and property of the innocent persons so unfairly accused and denounced, it was decided to take such steps as might be necessary to stop the propaganda.

"'As law-abiding citizens the law was invoked; the Jewish people are willing to abide by the decision and they have no fear of the result. They do not look merely to the judgment of the courts to

vindicate their position and rights but they look with confidence to the verdict of public opinion, which has already to some extent been reflected in connection with the notorious Dreyfus case. To have their position brought to public notice, their enemies revealed and their rights recognized will be of more value than a mere judgment in a semi-private case.'

"Mr. Vineberg, as a past president of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, has had in late years, special opportunities for watching the tide of immigration and of knowing the character of his countrymen who have been coming to Canada. Though many of them came from countries where they suffered oppression and cruelty, he considers that they will compare, in respect to industry, thrift and morals, with any other class of immigrants. They are a source of pride to every good citizen.

"'The older Jewish residents of Montreal, who have had the communal interests of their people at heart and had the management of their institutions for the past fifteen years, have made it one of their cardinal principles, almost a part of their religion, to Canadianize the newcomers of their nationality.

"'With this end in view they have established schools in which both young and old are given the rudiments of an English education. The French and English languages are taught, and instruction is given in the constitution of the Dominion. Lectures are frequently given showing the contrast between this blessed country and those countries from which many of our people come, and we teach our people to be self-respecting, independent, ambitious and to hold their heads up as other men's equals under the flag that makes equality possible. The results are marvellous and, if we cannot succeed in transforming all of the older men and women to the fullest extent desirable, we have more than succeeded with the younger element.

"'We need only point to the Zion Cadets and the Baron de Hirsch Cadets and see the pride they take in wearing His Majesty's uniform to prove the effect of all this on their patriotism. Jewish parents have had the greatest trouble lately to keep some of the youngsters from going to South Africa. Several of them who were of age went, as a matter of fact, and have distinguished themselves, while not less than fifteen others under age were unable on this account to gratify their wishes by serving in the army. I cannot speak too highly of the good work the Baron de Hirsch Institute is doing, not only for Jews but for the Dominion at large. It is simply training our people to be good citizens. We have reason to be loyal Canadians. It should go without saying that Canadians are loyal no matter of what origin.

"'Anti-Semites,' he continued, 'usually try to impress upon their disciples the idea that the Jew lives without work. To refute this charge it is only necessary to visit the factories in which they

work. If ever men and women give value for their wages the Jewish laborer does.

"'The majority of those who have come to Montreal in the last twelve years have been working people. Many industries would suffer to-day for want of good help if the Jewish mechanics were withdrawn from this city. These people earn good wages by their skill and spend their money with wisdom and economy.

"'If this does not constitute good citizenship,' added Mr. Vineberg, 'I do not know what does.'

"Mr. Vineberg has Jewish book-keepers, clerks, bank messengers and others in his employ whom he has trained, in some cases, from their orphaned childhood and they are to-day capable, trustworthy and reliable in every way and a credit to their race and religion, which cannot be said in every case of their traducers. Mr. Vineberg's opinion of his employees can be corroborated by bank managers and other prominent business men with whom they have to deal." (Jewish Times, March 14, 1902)

On another occasion the Witness noted that the Hebrew citizens of Montreal, "and perhaps in a less degree, of other places in this province, are at present enduring severe, bitter criticism from an anti-Semitic section of immigrants from the continent of Europe." The Montreal Protestant newspaper continues with a statement by a Jewish citizen defending the character of their "countrymen who have been coming to Canada... They compare well in respect to industry, thrift and morals with any other class of immigrants... They have made it one of their cardinal principles, almost part of their religion, to Canadianize the newcomers of their nationality. They have established schools in which both young and old are given the rudiments of an English education."

Similarly we read that "Bishop Ussher, formerly of St. Bartholomew's Church, Montreal, spoke before the Victorian Club, Boston, on the persecution of the Semite as a blot on Christendom, and his paper was a vigorous and substantial defence of Jewish national and individual character. It was an earnest, eloquent and thoroughly appreciative review of what Jews have done for mankind in all the walks of life.

"He referred to the senseless antagonism of Christianity as represented by so-called Christians as enough to make him that sitteth in the heavens laugh, were it not for the cruel, unjust condition that is produced by the bigotry of ignorance and the senselessness of superstition. After describing the world-wide persecution of the Jews, he referred to the lack of social intercourse between them and Christians, and asked:- 'Had you not better drop your prejudice and see for yourselves what the Jews really are? I tell you, your highly cultured people will find them equals in all that is good and true and pure.'" (Ibid., Mar. 3, 1899)

George Coulson Workman (1848-1936), "a prominent Methodist minister and professor of Old Testament Studies at Victoria College, Toronto (Workman later taught at Montreal Wesleyan College), undertook to defend the Hebrews and their Bible from the attacks of Bible critics. When Goldwin Smith and others claimed that the Jews practiced a primitive form of religion, Workman replied unequivocally:

"'No nation other than the Jews entertained such a lofty conception of the Deity as a transcendant moral person (sic); and no religion other than Judaism laid such emphasis on justice between man and man, on mercy to both man and beast, or on meekness and humility before God.'"

Brown adds, "It was an affirmation of Judaism with which many of Workman's fellow Protestants agreed.

"The Protestant affinity for Judaism was not only theoretical. Many Protestant ministers saw Jews as the embodiment of the Protestant ethic: 'temperate, home-loving, intelligent, industrious and ambitious.'

In Montreal, Professor Brodie Brockwell of McGill University encouraged Jews and Christians to study Jewish culture and the Hebrew language. In Halifax, Dr. Edwin Clay, a philo-Semitic Free Baptist, was immigration agent in the years before World War I. He saw to it that almost no Jews who arrived at that port of entry were refused admission into the country." (Pp. 306-7; V.B. Rhodenizer. Canadian Literature in English. Montreal, 1915, Pp. 291, 358; Jan Goeb. "The Maritimes," in Viewpoints, vol. 7, no. 3, 1973. Pp. 9-23)

JEWISH PERCEPTIONS

The Jewish residents of the colony were aware of their political condition in Lower Canada but felt confident as they clung to the agents of the English tradition, the carriers of British law and Anglo-Saxon political traditions of justice and of American traditions of democracy; all of which hardened their anglophony and their suspicion of the francophone cultural traditions. Developments in Catholic and anti-Dreyfusard Europe, and France not least, did not bring Jewish québécois closer to their francophone neighbours.

Michael Brown cites an important early document which portrays the climate in which the Jews of the United Province of Canada were living.

The date is 1858, before Confederation, when Upper and Lower Canada were a single colony. Quebec Jews had virtually one synagogue, no Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, one minister. The Catholic church was preparing the Syllabus of Errors; the Gazette des campagnes had not yet begun its propaganda against modernism and Jews.

Overseas the church had just kidnapped the Jewish Mortara child in Bologna and the pope had acquiesced in the crime. Jews everywhere were trembling for their children, now at the mercy of their housemaids. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33) The United States was one of the countries where it was possible for Jews to convene a meeting of protest against the kidnapping of the Mortara child.

Montreal Jews decided to be represented at this New York meeting and delegated Alexander Levy, prominent importer and retailer of cut glass, china and Sheffield plate, as their spokesman. A.D. Hart, historian of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel and editor of The Jew in Canada, calls him "one of the most zealous and capable workers who ever held office on the board of trustees." (The Jew in Canada. Toronto, 1926. P. 84) He was the first man to speak for Canada at an international gathering convened to deal with affairs of Jewish concern and to report on Canadian conditions. He was greeted warmly and invited to sit on the platform while the chairman introduced him as "a delegate from the Jewish congregation of Montreal specially deputed to attend this meeting."

The Jewish Messenger of December 10, 1858 cited Levy's careful statement,

"In presenting myself here before this meeting, with the kind permission of the executive committee, I would claim your indulgence for a few moments. I have come five hundred miles for the purpose of joining you in the name of our co-religionists residing in Montreal, in an earnest protest against the abduction of young Mortara, and consider myself well paid for the journey for the eloquence to which I have listened this evening. I am here to assure you that, though dwelling where our city is soon to be girt with an icy barrier, our hearts are warm.

"We live as you know in a community of whom by far the greater part are Catholics. But we have no fear for our little ones. We are protected by a flag that gives a home to the oppressed of all creeds. In our intercourse with the Catholics we respect and are respected; hence we feel for the oppressed by a despotic government, and can express an abhorrence of an act that robs a father and a mother of a darling child. Hence I have been delegated by the Israelites of Montreal to come here and unite with you in your expression of indignation for the outrage committed on our coreligionist Mortara. I thank you for the kind attention with which you have been pleased to listen to my remarks."

Brown reports, "Some of the speakers who followed Levy criticized him for not speaking out in his native city. But there is a note of fear in his words. Doubtless Levy felt that he and his fellow Montreal Jews were doing all they dared in sending a delegate to the New York meeting." (Pp. 94-95)

Mr. Levy concluded amid loud cheers from the meeting who appeared to appreciate the action of their Montreal brethren.

The report of the meeting which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of December 5, 1858 included these expressions,

"We reside among a community more especially Catholic than any on this continent, and Catholic dogma is one and unequivocal -- this at least is claimed for them by the Catholic church itself. But (we) are protected by a flag like yourselves. Where the law of habeas corpus prevails, we have no fear for our little ones even though, by the officiousness of their nurses, they may be baptized; therefore we can more sensibly feel for our less favored brethren residing in a Catholic despotic government and community.

"We therefore desire to add our small voice here, which the isolated action of a few could not do in the city of our homes; more particularly that our friends, and those with whom we are in daily intercourse, are those subject to the Church of Rome."

Later in the session Henry Levy remarked that the gentleman from Montreal had stated that they were surrounded by Roman Catholics in that part of Canada and that they did not wish to agitate the subject there. Mr. Levy considered that that was the quarter

where the subject should be agitated, and that they ought to place the matter fairly before the Catholics of the United States. He was sure that they would find sympathy. The Catholics of America were the very power that could move the Vatican and Secretary Cass as well. (Loud cheers) It was a Catholic question more than a Jewish one, and one of the utmost importance to the citizens of the United States. The papal authorities had lost their prestige in the old country and had sought to reestablish it in America, and he was sure as friends of humanity the Catholics of America spurn such an act.

After an eloquent address Mr. Levy concluded by impressing on the audience the necessity of consulting the Roman Catholics on the subject who, he was sure, would give them every assistance in the matter. His remarks were received with great applause by the audience.

IN SEARCH OF BALANCE

It is difficult to analyse the Quebec Jewish reaction to the anti-Semitic phenomenon in the province.

The Jewish citizenry noted the anti-Semitic phenomena in Anglo-Canada and did not dismiss them. Yet it felt that these words and deeds -- dangerous and sinister as they were, evocative of evil pasts -- ran counter to the deepest streams of this anglophone civilization.

Toronto scholar Goldwin Smith, the prime anti-Semite of Anglophone Canada of this period, was a constant concern for the 1897-founded Jewish Times. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32)

There is little continuing documentation from the community. The Yiddish Eagle (the Adler) had few reports or references to the anti-Jewish propaganda. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26) The Jewish Times was gravely concerned with the Dreyfus case but little with Quebec or other Canadian anti-Semites except for Goldwin Smith. The minutes of the Baron de Hirsch Institute illustrate how very energetic and even effective it could be in dealing with such issues as the 1902-3 school crisis and obligatory Sunday observance four years later. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 3, 14) Yet they do not reflect any particular concern with the anti-Semitic propaganda emanating from Quebec.

Only upon the provocation of notary Plamondon did this anglophone society act with great vigour. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26-27)

B.G. Sack, journalist with the Yiddish Eagle, explains the inaction on the Jewish side in part by the absence of Jews from political life; "it is not to be expected," he wrote, "that the Christian legislators, to whom anti-Semitism is not alien, will become aggressive on behalf of the Jews." He also notes that many Jews are constantly assuring themselves and others that the anti-Semitic propaganda is in reality quite insignificant.

One of the great Jews of Canada's past, Yehudah Kaufman -- intellectual, historian, Zionist, co-founder of the Canadian Jewish Congress -- faced the issue "of French-Jewish Relations" in Reuben Brainin's Der Veg on February 18, 1916.

"I touch a question which is different from the many current issues of the day because of the taboo surrounding it. There seems to be a conspiracy forbidding the very mention of the problem. No

one speaks of it. Is this hush-hush policy wise? Maybe it has developed out of slavish fear.

"Would it not be wiser to put it on our agenda clearly and openly? This course seems advisable to me; indeed it is the only road open to us. We need to keep our eyes open and to seek solutions to the problem, to move appropriately in matters shaping French Canadian attitudes towards the Jew in the province.

"We should not attempt to deny that the French here are not friendly towards the Jews. This is manifested not only in their thinking but in displays of hatred and contempt. Reports of court proceedings in Montreal document frequent fights between Jews and Frenchmen, with the latter always the aggressor. Anyone living in or visiting a French Canadian neighbourhood becomes accustomed to hearing such epithets as 'Dirty Jew' or 'Cursed Jew' not only mockingly but with true venom. A friend who operates a store in such a district tells me that when he is unable to answer their questions in French well the customers call him a dirty Jew or buy only their barest necessities.

"When you seek to move to another home and come across 'No Jews' signs you need to know that the command is English but that its author is French. When inquisitiveness is strong and you open the door, you find that the elderly woman who opens the door in most cases speaks broken English. She will tell you unceremoniously that the landlord 'doesn't trust your people,' and that 'your people' are not clean. When a Jewish tenant asked for a reduction in rent he was told clearly that 'it is enough that your people are admitted into houses at all.'

"When Jewish and French electors meet in political campaigns, the Jewish candidates are taunted for being Jewish, while French voters threaten Jews in terms I prefer not to quote.

"The Quebec blood libel case was not an extraordinary event. It was bound to happen with all the anti-Semitic poison being spread in this province.

"The causes for this French anti-Semitism are not hidden deep beneath the surface. They are chiefly economic, political and religious.

"The economic reason for Jew hatred is largely the Jewish practice of peddling. The peddler is seen to be gaining a large fortune by selling to French persons who cannot pay in cash for their goods. They could not live without the peddler. However, the interest they have to pay on the merchandise they thus bought was a parallel to what the peasants paid to moneylenders. They feel victimized.

"The political cause of anti-Semitism grew from the closeness of the Jews with the English nation, culturally and economically. We send our children to English schools and not to the French. We live and have our stores and workshops in the English districts. In so doing we have cut ourselves off from the French segment of the population.

"There is no question as to why we did this; of wrong or right. It is a fact of life that we congregate in the amalgam of nationalities. In this way we became an instrument used by one nation against the other.

"The third, direct reason is the Catholic church whose teachings are based upon a condemnation of the Jews. Catholic reality seems to be entrenched on Jewish blood. Catholic education does not tolerate progressive developments among the French masses and will not tolerate their children growing up without hate of the Jews who, they teach them, have sold their God, desecrate their Host, use children's blood for Matzot, disregard the teachings of the Jesuits and reject the salvation offered them in this life. They oppose the unions.

"Of the three causes this last is the worst because this hatred is being sewn against us every day. As this continues unabated, new generations of anti-Semites arise every day.

"We must not let this happen. We must find means, both peaceful and active, to improve our relations with the French. We live with them side by side in one nationality, in one land. We must learn to know one another, to understand each other, to create together." (Translation by Louis Chait)

One Quebecer who faced this problem of perception years later was the editorial writer of the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, probably A.M. Klein. He defended his province against the external journalistic critics of Quebec who habitually, to use his own terms, "went to town" on the province.

"They have, -- with justice, -- railed against the anti-Semitism which prevails in our region, and spoken -- with an unpardonable hypocrisy -- as if that anti-Semitism were a Quebec monopoly.

"Now, let us make ourselves clear: that there are certain forces in this province which seek to exploit race-hatreds and religious bigotries for the benefit of their own political or commercial purpose has been all too blatantly demonstrated, and on far too many occasions in our provincial annals. That these forces ought to be unmasked, and shown to be what they really are -- arsonists against the public peace, traffickers in intellectual narcotics -- goes without saying. Both the protection of minorities and the welfare of the province demand it. Insofar as progressive newspapers, here and

outside the province, contributed towards this objective, their efforts are to be welcomed and applauded.

"But it is quite another thing when editorial writers go out of their way to give the impression that the entire province of Quebec is a domain of intolerance, and every one of its citizens -- and the adjective 'French-speaking' is invariably added to make their intention and their purpose clear -- a carrier of the anti-Semitic virus. This is simply not the truth." (Dec. 29, 1944)

It was not until September 30, 1983 that an eminent Jewish legislator and authentic spokesman for the Quebec Jewish community, Herbert Marx, M.N.A., was able to declare, at the formal proclamation of the amended and enriched Quebec Charter of Human Rights,

"It is often said that Quebec is not a province like the others, and this time in regard to personal rights; I would like to refer to two senses in which it is not a province like the others. In the first place, by virtue of legislation we have adopted here and which has been adopted in other provinces.

"I have had occasion to study the provincial legislation in most provinces, and I have been surprised to learn, for example, that in one province there was a law that demanded that Chinese, citizens of Chinese origin, carry identity cards. In other legislation I found that it was forbidden for Hindus and for Asiatics to practice certain professions, such as pharmacy. In other legislation there was discrimination against certain religious sects, such as the Doukhobors, and I have found in one Canadian province schools reserved only for black people. There are other similar examples which I pass over at this moment.

"However, in making this study I have never found a Quebec law or a case of discrimination against any person by virtue of his ethnic origin, his religion or his colour.

"Secondly, since its adoption in 1975, our Quebec charter has been the most progressive of all provincial legislations of Canada. For instance in our charter it is forbidden to discriminate against or towards anyone because of his social condition. This is a provision not found anywhere else in Canada.

"Furthermore, by the amendments which we have adopted during the past eight years and by the amendments which come into force tomorrow, we preserve our advance position in this matter. For example, in the new amendment access to equality is provided, and it is established that a tribunal in such cases can order the application of such a program of access to equality. This is new. Such provisions are not to be found in the legislation of other provinces.

"In summary we are, and should be, proud of our accomplishments in the realm of the protection of the rights and liberties of the person."

Premier René Lévesque, who also spoke from the same platform that morning, admitted that he, like many others, were happily surprised by Mr. Marx' address, and he quoted at length from it the same day before the entire national assembly:

"At first glance we are surprised because its author is not one of ours politically; and also because it is customary to run down our province in his circles, often to depreciate it in our own eyes. But he who spoke these words this morning was well situated to do so, for he is both a jurist and a Jew; that is to say, because he is well trained professionally to speak of it and shaped by history and by ancestral heritage to a sensibility to these matters.

"In closing I state simply: rarely have I heard anyone evoke so well, from so important and delicate an approach, the difference that is Quebec, and show us how rich it is and also how promising."

TARDIVEL PERE

Possibly the most remarkable of these nationalist spokesmen for Quebec interests as they saw them: Jules Paul Tardivel.

That very unusual person, American-born Julius (or Jules) Paul Tardivel has willed a great influence upon Quebec thinking, an influence which is still subliminally operative upon many who believe that they have outgrown or renounced him.

For his La Vérité, even as late as 1907 the condemnation of freedom of conscience, of freedom of worship and of tolerating the heretic, as spelled out in the encyclical of 1864 by Pius IX, were fundamental to Christian thought. (Jules Romain. "Le Libéralisme catholique," Aug. 31, 1907)

Tardivel represents a tragic phenomenon from which Quebec patriotism, beginning with his date, suffered deeply: many of its most profound and dedicated workers for the political cause of this people were touched by the plague of anti-Semitism which destroyed their moral value totally and by association raised questions about the merit of their national matter.

His articulate leadership of the militant and extremist movements within Quebec church and politics was wielded through the unique medium which he created and which became remarkably identified with his person: the weekly La Vérité.

Pierre Savard wrote, "By virtue of independence of spirit he established most firmly the ideal of a journal of ideas which could still be envisaged at the end of the nineteenth century. A formidable and feared polemicist he always sought to raise debates to the level of ideas -- and succeeded in these efforts." (Jules-Paul Tardivel, La France et des Etats-Unis, 1851-1905. Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967)

As a young man Tardivel became rooted in nationalism during his apprenticeship in Quebec journalism; there La Vérité sprouted and grew and spread its influence over ideology in the province for nearly half a century -- particularly in the direction of consistent anti-Semitism.

Tardivel was one of the most active members of the Quebec City Cercle catholique, the heart of the ultramontane movement in the province.

Father Lacasse was a member of the group who were decisive in founding La Vérité. Even when he was living far from Quebec he

continued to contribute to the weekly and to encourage Tardivel. (Pierre Savard, P. 104; Lacasse obituary by Omer Héroux in Le Devoir, Mar. 3, 1921; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32)

"The participation of the missionary priest was valuable for the publishers, for he was well known and long remembered as a preacher and lecturer who was popular among very broad classes, as a sterling character with a talent for picturesque ideas and expressions; unquestionably without a peer." (Huard, P. 293)

Tardivel recalled the adventure of the founding of La Vérité in his Mélanges, ou Receuil d'études religieuses, sociales, politiques et littéraires, premiere série, tome troisieme. Québec, S.A. Demers, 1903. Pp. V-VI):

Totally at a loss as to his further plans, "just when I was leaving Le Canadien, Father Lacasse arrived from I know not what distant mission. When he heard that I was free, he told me, 'You will establish a newspaper; not a large one, modest, a weekly, staunchly Catholic, militant, independent of persons or of political parties.'

"'But, father, I have no capital, barely enough to live on for several months.'

"'It does not matter. Begin with a pilgrimage to Ste-Anne and begin publishing. I will collaborate with you and you will find subscribers.'

"I must say that if the good father could not keep his promise for a long time, it was only that reasons beyond his control prevented him from doing so."

Tardivel followed the counsel of Father Lacasse and set up a modest weekly, steeped in Catholicism, independent of persons and political parties. Without any hesitation he fought the Quebec cabinet and the Liberal Party who sought to imprison him. Politicians sued him. Even ultramontane bishops and other clergymen kept their distance from him.

He therefore remains an unforgettable figure in the annals of Canadian idealism, even when many of his causes, promises and hatreds have proven to be damaging to the very society he was dedicated to advance.

He founded La Vérité as a journal of ideas in 1881 with the collaboration of Abbé Zacharie Lacasse; his collaborators later included C.-J. Magnan and Omer Héroux. (André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin. La Presse québécoise des origines jusqu'à nos jours. Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1977, vol. 3. Pp. 40-42)

During a stormy quarter of a century (1881-1905) when, at times, he had to set the type himself and moved the press into his home basement, he hammered his message of Catholicism, ultramontanism, French Canadian nationalism and anti-Semitism with devotion and consistency.

"At the root of Tardivel's ultramontane ideology there lies a theological conception of history in that every phenomenon is presented as a result of divine providence. Aside from fatalism there also flows from this position a representation of the oppositionist forces which, in this manic dream perspective, can only be satanic. Therefore, all that does not conform or which contests the established order is an incarnation of evil and must be eliminated. Because of its absolutist dimension this ideology cannot tolerate difference, and certainly not dissidence. Whether Rouges or freemasons or Jews, the unions and later the Communists, all are defined as enemies of God and of the church. No compromise is possible." (Le Développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours. P.224)

An observation by André-J. Belanger on the political thinking of early Quebec nationalists is not irrelevant. They "admittedly drew from medieval sources and praised virtues which are described as primitive. Medieval catholicism has become one of the distinctive features of French Canada." (L'Apolitisme des idéologies québécoises, Le Grand tournant de 1923-36. Quebec, Les Presses de Université Laval, 1974. Pp. 208-9)

Years later the unfriendly La Nation formulated its view of Tardivel's role in Quebec reaction to Jews.

The very confused "Prologue on the Jewish Theme," with the pressure cooker mixture of facts, fictions, lies and provocations which mark the "learning" of Arcand and his peers, put it thus,

"In French Canada the Jewish question does not arise. It will arise if suddenly and surely Hitler and Mussolini convey their tender exegesis to us. Until now Jews and French Canadians have gotten along quite well.

"But each massive migration corresponds with an anti-Semitic movement, effective if not violent. In 1881 the entire conservative press denounced the Jewish peril: Tardivel at the Vérité and Trudel at the Etandard.

"The Canadian Jew is a fanatical imperialist and centralizer. No Jew has ever defended French Canadian interests. On the contrary, they have always fought against our national liberation movements. It would then take but a spark to set fire to the powder.

"With good fortune there will no pogroms in Laurentia. Why? Because, if the Jews do not understand us, we know what benefits we can draw from their own patriotism.

"Besides, are we not, to some extent, Jews par excellence? No history is closer to our own than the Jews'. Once we were masters of this part of America. New France was our Promised Land. The English came and dispossessed us of it in a catastrophe similar to the fall of Jerusalem. We have been persecuted and dispersed. But we have remained faithful to our oaths. We have fought for the reconquest of our political rights...Like the Jews we have had men faithful to our religious and ethnic origins. At one point the English thought that they possessed us. It seemed to them that the French Canadian problem no longer existed. We would become Englishmen and Protestants. The persecution of our schools across Canada froze our 'men of good will.'

"Splendid Jews, without knowing it you have saved us with your Theodore Herzl, author of the Judenstadt. It was a historical precedent."

With a similar sense of historiography the author of "The Jews Facing our History" notes in that issue of La Nation that the first Israelite invasion, a Whitechapel ghetto, a tribe of Jewish families, the seed of the 150,000 Jews now in the country, reached New France inauspiciously, at the moment of the Fall of New France, part of the evil work of the English, together with the ridiculous Catholic Irish -- all partners in piracy to dispossess us of our rights.

"It is a bizarre fact. During the century and a half of the French épopée in America the colony was not the home of a single Jew. Is there a relationship between the two facts?"

Marcel Hamel "credits" Tardivel with the profound anti-Semitism implanted at century's end into French Canada.

"By his daily attacks on Jewry he again brought up the Jewish question in Canada. One man, with his French passion, could have put an end to the Jewish immigration and cut off the evil at its roots: Honoré Mercier. Tardivel fought him to the end and foundered with the ridiculous mystification of Léo Taxil and other 'freemasons.'

"Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Catholic journalism exercised a certain influence on the present generation. If French Canadians despise Jews -- not because of their nationality, but largely because of the Jewish hostility to Christianity -- it is because of Tardivel and the Grand-Vicar Trudel." (La Nation, Aug. 18, 1938)

The circulation figures of the serious Quebec press at this period are of great interest. Tardivel's periodical began in 1883 with 1,000 copies and rose to 3,500 at the time of his passing.

This compares with the official Semaine religieuse de Québec initial figure of 1,000 in 1892, which rose half a century later to 4,000 and declined by 1960 to 3,000. (La Presse québécoise)

For the reader of Canadian Jewish history its pages also constitute a body of basic documentation on their neighbours' attitude to them and on their enemies' strategies and attacks.

THE GROULX TESTIMONY

At the beginning of the century, Chanoine Groulx records in his Mes Mémoires, (vol. 1, p. 85),

"La Vérité was the only exterior reading matter tolerated in the Grand Séminaire of Valleyfield." The great leader of French Canadian nationalism recalls that "This small Quebec paper commented each week with rare good sense on the decisive events of Canadian life. I was therefore able to keep up to date those younger students who had a more avid curiosity and who were too much the prisoners of their environment."

This privileged position of the nationalistic and spirited anti-Semitic Vérité and in the life of the young Abbé Groulx and of the Valleyfield educational world may have exerted a decisive influence in Canadian history. This can be understood best from the careful reading of this cleric's Mes Mémoires which it deserves.

"In these snatches of conversation, largely directed in certain senses -- but needled by their sharpness -- was I able to shape the first ideas of nationalism of such young men as Jules Fournier. I do not know." Chanoine Groulx notes.

It was in this institution imbued with this philosophy that Groulx began his systematic training and spiritual direction of young people. Here was the birthplace of the Croisade des adolescents and of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne and its congresses. They developed within the information sphere of La Vérité; their anti-Semitism as a premise is therefore not surprising.

Suddenly without any other preparation, the priest appears not only as a man of ethics, but also as a militant French Canadian nationalist, replete with the dissatisfaction of the rebel, the antipathies of the chauvinist, and with tendencies to dissociate himself from aliens which always mark the separatist and the anti-Semite.

There is a further indication of such a social influence in his remarkable rhetorical style. He writes eloquently and fully; yet with delicate discretion he avoids naming the enemy or specifying premises and conclusions. The heart of his message is powerful, but not formulated -- especially when his signature is to be appended.

In Mes Mémoires there is no resolution as there is no explanation for the abbé's own formation in this regard, even as he tells beautifully and gratefully of the several influences which formed him; only the mention of Tardivel's La Vérité.

The reader can form a very clear impression of what young Groulx and his generation read during these years of constrained education by turning the pages of Vérité which were permitted him. He can also easily project what the priests-in-training would preach for a generation to come about Jews and what they would transmit to their students-priests-in-training, to those who accepted from them the transmission of the sacred nationalist truth.

Equally clear is the mark thus stamped by Groulx and his associates upon the political traditions of Quebec in regard to Jews.

Groulx sent his impressions of his European voyage to Héroux who had them published in La Vérité of Sept. 5 and 28, and Oct. 5, 1907.

In return, in this trans-oceanic exchange, anti-Jewish articles from La Vérité, for instance, were reprinted in the Paris France d'hier et France de demain. (La Vérité, July 8, 1911)

FREMASONRY, A JEWISH INSTRUMENT

> "A fear of the Jewish ghost, passed down the generations and the centuries, a breeder of prejudice, culminated in hatred." L. Pinsker (1891)

Yet this reader cannot credibly convey the stupid falsehoods that fill these pages.

As a sample one can essay the issue of La Vérité of January 7, 1899 with a long extract from the Semaine religieuse of Seés of December 9, 1888. This included a document which pretended to be the program of Jewry for the twentieth century, as laid out by a grand rabbi in England. It pretended to prophecy the future as Jewry would take over the world from the Christian public wealth, the states, agriculture; as Jewry destroys the influence of the Christian church by means of the press, of scepticism, free thought, schisms; by disseminating doubt as to its sincerity, ridiculing its habit; by replacing religious studies in the universities with Jewish scientists.

At the beginning of the century relations with France became closer. Lecturers, preachers, workers crossed the ocean and brought their version of the French experience, aided by Canadian francophiles and by Frenchmen established in their country. They renewed an ancient solidarity.

All this troubled Tardivel who denounced the French peril. He regretted that the bishops are too little concerned with this threat. "As long as they are silent, newspaper articles will not suffice to prevent our people from becoming French in the worst sense of the word.

"The renewal of relations with France which are too intimate have played a part in our degeneration during the past thirty years which is not negligible."

Instead of an association for the development of Canadian-French friendship La Vérité proposed an institution to watch over the relations between the two countries which had grown "too strong for our good." In these discussions Tardivel had recourse to the term "francisons" which Father Lacasse had popularized some fifteen years earlier.

Tardivel avowed a dislike to the Quebec agent in Paris, Hector Fabre, for reasons of temperament among others. Fabre was married

to a woman of Jewish birth, which probably did little to establish amity towards him. (Savard, P. 170, 417-18)

Armand Lavergne remembers Hector Fabre, first Canadian Commissioner in Paris, whose wife née Flora Stein was born in Arthabasca, the daughter of Mr. Stein, a Leipsig-born Jew. "If Fabre was Parisian by nature, the elegance and the beauty of Mme. Fabre created a sensation even in the City of Light. She seemed to confirm my opinion on the French character of Arthabasca, a small colonization area on Canadian soil." (Trente Ans de vie nationale. Montreal, Editions du Zodiaque, 1934, P. 33)

A lucid documentation of the foreign aspect of Quebec anti-Semitic thinking comes to us from J.-P. Tardivel with the date of Nov. 10, 1883.

"Thinking people have always regarded with reserve the friendships between some of our compatriots with French revolutionaries. Nothing good can come from these contacts with the worst enemies of the very name of Christians. The more intimate they become the more watchful we need to be.

"Some persons in the public eye have spoken much recently of a French policy which can open a new age for the province of Quebec. To make this idea more popular they have appealed to French Canadian patriots, to their love of the country of their ancestors.

"But since this French policy seems to reach us directly from freemasonry and from cosmopolitan Paris Jewry, serious Canadians have been suspicious, unwilling to have anything to do with the revolutionary France under any pretext...For we have always been afraid of the false teachings of revolutionary France and of Jewish and masonic capital which have been threatening us for some years." (Mélanges, P. 266)

Towards the end of 1890 Tardivel addressed the Catholics of northern France on Quebec-French relations as perceived by Canadian ultramontanes.

He told the Assemblée générale des catholiques du nord et du Pas de Calais,

"For more than a century France has, so to speak, forgotten its old colony which it has founded at the cost of so many sacrifices. Recently it has rediscovered Canada. It found there a small people, French by faith, by language, by traditions and aspirations. As great as the indifference towards Canada had been, so its sympathy for the other France became powerful.

"French Canadians had never ceased to love France. Long after the cession of the country to England their eyes were turned

towards the sea, hoping to see the glorious flag which had flown for a century over the citadel of Quebec. Eventually, when the patriotic hope burned out in saddened souls, they accepted the new situation loyally; but they preserved the memory and the religion of the ancient motherland.

"As they saw France return to them, thoughtful French Canadians became prey to two opposing sentiments. As our savages say in their picturesque language, they 'had two hearts.' The France of our ancestors, represented by the truly Catholic France of today, inspired their love and admiration; the other France, revolutionary and masonic France, distressed them. Alas, it needs to be said that it is this latter France that is shown to us; it appears before the people; it sends us its representatives, its writers, its capital; it receives and decorates our citizens.

"All this constitutes a great danger for us, for many of our compatriots do not distinguish between the two Frances, between those we ought to love, admire and imitate and those we should reject with horror. All that calls itself French attracts them almost irresistibly even when their title only covers Judaism. This explains, though it does not justify, our profound sympathy for the land of our ancestors.

"That is the situation. May I, as I conclude my comments, beg Catholic France, particularly the Catholic writers of France, not to allow revolutionary and masonic France to exploit French Canadian patriotism for the benefit of Satan. I beg French Catholics to guide the movement which is the closest to Canada's ancient motherland; that they guide it, contribute to the glory of God, the establishment of the social kingdom of Jesus Christ.

"They will thus, by these acts of charity, bring happy fruits to Canada as well as to France: to Canada by rescuing us from the danger of contact with revolutionary France; here, by providing your authors with unanswerable argument on behalf of the social action of the church which has manifestly saved the French Canadian people from ruin and from national destruction." (Notes de Voyage en France, Italie, Espagne, Irlande, Angleterre, Belgique et Hollande. Montreal, Eusebe Senécal, 1890. Pp. 246-47)

We hear echoes of this period in the reminiscences of Armand Lavergne as he recalls a kinsman denied justice by the France of the 1890's.

"The Second Empire, like Marianne today, is generous with its ribbon of honour to traitors but not to the true defenders of the language and genius of France. Caddishness displayed by Sen. Dandurand before the Court of Paris, a vote against the French language or French on coinage and on bills are titles accepted by the Judeo-Masonic government." (Trente ans de vie nationale, P. 53)

In the same vein the president of the Congrès d'apostolat of the Ligue du Sacre-Coeur of Montreal spoke of "the Judeo-Masonic force in France, in which the Jewish influence is preponderant as it will be in our country if we do not take care."

AN UNCOMFORTABLE ANTI-SEMITISM

Quebec's intellectual and religious life was deeply influenced by Louis Veuillot, director of the Paris L'Univers, leader of French Catholic thought and policy. This influence continued long after his passing in 1882. "His least commentary echoed in French Canada." (Savard. Pp. 82-83, 87) In a sense Tardivel was the continuing Canadian voice of this French anti-Semite who became the ideological pillar of the Jew-baiters of Quebec. The name of Veuillot did not cease from the columns of Action and of La Vérité. (La Vérité, Oct. 23, 1897; May 20, 1911) The Quebec weekly continued the teachings of the Univers writers who maintained the intransigent tradition.

"Like his model, Louis Veuillot, from whom he drew inspiration, Tardivel was profoundly interested in the Jewish question and persisted in regretting the excessive freedom accorded them in the world that grew out of the French Revolution. Both believed in the myth of cosmopolitan Jewry prepared to scuttle Christianity; yet both defended the Jesuits who were also accused of plotting, in the event, against the non-Catholic world." (Savard)

As he developed his own Catholic system of Jew-hatred this strange Tardivel, considered credulous even in an age and in a society marked by endless fancies, was nevertheless relatively reserved in his acceptance of the warnings in regard to Jews which he received from masters who were for him the most authoritative spokesmen that could be.

Jules-Paul Tardivel's obsession with freemasonry as an evil became a somewhat ridiculous lodestar of his Catholic political life which led him into tragicomic situations; comic for observers but sad for the many admirers of this idealist. Furthermore, Tardivel was spurred to campaign against Jews, especially in Quebec, by Catholic priests who were of Jewish birth. Yet, for some reason still unknown, Tardivel was relatively restrained in his anti-Jewish statements during his entire life. There was an innate element of decency, fairness and even urbanity as he faced serious matters, and a limit to what he accepted and preached.

Typical of Tardivel's pirouetting between Christian love and anti-Semitic hate are his comments on an incident which, incidentally involves La Patrie, L'Etendard and Jules Helbronner when the latter acquired British citizenship.

"There is no doubt that we must not persecute anyone with our hate because of his race or religion; we must not hate him

personally. But, if our hate must not extend to persons, it must endlessly pursue error. We must hate, truly hate, all error, Jewish error, masonic error, Protestant error, liberal error.

"Jews and freemasons are sworn enemies of Christianity, of the Christian social order. It is therefore an act of charity to warn our brothers against them...

"It is infinitely better to be on guard against the Jews, to prevent them from implanting themselves among us, than to let them set foot in our province and then to take the violent steps against them which are used against used in Russia and are counselled elsewhere.

"The Jews are a plague, the plague of God. Providence uses them to punish prevaricating Christian peoples.

"If the spirit of La Patrie will become general among us, we will be so bastardized by liberalism that we will no longer be able to call a Jew a Jew, and we shall be ripe for Jewry." (Oct. 4, 1890)

On May 28, 1902 the Jewish community inaugurated the Baron de Hirsch Institute building on Bleury near Ontario Streets at an impressive ceremony.

At the time federal minister Israel Tarte reported in his La Patrie,

"Our Jewish fellow citizens do not belong to the Christian religion, but they believe in God, as we all do. The very fine prayer said today by the Rev. Rabbi I. Landman was listened to and followed with great respect by the distinguished audience that had gathered in the halls of the new institute. In what a free and happy country we live! We cannot too often say and repeat it. it is important for nations as well as for individuals to recognize and appreciate the blessings which they enjoy. Let us grant every one the privilege freely to adore the Creator of men and of all things, and we are sure to become a homogeneous nation in the true sense of the word. We welcome here with open arms all those who are willing to be good citizens, all those who obey our laws and respect our institutions. The Montreal Jewish colony is becoming more and more important. It numbers in its ranks thousands of citizens which any country would feel happy to receive on its soil. Canada is a land of liberty, of tolerance, of equal rights for all.

"Mayor Cochrane of Catholic Montreal welcomed the Jews because they are part of our good citizenry. The institute, he was certain, will help the Jews attain success and will advance our country. Similar statements were made by Sir William Hingston and the French consul."

La Vérité was bitter at Mr. Tarte, formerly an ultramontane, formerly a Catholic intégriste, formerly a disciple of Louis Veuillot, formerly director of Le Canadien -- now member of Laurier's cabinet.

"No one can blame Canadian Jews for seeking to improve their condition. But what is strange and even disquieting is to see Christians, even prominent Catholics, attend this ceremony, take formal part in it, rejoice at the implantation of the Jewish element in our country and proclaim their progress as an asset to the Canadian motherland.

"So we find Lord Minto, Governor-General of Canada, presiding over this inauguration and making a very flattering response to the address presented by the Jewish colony.

"We are certainly not what is called an anti-Semite. We have never approved the violent campaigns of the agitators in this country and elsewhere against the Jewish people. We find the vulgar caricatures in some sheets issued by Christians in very bad taste.

"Penetrated by the spirit of mercy, the church of its divine Father, has always condemned the persecution of the Jews. On several occasions it was their rampart against the fury of delirious mobs. But at the same time it has recognized and declared that the Jews, essentially hostile as they are to Christianity, were a danger for the faithful. By a wise legislation, to safeguard the very existence of the People of God, it protected the Christian against the nefarious influence of Judaism.

"There is, then, a happy medium in regard to the Jews, and that was -- where the Church stood: as far from the guilty violence of some unenlightened zealots as from the dangerous complaisance of the liberals." ("Chrétiens et Juifs," in La Vérité, June 7, 1902)

As early as the fall of 1899 Tardivel engaged in a long controversy with the "arch-liberal" Le Temps of Ottawa on "The Jewish Question in the United States."

This newspaper in September noticed, "Americans don't even think of 'protecting themselves' against the progressive invasion by 'Cosmopolitan Jewry.'

"This is intolerable!

"The difference between the United States, Canada and some European countries is that in our country where everyone may breathe the air of freedom, no one is afraid of the Jew or of anyone else. The regenerative and revivifying American skies have rid us of the microbes inherited from ancient intolerant ages with which some refractory people would innoculate us again.

"But our veins will not receive them."

Tardivel recognized himself as one of the refractory. But refractory to what?

"Cosmopolitan Jewry without any question is as harmful morally in the United States as elsewhere. If they choose not to defend themselves against the anti-Christian virus so much the worse for them.

"There are enough indices to show that the clear-sighted American society is already threatened with ruin. Clearly the American spirit does not exist there outside the Catholic church.

"The Jews are not the only ones responsible for the Christian decadence there; but they contributed greatly and will certainly prevent any reaction to this evil, to getting rid of yellow journalism, the atheistic school, divorce.

"For long no one in France thought of protection against the Jewish peril. One fine day they noticed that the Jews constitute a material and financial danger; though numerically insignificant they had acquired excessive social and political power.

"But this battle against the Jewish nightmare was motivated entirely by worldly intentions; they were fighting the Jew not in defence of the Christian faith or Christian tradition but for material interests, so they fell into all sorts of excesses and the anti-Semitic movement became unacceptable to Christians.

"If the Jews in the United States will do what they have done in most European countries, if they seek to dominate socially, politically and financially, there will come an explosion against them such as is now occurring in Russia, Germany and in France...

"Only as this movement is not inspired by the love of Christian faith and morals it will be a false and deplorable movement." (Oct. 7, 1899)

Tardivel believed that he had dissociated himself from anti-Semitism and placed himself far from the school of Drumont. He loved the Jews as the chosen of God, but saw them as dangerous enemies of Christ and of the church -- until they will return to great faith, he urged no persecution of Jews, but serious protection of the Christian people from them. (La Vérité, Sept. 1, 1900)

Yet Tardivel was among the early Quebec anti-Semites to identify freemasonry with the Jews. In 1897 his Stanislas Lemay sounded the cry. "Watch out for the Jews!"

His point of departure was the conference of Reform rabbis in Montreal in 1897, which he implied constituted "a provocation to us French Canadians and a solemn taking possession of our earth.

"What will the Jews do in our country? They are coming to continue the task they began nineteen centuries ago, to win against Christ, to destroy Christianity, to enlighten the world with Jewish teachings."

He accuses Adolphe Cremieux, the leader of French Jewry and founder of the Alliance israélite universelle, of developing a program "to destroy Catholicism, the inflexible enemy of Judaism. Catholicism is now dying, and a new Jerusalem will be created to replace the emperors and the pope."

As an element in this conspiracy Tardivel ascribed to the rabbis of Constantinople a call allegedly addressed to their colleagues in Paris, in which he counselled,

"Become Christians if necessary, but keep the law of Moses in your hearts...make your children into merchants, and you will take over the possessions of the Christians little by little through trade...make them into doctors and apothecaries, so that they can take their lives without being punished...turn them into deacons and priests so that they can ruin their church...make them into lawyers, notaries and businessmen and thus dominate the Christians, possess their lands and thus avenge yourselves on them."

"This is what they have done in Europe...this is how they present themselves to us here, as a secret society, allied to freemasonry...It is impossible and illegal to expel them. But we can and must declare war on them by all legal means. We must not be led by false tolerance or charity to permit them to carry out their maleficent game," Lemay wrote.

"Are we to exterminate Jews of this country? Not at all. We need only prevent their intrigues. The Jews have an elite at their head consisting of some 30,000 of the most powerful people in the world. Orders go out from the central committee at Paris, the Alliance..." (Aug. 14, 1897)

As proof of the connection of Jewry and freemasonry La Vérité cited the participation of the grand lodge in Washington in laying the cornerstone of the local Jewish synagogue on September 17, 1897. Grand Master Trimble stated at the time that the ceremonial mallet used on this occasion had belonged to George Washington and had been used in the laying of the cornerstone of the national capitol and was later presented to the Lodge of the Potomac.

His anti-Semitism was that of Vatican Council I, an attack upon the civil, social and political position of the Jews which, as he saw it, was based upon the equality of status and upon rights accorded them by the French revolution and by the new worlds.

He opposed settling Jews in Quebec and certainly not at the expense of the provincial government; possibly in the west, at federal

expense. The enriched Jew is a social danger and provokes the Christian populace to excesses, he argued.

As we glance at Tardivel's kin, it appears as if Quebec anti-Semitism was a family affair, led by the editor of La Vérité and those close to him. His daughter Elizabeth married J.C. Magnan, whose anti-Semitic statement in connection with Rome's mayor Nathan is a classic in this Quebec scandal. Another daughter, Albertine, married Joseph Bégin, editor of the viciously anti-Jewish La Croix. A third daughter, Alice, who married Omer Héroux, one of the great journalists of Quebec; he might well have become director of Le Devoir. He spread Jew hatred across the pages of every important Quebec periodical from Action sociale to Le Devoir.

The founding Tardivel was no friend of the Jews. But Tardivel was much more thoughtful and more moderate than his successor, his son. Indeed, in 1910 the latter felt it necessary to establish continuity in an article "La Question juive et J.-P. Tardivel," in which he cited the anti-Semitic statements of the elder as he claimed to be following his father's tradition faithfully. (Feb. 29, 1908 and July 23, 1910)

Later the son who was continuator of J.-P. Tardivel spelled out the theology of this anti-Semitism in cruder terms, as he saw it applicable to the Quebec condition, in La Vérité of April 16, 1910, particularly in the context of the ultramontane sweep. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31; no. 33, P. 25)

"Following Le Pays, the Vigie has placed itself under the banner of Jewry against the Catholic papers who have undertaken to combat it. Nothing very surprising in this.

"The Jews and the liberals of the school of La Vigie are comrades in countries beyond Canada. In all countries they have served marvellously the designs of Jewry and of freemasonry. Thanks to liberalism the masonic sect has struck root and has developed vigorously here; it is also thanks to liberalism that Jewry has progressed so greatly in our province. These liberals defend their work. In all countries where the Jews have become a plague its close union with freemasonry has been established. The Jewish freemason in Rome represents this union.

"La Vérité has already drawn attention to this movement in Canada. Our Jews have infected the English freemasonic lodges. So St. George's Lodge no. 10 in Montreal has thus fallen into the hands of Jews in recent years. Most of its officers are Israelites. There is no doubt that the Jews here, as in Europe, have become the allies of freemasonry.

"It is well known what the Jews and the freemasons allied against the Catholics have done to France. The same fate awaits us if we permit Jewry and freemasonry to pursue their sinister plot in

peace against French and Catholic Canada. The ill-inspired articles in La Vigie suffice to make it very clear to Catholics what is at the base of contemporary history. We must pitilessly unmask Jewry and freemasonry.

"According to the Paris correspondent of La Vigie the Jews who convert to Catholicism leave Jerusalem for Rome, abandon Sinai for Tabor.

"This is not exact. The figurative language hides a dangerous error, even treason.

"As Father Caubé put it in his magnificent preface to his Ames juives, 'The true descendants of Abraham, Moses, David, Elijah and Israel historically are us Christians. We have inherited their mentality and their religious beliefs. What was hope for them is reality for us. What they saw before them in the mist we see behind us in the light. What they pointed to in prophecy we recognize in history.

"'We are the children of the Bible because we are the Sons of the Scriptures. So, when a Jew converts to Catholicism he does not abandon the religion of his parents. He returns to it.

"'Modern Judaism has nothing in common with that of the patriarchs except the name, the material link of blood, the vain spreading out of parchments. Morally and philosophically an abyss separates them. The Jews of today cry out in vain that they are the sons of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. They live in delusion.'

"In its zealous defence of Jews Le Pays denigrates the French Canadians. It is our fault, it wrote recently, if the Jews invade our country and mark striking successes here. Le Pays enumerates our faults.

"We do not pretend that French Canadians are without fault. That is not our thesis. But, on the other hand we do not want these faults exaggerated; especially not in order to exculpate the Jews. The French Canadians deserve as much justice as the Jews.

"Why do the French Canadians succeed less than the Jews? It is simple.

"The French Canadian is not devoid of the qualities necessary for success. In his struggle in Canada against the English and the Americans he is seen as not inferior to the Americans; he is generally honest and conscientious.

"The Jew is hypocritical, rapacious, deceitful; he is totally devoid of conscience. He makes it a point of honour to defraud the Christian. His ultimate purpose is to succeed by all possible means.

"Le Pays knows all this. It knows that the Jews who have been all over the world have had the same financial success everywhere.

"The faults which Le Pays ascribe to Canadians are not those of Canadians only; they are common to all the peoples of Europe, America and Asia who could not stand up to Jewry.

"It appears clear that the Christian peoples cannot advantageously fight them, and that sooner or later they will fall prey to frightful Jewry.

"It has been said with much truth that the Jews are the plague which God employs to punish the Christian peoples." (on St. George's Lodge see Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

Those familiar with Catholic tradition will recognize the explosive nature of the statement by Lumen that the Host is blasphemed in the ritual of Bnai Brith Lodges. (Aug. 10, 1910)

When the Congress of Canadian Catholic Youth proposed to organize against Shylock Unlimited, La Vérité devoted more than a hodge-podge page to anti-Semitism, the Bnai Brith, the Talmud and to the Alliance israelite universelle. (Aug. 8, 1908, May 15, 1909) Action sociale also reported on the proposal to establish an anti-Semitic league which would constitute an effective barrier to Jewish cosmopolitan encroachments in Canada. (Quoted by Jewish Times, July 10, 1908)

During the 1909 congress these crude peddlers of hate discovered the Talmud as a reality in Jewish life that lent itself to distortion and to suspicion. The case of Plamondon is known. Jules Romain was able to cite the Encyclopédie universelle as testimony that the religious classic blasphemes and spreads hatred of the faith in Jesus Christ. (Apr. 16, 1910)

La Vérité found further support in that favorite source of Plamondon, Mgr. Delasus Le Problème de l'heure présente (Apr. 23 and June 4, 1910. Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26-27) as well as in Chevalier Gougemont des Mousseaux, Drach and Rohrbacher.

Delassus had earlier published L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne (from the same press, 1909 and Le Probleme de l'heure présente, Antagonism de deux civilisations (1905).

La Vérité of Quebec was one of the sources of Mgr. Henri Delassus, author of La Conjuration antichrétienne, Le Tempe maçonnique voulant s'élever sur les mines de l'église catholique, (Paris, Société St-Augustine, Desclée De Brower, 1910) which was one of Plamondon's sources for his historic attack on the Jews that year. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

Delassus reminded his readers that Jews constitute 6.9% of Montreal's population. (III. 1212)

The elder Tardivel was probably the first (and for long the only) Canadian to have his biography written by a Frenchman, in the event, by Mgr. Justin Louis-Pierre Fèvre. (Vie et travaux de J.-P. Tardivel, fondateur du journal La Vérité. Paris, Arthur Savaete)

Mgr. Fèvre has an interesting political history.

As Robert F. Byrnes notes in his annals of France, he had been leading a quiet scholarly life until 1879 when attacks on the church roused him to militancy. As late as 1881 he rejected scornfully the assertion that all Jews were responsible for the horrors of freemasonry. Only Jews who had left their faith were nihilistic and masonic, he said.

Anti-Semitism in France was due only to freemasonry and Judaism, he came to believe. During the Dreyfus affair he wrote, "Under penalty of treason we ought all to be anti-Semitic, Catholic and French. We ought to have only one flag, only one battle cry, 'Down with the Jews.' He called the Dreyfus case 'the revolution returning to the scene of its crime.'" (Anti-Semitism in Modern France, The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, c. 1950. Pp. 189-90)

Mgr. Fèvré's L'Abomination dans le lieu saint, 1902, also from Savaète, was signed by "Un Antisémite de la patrie française."

A THEOLOGY OF ANTI-SEMITISM

In December 1898 Tardivel published a very long article in two installments about anti-Semitism which is of great interest to whoever would examine the early La Vérité and its anti-Jewish writings. It is more than another of his anti-Semitic polemics by which he would convince or confirm his readers in antagonism to the Jew.

There is a possible theological explanation for Tardivel welcoming the French priest's construction of anti-Semitism.

The Québécois editor had been developing his own analysis of this theme. He began, conceptually if not chronologically, with a great reverence for the Jewish religious tradition. In the Quebec political framework this soon turned into anti-Semitism . This transition was his personal interpretation. Authoritative support for his view was welcome, such as the experiences of Jews, converted, become anti-Semite.

The 1898 article by the French priest in its form, commencing with a reverence for the Jews' testament and concluding with the classic anti-Semitism of Catholicism at century's end, served Tardivel as the bridge he needed to cross from his Christian -- not to speak of cultural historical --appreciation of the Jews to a violent hatred of the mother religion.

Tardivel prefaced the articles entitled "The Anti-Semites" by noting that he found it in the Coutances Revue catholique of November 18, 1898 from the pen of "Our venerable friend, Chanoine Mustel". Addressed to an anti-Semite, they constitute an admirable exposé of the reasons why a true Catholic, a thinking Catholic, cannot join the anti-Semitic movement as it manifests itself in France and in other countries. "We had always thought that this movement was not Christian, but it was difficult to express this with the clarity and the force and the precision which we find in the writing of Father Mustel."

The priest devotes much space to situating the Christ epic in the history of mankind and in Jewish history. "This was the period of the great Promise and Waiting preceding the coming of Our Saviour. The Old Testament contained the authentic contract of the first covenant between God and humankind, the divinely inspired memory at the heart of the relations between earth and heaven. This divine Testament is in one body, profoundly in harmony with the New Testament such as the church received and preserves, by virtue of the Holy Spirit, to defend its integrity and to develop its meaning. The Catholic Church recognizes the foundation of its existence and of its faith in both Testaments and makes of them the centre, the unity,

the object and the end of both alliances and both laws, both deriving from one and the same Holy Spirit.

"The entire Bible, therefore, is for us the object of religious worship, a profound worship, absolute without qualification or exceptions, since we recognize in its text, in its substantially unaltered text, the divine word of God Himself; this word, not less worthy of homage than the very body of Christ; this word which the divine master has said that it shall not be lost nor shall an iota or a comma of it be lost, and that it will subsist forever. This is the word of infinite life and infinite justice which we profess to find life-giving and pure in the ancient law, written by the very finger of the All Powerful on the tablets of stone at Sinai and given to Moses by the holy spirit in the presence of the angels. It is the same divine spirit, the third of the Persons of the very Holy Trinity, which has spoken through the prophets.

"Any attack on the Mosaic Law, any insult directed at the persons of the Old Testament, is therefore an act of impiety.

"Without any doubt there were in the ancient law lacunae, imperfections motivated by the hardness of heart of the people on whom it was especially imposed. But the imperfection is not an evil; it is only an inferiority when compared to what is more elevated and more complete. So marriage is a state which is less perfect than religious virginity; nevertheless it is a good; and it is holy and great before God, when it fulfills its duties. The Ancient Law was also holy, even though less perfect than the New.

"As the adage has it, not all that the saints have done was holy. Many of the biblical persons from Adam to the Prophets have committed sins, sometimes crimes, as David, who became an adulterer and a murderer.

"The Holy Spirit told of these prevarications from which we should learn humility and the questioning of ourselves and of Christian prudence -- The Holy Spirit has told these stories, but the guilty ones have repented these lamentable falls by virtue of great eminence. When the judgment of God absolves them and glorifies them, he who throws stones at them is attacking God even here. It isn't this patriarch or another, this or that personality of the Holy Books whom he insults, but the Supreme Judge himself, whose judgment he would alter.

"As to the Jewish people themselves, it is very true that at all times they merited a strong reprimand and punishment from heaven. We read this story of their rebellion, of their prevarications, of their idolatries and of the shocking infamies which they committed in the very books which have been entrusted to them.

"Two observations are vital. Even in their most abominable deviations they did not follow the examples of the peoples who

surrounded them; among those people the degradation was permanent; among the Jews it was transitory. And secondly, the Jewish people, in spite of its faults, has the ineffable honour and the immense merit of keeping the notion of the true God and, by its repentance, of maintaining in the midst of a corrupted humanity the exact rule of justice and of moral law. So it is that it remained the People of God and it has justified this constant predilection, the source of so many marvels and benedictions, that He who is Sanctity itself has not ceased, the Father of All Believers until Messiah.

"A Christian who knows and understands his religion cannot but be revolted by all the attacks, all the insults, all these blasphemies, to use the proper word, which every day all these venerable persons -- all the holy persons of the Ancient Law with whom we hope to sing forever the praises of the Lord in the bosom of Abraham -- these persons are the objects of the anti-Semites' attacks.

"You will recall the symbolic title page which illustrated at least some of the first editions of La France juive showing a Crusader Knight, stomping Moses with his feet and striking him with his lance, Moses lying beaten at his feet in the position of Lucifer under the lance of St. Michael.

"Moses, the image of the perfect man-God, almost like Himself; he was the Saviour, the Guide, the Legislator, the Divinely inspired leader of his people; Moses the powerful performer of miracles, the greatest of the sacred Authors admitted to converse with God for forty days, face to face, mouth to mouth, heart to heart; whose glorious law shone from Sinai to Tabor, vested with the aureole which revealed to the privileged Apostles, and through them to all Christians to the end of centuries, the glory of Christ, transfigured. Are these Catholics who don't recall that on this mountain of the Vision of the Glory and of Truth, the Law and the Prophets were manifested in the person of Moses, and that their perfect, profound, indissoluble union identifies them totally with the evangels; that man-God has his mission, as He himself has declared, not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it, and that finally he Himself, the eternal Truth, is authorized by Moses and the prophets and has not only approved by the words but taught by his example the respect for the Messianic Law, for the body of Moses and even for the teachings of Masters, who though they may be personally unworthy, from the height of this pulpit had the authority to explain and apply the law?

"Is not the God of the Christians, according to Jesus Christ himself, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? Does not the Son of the Immaculate Virgin constantly at every moment recall with an insistence with which it is impossible for a Christian person not to be struck and moved, that the Son of David, both servant and faithful grandchild of David, the man according to the heart of God, David the prophet par excellence, who is always called endlessly to testify, derives to his very last breath his supreme call to the Father, his supreme cry of anguish and of resignation?

"If you read the anti-Semites, even those who call themselves Catholics, for which I praise them, you will see what account they make of these divine teachings and what respect they have for all these objects of veneration of the Catholic church.

"To believe them, the books of the Old Testament offer us only a disgusting picture of savagery, of degradation and of robbery; the law of Sinai would only be a code of injustice, of oppression and of immorality: the patriarchs have left us only an example of barbarous corruption and of repugnant vice; the sacred women of the Bible, the Sarahs, the Rebeccas, the Rachels, the Deborahs, the Judiths, the Esthers, even on to Ruth herself, the heroine of so charming and pure a poem, are all infamous prostitutes, when they are not also like Judith and Esther, for example, monsters of infamy and traitresses.

"This is how far passion can go. Historical texts are falsified. They suppose and affirm that which is formally contradicted by the only documents which exist and which can be invoked; they take no account of the customs, the laws and the needs of the times, and women and men are judged according to the superior civilization which the Christian nations became by incessant progress and the impulse of the church, the ever more perfect infusion of the spirit of the Gospels.

"Since those days, wars have become more humane, at least in certain circumstances. The defeated are no longer massacred in masses or sold into slavery. This is very good. But the Jews didn't exterminate their enemies except on the express order of God, Master of life and death; but for this exception their law of war was less harsh and more just than that of the people who surrounded them and fought them. This is all that could have been demanded of them reasonably. Reprisals are always necessary at all times; today colonial armies treat more harshly the savage tribes, often cannibalistic, who have massacred and even devoured, by surprise and by treachery, the isolated posts in the Sudan; more roughly than European armies treat their prisoners of war."

Suddenly the Rumanian priest reveals his attitude towards the descendants of Abraham, Moses, David and Ruth,

"Why, I always ask myself, do we need, in order to combat the modern Jew, this ruthless incursion into the history of the Old Testament? The truth is that since killing of God and the dispersion which was its punishment, the Jewish nation, by its curse and in a sense its mission, is no longer at all the people of the patriarchs and of the prophets, any more than it is the people of the Maccabees.

"Of those heroic times they have retained only perverse inclinations without meaning, and have developed a law which is no longer the law of Moses but of the Talmud; a terrible and frightening mixture for a degenerate race which remains powerful enough to bring

fear and ruin in the midst of nations who do not know how to save themselves from its deleterious influences.

"As we speak of races it is well to explain to those who wish to combat the Jew that it is wrong for them to call themselves anti-Semites. It is difficult today, even for the most learned ethnographers, to reconstitute the descent of Shem. What is certain is that it was immense from the times of Moses. They occupied a large part of Chaldea, Syria, Persia, Assyria, the land of the Medes, India, Libya and a part of Arabia. Clearly it is not against these descendants of all these people, against one third of the entire human race, that the anti-Semites have declared war. It is not even against the Bedouins, the sons of Ishmael, the descendants of the patriarch Abraham, as the Jews are, that this war is being waged. It is against the Jews. Why not say so?

"We can understand why, not wishing to appear to attack a religion but a race. But it remains stupid.

"First of all, the race of Shem is not guilty, nor has it joined in the evil deeds of the descendants of Jacob. Furthermore, the very restricted family race which has become a nation has not all become vitiated. A Christian should recall that all our apostles of the new law derived from this race, as well as the first disciples of the Saviour, of the Virgin Mary and of His work were themselves of Jewish blood and of the Jewish race. The church is always careful to recall this solemnly on many occasions and at its great festivals by the reading of the genealogy of the Saviour.

"What is true is that the race has become perverted by rejecting salvation with an obstinate anger as Lucifer became perverted by an analogous pride. And since then between Satan and this race there has been established a mysterious pact which repeated this mysterious and this terrible moment, his pact with this blinded and furious people. He proposed to them that he would give them all the riches and all power if they would fall and prostrate themselves at his feet and adore Satan; that before all, that above all the law of hatred and of violence was the prime law. The Jews have found this in the Talmud and in the Kabalah and they have shown it across the entire world, as apostles of impiety, creators of trouble and of ruin, to corrupt souls and to despoil the nations.

"This is the spirit to which we must adhere and it is hence that we must draw moderate conclusions in intellectual justice.

"The Jew does not assimilate, cannot assimilate to any other people. Its nationality remains everywhere and always homogeneous, unbreakable, irresponsible, inalienable, whatever need be done as long as he remains a Jew.

"The anti-Semites are wrong when they ascribe to race, to blood, the singular privilege in all history by which the Jewish

nationality, dispersed over the globe, across all latitudes and in all epochs, has maintained its identity. Those who became Christians have melted away more or less quickly among the peoples about them. Some racial traits may have persisted for a time. But the fusion operated gradually.

"What is true is that for Jews, as for all Oriental nations, religion and nationality are confused. In ancient times it was Mosaic law; today it is the Talmud which keeps them apart from all peoples among whom they live, into whose midst they have immigrated since they have no country of their own, feeling no attachment and recognizing no duty to the soil where they tread or to the hosts who granted them asylum.

"Strangers they are; as strangers they are to be treated. Furthermore, as they are naturally evil, they must be prevented from injuring others.

"The anti-Semites speak of expelling them. Where are they to go, if all countries drive them out? By what right do we infest other lands?

"In the course of time only the church has found a humane, just, prudent and charitable manner of resolving the Jewish question: We must have a special status to assure their lives and the means of livelihood, but prevent their dominating or enslaving or reducing to misery those who receive them. A few precise laws will suffice.

"They must have no political rights, for there can be no allegiance to two nationalities, and no trading in money.

"There must be a ban upon the fraudulent trading practices by Jews even more severe than by Christians. The recommendations of Mgr. Meurin and of Drumont should be applied." (Dec. 17 and 24, 1898)

JEWS USE BLOOD

The assertion that Jews killed innocent Christians as part of their religious ritual became a constant element of "the good press" of Quebec; it was probably introduced into the province by La Vérité. Its editor considered Henri Desportes' work on the subject "almost a perfect book."

Both for La Vérité and for Action sociale, and through them for thousands of otherCanadians, Drumont was the authority for the belief that Jews practised ritual murder. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26, Pp. 176, 183; Clouds in the Thirties, section 2, P. 75; Richard Jones. L'Idéologie de l'Action catholique, 1917-39. Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974)

It is difficult to trace the origin of this inhuman anti-moral concept in the dark marshes of the human mind or in the primitivity of human history.

It is difficult in our present conception of modern western humanity to accept the condition of the 1880-stage of civilization, wherein leading and literate political, educational and religious guides of the people reverted to the animal state of credulity and converted the anniversary of Easter into the pogrom season of murderous horror. It has challenged the conceptual ability of the Jew to accept the sanity balance of his neighbours in the western world who could believe that Jews kill Christians to use the blood of the victims for religious ritual purposes.

It is difficult to imagine that literate and high-minded leaders of the Quebec people believed and repeatedly stated that respectable persons whom they knew -- Rev. Abraham de Sola, descendants of Aaron Hart, Lazarus Cohen, S.W. Jacobs, the Quebec City Josephs -- participated in murdering children, and this on behalf of the ancient Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, the Congregation of English, German and Polish Jews (Shaar Hashomayim), the Temple Emanu-El; and that they used the blood of these children for the Passover rites!

The phenomenon was cited by the Zionist intellectual Ahad Haam as he mused: at times a Jew may come to doubt if his tiny group is on the side of truth in the face of the overwhelming majority of contradicting mankind; can so few be right and many so wrong? And then he sees in this matter of the ritual murder accusation that so many can be so horrendously and manifestly wrong and that the few are so indubitably and totally justified.

Tardivel is gravely culpable in introducing the accusation into the Quebec setting of the period which he shared in shaping. The

churchmen and the new caste of journalists who placed the libel before their public were aware from the reading of the European press of their day how dangerous that libel was, how much evil and violence it was creating. Their manipulation of public credulity was patently incendiary.

The Canadian importation came with the approval of religious and political authority. It was disseminated by instruments officially called Catholic, under archepiscopal authority and sponsorship. It merged into dogma. No churchly authority questioned the allegation. Indeed to this day, a century later, no Catholic authority stated clearly that the libel to which the Catholic name had been attached is a false label, even though the Jewish group had asked for such a clear dissociation of the church from this perilous lie -- one of the many falsehoods disseminated for a century to prepare the European public for the holocaust of the Jews.

In the Quebec of this period refutation was virtually impossible, for denial of the cardinal's teaching was unacceptable and even sacrilegious.

This horror myth was propagated in Canada, probably first by Torontonian Goldwin Smith, who as early as February 1881 sneaked into his Bystander his belief in Jewish criminality in the early classic ritual murder of Hugh of Lincoln. "Though such fables are, in their most odious features, fanatical slanders, it is not unlikely that they had a partial foundation in cases of kidnapping." (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, P. 161)

He spread his poison not in a Catholic society seeking the return of medieval law, but in a Victorian Protestant milieu, with the authority of an advanced liberal scholarly historian.

Early in Tardivel's career he begins to propagate the horrible libel that Jews commit ritual murder, in obedience to the Talmud.

Tardivel brought the entire horror myth about Jews using blood for ritual purposes to his Quebec readers on the authority of Les Annales catholiques, for many years one of his sources of information on European Jewry. The credulous Catholic Tardivel might later have been emboldened in making this horrible accusation by the Semaine religieuse de Quebec which had endorsed it in its issue of November 19, 1892. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

Tardivel reprinted articles which affirmed the charge of ritual murder against Jews on August 4, 1883 and October 23, 1897. (Savard, P. 304)

Les Annales catholiques later informed the Quebec journalist and his readers about the Catholic campaign in Hungary against the 1893 proposal by minister Weckerlé to expand Jewish rights. (La Vérité, Nov. 4, 1893)

By thus importing this lie into Quebec and by echoing this wickedness Tardivel and his authoritative supporters stained the Quebec moral record deeply for half a century as the accusation against a people and a religion was mindlessly repeated in the atmosphere of prayer and of national pride by journals and by churchmen until Quebec patriotism assumed a new racist and political form rather than a religious orientation.

That Quebecers such as Tardivel and Father Huot and the journalists of Action sociale catholique should have chosen to join the hounds chasing human beings is unforgivable historically; that the universally recognized church should have placed its instruments of education at the service of this horror deep into the twentieth century requires constant referral to evidence for the mind to accept. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27, Pp. 174-83, 194-96)

The immediate concern which made the matter topical was the trial then proceeding in Tisza Eszlar where "Jews were being tried for killing, for religious purposes, a young girl who had disappeared Easter time."

Byrnes outlines the case,

"When a young Christian girl, Esther Solymosy, disappeared on April 1, 1882, from the farm near Tisza Eszlar on which she worked, Hungarian anti-Semites, led by two legislators, fanned the charge that there had been a ritual murder. A Jew, Joseph Scharf, was accused, and his two sons, one only five years old and the other a thirteen-year-old half-wit, confessed they had witnessed the murder. Resentment against the Jews throughout Hungary was intensified on the basis of this atrocious charge, as the government stood quietly by. The body was not found -- it is likely the girl ran away or drowned herself -- and a trial demonstrated the complete nullity of the charges. Scharf was acquitted. The incident shows, first, the astonishing longevity of such a medieval legend, and second, the fragility of the position of the Jews in Hungary and in eastern Europe in general because of the backwardness of the entire population." (Anti-Semitism in Modern France. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1950. I. 85-86)

The case in the Hungarian village was recognized at once as epochal, the beginning of a series of ritual murder accusations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. "Much Jewish energy went into the defence against the charges. What was being debated was not so much the blatant lie of the blood accusation, but rather the more fundamental issue of the moral integrity of Judaism and of the Jew. This was essentially still medieval anti-Semitism, but more contemporary currents were running strong." (Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. Anti-Semitism)

The tactics of the liars was to centre on this cultural division between the western Jews and the eastern to secure acceptance by

Christians, and if possible by some integrated western Jews, that in the allegedly more primitive eastern communities -- strange, mysterious, traditionalist -- such murder is, or at least was practiced. Thence the accusation in principle can be spread in time and in geography. It was the not uncommon strategy of plea bargaining, a nation on trial on such a charge.

BRINGING THE MYTH TO QUEBEC

On August 1, 1883 La Vérité reprinted two long articles both from Les Annales catholiques, both accusing Jews of ritual murder; the issue was of general interest at the time, the period of the Tisza Eslar scandal.

The French writer developed a theory about the Judaism of the eastern world where Jews live in greater concentration

"But we must distinguish between the Eastern Jew and the Western Jew."

This reference to the two social groupings in the Jewish community -- those closer to the ancient settlements east of Germany and those integrated into western society -- was probably as valid in the parallel spheres of Montreal at the time as in Paris. It describes the views generally entertained even of the established Jewish communities in the west, in Canada as in France, of their qualities and of their limitations.

This in 1883, during the first days of the mass migration of Jews from the Slavic universe.

The first article outlined the accusation of ritual murder against Jews in the Hungarian village.

The second article, "La Question juive en orient" constituted an entire syllabus of anti-Semitism, basing itself in part or in whole upon the teachings of "the converted Jew, the venerated Mr. Drach" from whose attacks upon the Talmud Les Annales learned that the Jews are enjoined in that remarkable classic work to use the blood of gentiles for their Passover ceremonies.

Significantly, this article focussed on Jews in the Orient. The term was used in this case, in its quality of Jewish geography, to refer to those areas of the Yiddish heartland where Jews were residing in their large numbers, mainly in a Slavic cultural and political ambience, suffering age-long persecution. But they were particularly influenced by the vigorous developments in their shtetel civilization of this period. One of the consequences of this domestic cultural development was the westward mass migration. Les Annales catholiques was sensitive to this east-west Jewish dichotomy and to the contrasting images of these Jewish immigrants and the more familiar, long-settled native Canadian or westernized Jews.

The pretended neutrality of the report rendered it the more insidious, for it insinuated itself into minds which may have sincerely

desired to be just and to avoid prejudice. In many ways the very wording of the article was strongly illuminating.

"Has the charge against the Jews been established? We do not know, in the light of the obscurities in the case and the incomplete and contradictory testimony of witnesses who, furthermore, are suspect.

"At first glance it seems repugnant to believe that the accused are guilty; we do not conceal the fact that, as of now and as far as we can judge at this distance, guilt has not been clearly established...

"We have Jews among us; we meet them every day, and they do not seem to be ferocious. Some can be criticized for faults of toilette; some for miserliness and greed; all strongly hate the Christian name. But no one would dream of accusing them of being capable of religious assassination.

"The latter, thrown into a civilization of unbelievers, has lost the religious fervour of its ancestors and has abandoned the practices of Deuteronomy. He always remains the defiant enemy of the races which welcome him; encircled within his own nationality which does not fuse with any other. In a word, a Jew always and everywhere, even when he does not observe the Sabbath and when he eats pork without feeling defiled thereby, remains a Jew. Financier or drug merchant, greedy, maligned, unscrupulous in business, he accumulates millions by methods that may not be correct; but he does not spill blood. His 'fanaticism' is dead. All that remains of it is the mark as a memory of the curse which weighs upon the God-killing people." He never feels at home under the Christian sun.

"The same distinctive character shapes the eastern Jew and there reveals his hatreds in the lands nearer to the country of his origin. He feels more numerous and more aware of himself socially and politically. He works harder to exploit the enemy race, the infidel Christians, as he calls them; in regard to them, all scruples are void and are blameworthy. Even in Alsace, where they are no longer isolated, and in Holland, where they retained more of their character, the nature of the Jew has come to be known. Germany and German Austria suffer their economic domination and do not emerge unharmed by their rapacity. To a point this explains the anti-Semitic movement there.

"In those lands the Mosaic faith remains. In the midst of believing peoples for whom religion is a matter of the first importance, Judaism has preserved best its religious character.

"Let us put aside the bankers. God is not demanding of them, asking them only to worship the golden calf. We speak only of the common people; the butchers, the taverners, the usurers, the fences. They have not forgotten the God of Abraham; but the

priesthood extinguished, their faith has wandered over the obscurities of their history.

"In accord with the Divine curse, the Jew became attached to aberrations prescribed by their rabbis and their Talmudists...From there come the most odious teachings which inspired abominable acts; these, at times, provoked people's uprisings against the God-killing race...

"The revered Mr. Drach, a convert from Judaism and a distinguished Hebraist, has given details of these abominable teachings. The second order of the Mishneh deals with the laws of the Passover. Some editions state most formally that the blood of a gentile child is more agreeable to God than the blood of a lamb. Elsewhere Jews are taught that the blood of Christian children can protect them from grave harm.

"...The Talmud has truly provoked murders in the past. This is established most clearly, some of them cited by Bollandists, those master critics. We cite several that have most profoundly agitated the Germans. They suffice to establish the evil influences of the Talmud upon the ignorant and the fanatical in that country...

"One of the first murders which history established was of a child assassinated at Munich in 1285..."

Follows a long list of such murder accusations down the ages and across Christian geography, down to 1880 and 1881 in Egypt. "The cosmopolitan press, sold to Jews or under their influence, was careful not to write of these, but the truth of these murders has been adequately established. The children who were the victims were killed the same way, in accordance with Talmudic tradition...

"The Talmudic tradition of this murderous bloodletting is still so much alive among these eastern Jews that, in the course of a French pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1882, the consul warned the leader of the group that he would do well to recommend his friends not to go to the Jewish quarter at night so as to avoid exposing themselves to the liturgical crimes of the Talmudic Jews.

"Those who would place these facts in doubt and consider the facts as products of the medieval imagination need to be told that our own century is a witness to similar crimes in oriental lands. Everyone has heard of Father Thomas who has fallen into the hands of Jews in Lebanon..." (La Vérité, Oct. 23, 1897; also Feb. 29, 1908; Apr. 16, 1910 and July 31, 1911; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, P. 89, 104)

The Annales continued the maligning campaign against the Jews by accusing them of suborning Hungarian justice and of taking advantage of their control of the press to disseminate one-sided reports of such cases. Rothschild was accused of exerting pressure upon the

government. "The case had shown the social peril which Semitism poses to European civilization and to the independence of Christian governments."

La Vérité continues its perception of the eastern Jews (in the language of Les Annales catholiques), exploiting its fateful historic errors and caricatures become classic in race hatred.

In 1897 Tardivel reprinted an article, "Le Meurtre rituel des Juifs est-il un simple légend?" by Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre from the important, widely-read ultramontane Paris newspaper L'Univers founded by Louis Veuillot. The article dwells on the Jews' continuing practice of ritual murder at all times.

A recent book by Dominican Father Constant, Les Juifs devant l'église et l'histoire had included a chapter which "established" the veracity of the accusation on the basis of church documentation, ranging from apostolic times to Tisza Eszlar and Drumont.

Father Casablanca wrote in L'Univers that such cases of murder are isolated and are not imputable to the Jewish nation. "In our century of enlightenment they should be relegated to the category of legends."

Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre protested in L'Univers that the views of the Dominican are sound and are supported by solemn witnesses from the church.

"The Sons of Israel," writes the doctor, "were always enemies of the church. After crucifying Our Lord they proceeded to kill the apostles and to martyrize early Christians." Followed a list of many such victims, with a suggestion of others whose deaths at the hands of the Jews have remained a mystery. "It has long been an admitted tradition that most Jews observe the Passover with Christian blood in their Matzoth, and such blood is used as remedies and in childbirth as well as an article of commerce," he wrote.

"It is astonishing that in our time some learned men have appeared to join the Jews in their denials...Even in our time some converted Jews have confirmed this practice...

"The Jews in France and in England have joined and poured out much gold to have the guilty acquitted and have mobilized the resources of diplomacy to assure them impunity. They would have been wiser to abandon their coreligionists to human justice.

"The preface to Le Mystère du sang includes a letter from Drumont, 'Great Polish lords who have lived in France and are in no sense fanatics have written me that not a year passes without such events happening on their estates.'

"I have met a number of Russians who have confirmed the frequency of ritual murder."

NIGHTMARE MYTH DIED SLOWLY

The incredible anti-Jewish myth struck deep roots in Quebec and was repeated for many years after the elder Tardivel died in 1905. Even the seeds of the Ukrainian version flourished on the Canadian prairies. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32)

La Vérité under the editorship of the younger Tardivel confirmed its accusation of ritual murder committed by Jews by citing the French Petit patriote to that effect. (July 25, 1908)

This Quebec which centred on Action sociale catholique, on its Semaines religieuses and on La Vérité took its moral and religious marching orders from the Christian authorities in Russia, from the Novoye Vremya, and from the prosecutors there. Because these Slavic policemen said so, Jews must indeed, as sure as gospel, be murdering Christian children. Indeed the Beilis accusation in Kiev touched off a wave of hatred and persecution that swept over Quebec.

The most sensational development of this agitation took place in Quebec where the propaganda which flowed from the European locus of infection found active proponents in the nationalistic generation of the day.

La Vérité referred the liberal press which was denying the allegations that Jews were bleeding Christian children for ritual purposes to Father Caubé's Ames juives where the French priest had written,

"The wickedness sometimes extends further. They kill a Christian, and particularly a Christian child, because its blood is purer, because it represents better Him of the Scriptures who is called the Lamb. On many occasions they sacrifice the new Passover Lamb for their festival out of hatred of the ancient lamb. It requires the incredible self-possession of the Talmudist or of the freemason, or the incorrigible ignorance of some Christians, to deny ritual murder."

The Quebec editor adds, "It takes the monumental nerve of the Jew and of some liberal journalists to become apologists for the Jews." (Apr. 10, 1910)

La Vérité was confirmed by the Russian newspaper Novoye Vremya and by the Paris Journal des débats in the details of the Kiev accusation against the Jews who were being charged with murdering children for the Passover ritual. (June 3, 1911)

The year 1913 was bad for this worst of calumnies which spread under the impress of the Plamondon and the Kiev judicial cases. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26, 27)

Like Action sociale, the Tardivel weekly under the direction of the son also saw the international press coverage of the Beilis ritual murder accusations as manipulated by the Jewish news agencies. (Oct. 18, 1913; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27; Action sociale, Nov. 12, 1913)

When Mgr. Duchesne, author of Histoire ancienne de l'église, and his disciple Abbé Vacaudard, who wrote La Question du meurtre rituel chez les Juifs (1911), spoke out against "the odious and stupid legend," Jules Romain pointed out that the work of the monsigneur has been placed on the index. (Nov. 15, 1913)

For the writers of La Vérité it was not surprising that such liberals fought the ritual murder libel. Jules Romain was reminded by Agence internationale Roma that in Germany as elsewhere the liberal press fought anti-Semitism and that "liberalism and the ghetto went hand in hand...a most shameful alliance." (July 26, 1912)

So, as Osservatore Romano pointed out, the Jewish press agencies disseminated false information about the Vatican. (Ibid.)

When Le Pays called the ritual murder accusation against Jews odious and stupid, La Vérité had recourse to the Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes as a source of its confirmatatory opinion (Aug. 16 and Dec. 20 and 27, 1913), as did its Constantin on August 16, 1912 who had also relied on the Revue and on its Albert Monniot.

Another foundation for the accusation for La Vérité was Civilta Cattolica of Rome. (Nov. 29, 1913)

The Quebec weekly was not shaken to learn there that in their day the early Christians had also been accused of this horror crime. Constantin only concluded that at that period the accusers had confused the innocent Christians with the guilty Jews.

He went so far as to attest that these accusations against the Jews are as certainly true as were the proofs of the validity of the Christian faith. No defender of the Jewish cause had gone as far as did this anti-Semite in undermining the basis of Christianity.

Constantin was aware of the bull of Pope Innocent IV of 1253 forbidding Catholics to accuse Jews of using human blood in their rites, for Jews are forbidden to spill human blood by the Old Testament. The Revue internationale quoted this bull and called it "a difficulty" but held to the "odious and stupid legend," to use the term of Langlois' Le Pays. The contributor to La Vérité preferred to rest his case on a later bull by Benedict XIV.

L.H. (probably Hacault), one of the more confused and "learned" members of the Vérité team, developed the legend by pretending to relate it to the Talmud, the Caballah, the Chassidim, the Persian Assassins, the freemasons, the Dreyfus case, etc. He found support in Abbé A. Lemann, a Jewish convert who -- it is almost impossible to visualize or to believe -- gave credibility to the most fantastic anti-Jewish statements. (Sept. 6, Oct. 4, 1913)

Romain noted that the English of Montreal had formed a League against the Yellow Peril with prominent citizens in the leadership to keep Japanese and Chinese out of the country.

Jules Romain agreed on the existence of a yellow peril, but he believed that this danger was not to be feared as much as the menace of the Jews. The Jewish-Masonic alliance protects the Hebrews.

His colleague L. Hacault was in full agreement and wrote on the Jewish peril in La Croisé of October 1924 as being quite as menacing as freemasonry. By this time it was clear to the Manitoban journalist Hacault that Jews were at work to bolshevise the world.

SICK CONVERTS

The name of Rabbi Drach, which we have met as an authority for Les Annales catholiques, recalls an evil phenomenon within the complex of the anti-Semitic sin particular to this period: the nefarious role which the Jews who walked out on their families and faith played in the history of the Canadian Jewish community -- not to speak of the profound disservice which they rendered to their Québécois brethren in their new communion.

The reader of this documentation must be struck by the incredible perversion in the cases of Jews converted to Christianity feeding the enemies of their Jewish families with "materials" to strengthen them in their Torquemada if not their Hitler programs. None of the considerable discourse attaching to these converts refers to their conversion to their new faith. For whatever reason, their concern seems to have been to decry and to besmirch the Jewish society which they quit even more than the faith which they abjured. They played into the anti-Semitic intentions of their new brethren in communion who also hated the Jewish society more intensely than they prayed for its conversion.

There might be an economic aspect to the phenomenon of Jewish conversion. The humourous columnist of the early Jewish Times of Montreal, "Esmond Isaacs" noted "the startling truth that a self-supporting converted Jew may be read of but hard to meet." (Apr. 15, 1898)

What kind of human being would act so? What must he think of the new religious society into which he has entered and which, as he perceived it, would hear him, respect him, believe him, and then would repeat and exploit his patricidal, matricidal and genocidal words?

What kind of Quebec or other Catholic people heard this tainted testimony, believed it, respected it, and repeated it and taught it?

But these are questions beyond history, beyond theology.

Any analysis of this phenomenon must enter into the psychology and morality of the selected type who commit this act and into the particular interactions involved. But the gross facts illuminate the attitudes of the Jewish community.

These new Christians and new anti-Semites should help understand the complex traditional Jewish attitudes towards those of their brethren who leave their faith for another. It is not solely a

religious matter. It goes much further as the Jewish community sees these members of the family leaving, under whatever circumstances, for whatever reason and whatever motivations, a smaller community which has been struggling for continuity with the tradition of familial perpetuation as its sole instrument of defence. At this point their long historic experience is complicated by the phenomenon of some such converts who not only depart from the faith, from family and from community, who not only join the larger outside hostile community but also become active and treasonous enemies of their erstwhile families.

Canadian Jews have been witnesses to the phenomenon, and they too have suffered from the heritage of this social poison imported from France and injected into Quebec society.

As our history develops we shall meet more of this type of Catholic. For the purposes of this examination it is helpful to set aside the theological and psychiatric questions which may be involved and to look only at the historical and social facts as they entered the history of the Jewish community.

It so happens that the men who concern us were all converts to Catholicism and were all active in France or through France. Jacob Meyer Hirschfelder of Toronto who may have converted to Christ (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 28; D. Rome. The Early Jewish Presence in Canada. Montreal, Jewish Public Library, 1971. Pp. 49-52), Charles Freshman (The Early Jewish Presence in Canada, Pp. 48-49), Trebitch-Lincoln who later preached Christianity in Montreal -- in the event, all of them new Protestants -- and the Boston Jewish girl who became Un Lis fleurit entre les épines as described by a sister of the Congregation de Notre Dame (Montreal, Bureau Marguerite Bourgeoys, 1928; another edition in 1955) and Dr. Karl Stern, author of The Third Revolution, a Study of Psychiatry and Religion (N.Y., Harcourt Brace, 1954; another edition, Garden City, Image Books, 1961) and of The Pillar of Fire (N.Y., Harcourt Brace, 1951; French version Le Buisson ardent, Paris, Seuil) became Catholic but had no French connections. They are not on the record as injuring the Jewish name.

But France at century's end is another story, and it impinges hard on Quebec; largely through Tardivel. (Clouds in the Thirties, Section 3, P.106)

La Vérité's Jules Romain found further support for his anti-Semitism in convert Kohn who became Mgr Kohn..

This converted Jew, raised to professor of canon law, summarized the church ordinances in regard to Jews. These laws which, it is emphasized, have never been abrogated, include a ban on Jews employing Christians in their homes. Christians may not work in Jewish families as nursemaids, call upon Jewish doctors or druggists, live with Jews, attend Jewish marriages or festivals,

accept their invitations, or permit Jews to public office or positions of authority over Christians.

Quebec readers were reminded of these rules by Mgr. Delassus' La Question juive, through Father Antonio Huot, through Arcand's Le Goglu. (May 16, 1930)

Omer Héroux praised the testimony of the converted Jew Father Ratisbonne on the historic relations between the Vatican and the Jews in the middle ages. This testimony was revived by H. Lucien-Bruns in his La Condition des juifs en France depuis 1789. (La Vérité, July 13, 1907)

This priest relates the origins of the European ghetto to the church " which protected the cowering Jews from the passions of the populace, and offered them inviolable asylum where they found security. Rome set an example of protective charity. It conceded them a quarter all their own, and several other cities followed the example of the Roman pontiffs. Thanks to these places of refuge the Jews lived together about their synagogues in accordance with their laws, under the authority of their spiritual leaders and enjoyed complete freedom of religion. Thence the ghettoes whose origin lies in the hospitable thought, all too often forgotten or scorned in our time. The Jews are unjust and ungrateful when they speak against an institution which at one time saved their lives."

In the same issue of La Vérité Héroux cited Drumont's approval of an anti-masonic work by Jean Bidegain.

In 1899 Father Gosselin was able to refer to the prince-bishop Olmutz, a prelate of Jewish origin who stated, "If Christians had remained faithful to the canonic law which isolated the Jews within Christian society, they would not have occasion to complain about Jews today." (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Jan. 27, 1899)

Another convert to the truth of the church also served his new faith and his brothers-in-the-flesh as badly as did the Lemanns. Paul Loevoengard, born of German-Jewish parents at Lyon, wrote a work on Le Splendeur catholique, du judaisme à l'église. In this work, La Vérité told its Quebec readers, that

"Judaism, having been admitted into the intimacy of Christian nations during the past hundred years, now dominates and corrupts these peoples, destroys them in their religious, moral and patriotic beliefs. Israel, enemy of Christ and of His Church, maintains anti-church universal freemasonry, when it does not lead it. As a totality Israel is perverted, demoniac." (July 29, 1911)

Later La Vérité's expert on the Jewish people had for one of his authorities an unnamed Jew who had converted to Orthodox Christianity and became a monk. (Oct. 4, 1913)

THE BROTHERS LEMANN

Remarkably, we have from Tardivel his personal testimony on two of the effective agents who strengthened and directed his thinking about Jews at an early date.

This came to him from France, from twin brother priests, Jews by birth, converts to a Catholicism which taught them to denounce Jews; a denunciation which was heard around the world -- including Quebec -- and fortified the actions that created Auschwitz. The credulous Tardivel, who was led into the phantasmagoria of the "freemasonic" pranksters, also was taken in by the Jews converted to anti-Semitism.

His meeting with two such converts from Judaism of which Tardivel tells in his travel notes has left a significant mark on Quebec's Jewish-Catholic relations.

During Tardivel's visit to Lyons on December 8, 1888 he had dinner at an institute for the deaf and the dumb with two Jewish twin brothers, Joseph and Augustin Lemann, who had converted to Roman Catholicism. (Clouds in the Thirties, Section 3; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

It is safe to assume that the Canadian editor was familiar with the background of the two brothers, particularly in relation with their actions and words about their Jewish erstwhile coreligionists in whose midst they had been born, circumcised and brought up.

To appreciate the moral abyss that Tardivel approached we need only note dates: Father Joseph Lémann's L'Entrée des Israélites dans la société française et les états chrétiens was published in 1886, the year of the publication of Drumont's La France juive, essai de l'histoire contemporaine -- the breaking of the anti-Semitic storm, as Robert F. Byrnes calls it.

Within weeks of the appearance of the Lemann work in Paris La Vérité brought it to most prominent attention in Quebec by reprinting the review of the book from the Belgian Le Bien public of Gand. (Aug. 7, 1886)

Father Lemann notes that "since the murder of God eighteen centuries ago Jews have been accused of iniquities, but when we are alone should we not in turn recognize that we are more guilty than the Jews, and accuse ourselves accordingly?

"The Jews have borne the weight of divine anger for eighteen hundred years for not acknowledging Christ whom they heard preach

for three years. And we Christians -- whom He taught for eighteen centuries through His church, and are witnesses to His miracles -- we blaspheme and deny that which we know. Never did pagan nations reach the impiety of the Christian nations to war on God because He is God. If the anger of God has struck His people for failing to recognize Him -- through culpable ignorance, it is true -- to what punishment are we destined, descendants of gentiles, branches of the wild olive tree?"

The Belgian critic summarizes the analysis of the converted Jew,

"Is it surprising that God begins to return to His ancient chosen people which always still accepts Him? The so-called revolutionary movement, which shapes the Israelites and is bringing down the Christian states, is studied in its most secret causes by Father Lemann. He notes the cry of revolt against God as formulated on February 28, 1790 by the French convention when they proclaimed the Rights of Man to the entire world, a proclamation seen by Catholics as proof that the revolution is satanic. God utilizes the same convention to decree the liberation of the Jews, on September 28, 1791, on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, protector of the Israelite nation.

"By the principle of '89 the liberties of the church were progressively confiscated, and God was pleased to liberate the Jews everywhere. God has permitted the Jews to secure the riches of the nations who say, 'We despoil God; they despoil us.' Who has the beam in the eye?

"The nations and their kings are reduced under Jewish domination. A century ago slaves, the Jews have become our masters. The dry bones of Israel, scattered over the vast field of the world, are shaken by the divine breath; they are covered with nerves, flesh and skin, but the spirit is not there yet. As predicted it will come from the four winds, as the Lord had told Ezekiel.

"Many Christians fear the liberation of the Sons of Israel, but it is the principle of the world's salvation. The greatest enemies of the church -- Mohamed, Luther and Voltaire -- maltreated the Jews most harshly; the sovereign pontiffs always took them under their protection.

"We can understand how the diabolical spirit hates the conversion of the Jews if Israel is to be the greatest blessing for the world...an ambition due equally to divine charity, to advance the reunion of the two peoples of God, the Catholic people and the Israelite people... Perhaps the time has not yet come to be merciful to Zion...at this time when the rights of man have become the suppression of the rights of God.

"Israel is far from accomplishing all its glorious spiritual or temporal destinies. What role is reserved for it by the Lord in the resolution of the great inextricable, fearful problem of the East? For however widely dispersed the Israelite nation might be all over the world, God will bring it together again in its country, in Palestine after breaking the chains of its captivity after twenty centuries. He has promised this Himself.

"This is not true of all other peoples. We have everything to fear because of our impieties, and we shall see the conversion of Israel...

"Because of God's plan for His people and the preponderant role that will be theirs in the world, God has endowed them with higher qualities of nature than any other people has attained to such a degree: intelligence, activity and tenacity. That is the secret of its power among the nations ever since God has broken the chains of its captivity by freeing them from the special laws which oppressed them."

A fortnight later La Vérité reprinted an article from its favorite Annales catholiques, "another point of view on the Jewish question," from the pen of J.M.

"It is now proven that Jewry is closely linked with freemasonry. It can be said that Jews lead the freemasons like docile sheep to the common objective, the destruction of Christianity. The very usage of the lodges and the chapters derive from the synagogue; calendar, numbers, emblems, dress are borrowed from the synagogue. It is therefore not surprising that unexpected and final revelations awaken public interest in the nature of the masonic sect, and that new publications shed light on the Jewish question: Drumont's book has now aroused public attention to the masonic sect. The Drumont book, now in its fiftieth edition, has been much talked of; the Jewish convert, Father Lemann has just issued a remarkable work on L'Entrée des Israélites dans la société française et dans les Etats chrétiens; an early reissue of Chevalier Gougenot des Mousseaux Le Juif et la judaisation des peuples chrétiens, a work that had been destroyed by the Jews, has been announced; Civilta Cattolica has refuted in a dozen articles the apology of the Jews by a certain Trèves, under the nom de plume of Corrado Guidetti...Going further this learned periodical now takes the offensive and proves the contrary, the Jewish persecution of Christianism.

"Jews have never been persecuted by Christians who have as their law the love of their neighbours, charity towards all and forgiveness of offense to the point of loving their enemy. Doubtless in accord with the law of legitimate self-defence against the hatred by the Jews and the persecutions which their hatred have inspired, Christians have had to, and at present still have to, use more or less coercive and violent methods in many places according to time and circumstance; possibly even some Christians who were oppressed by

Israelite perfidy have at times gone beyond the limits of justified defence; but then the church always intervenes to protect the Jews, as we see in past history and in contemporary history.

"This is the opposite of what the synagogue is doing. From the days of our Lord to the present it has not ceased to teach hatred, by virtue of a Talmudic law, of all that is not Jewish, and particularly of Christians.

"The author continued at length to repeat the argument of Civilta Cattolica that it was the Jews who tortured Christ, in the belief that they were justified in doing so. 'By that deed they persecuted Christianism in the person of the Head and the Founder, and avowed themselves God-killers.

"'Since the Jews held the judgment against Christ valid, why do they disavow their part, blaming it on the Roman authorities?'

"Modern Jews, the Rome periodical states, maintain solidarity with their ancestors of that period. Christians can therefore justly condemn them equally as God-killers. They accept the title of Chosen by God but not that of rejected of God; the descendants of Abraham but not of Judas." (Aug. 21, 1886)

The Paris La Croix was glad to hear from Abbé Lemann that the 1791 declaration of the rights of man gave the Jews access to opportunity even as Christ was driven from his place. Tardivel was glad to reprint the message,

"Do not believe that society can drive out Christ and at the same time keep the Jews out of the ruins...As for violent means, and above all, bloody means -- even though the church is charged with combatting the anti-Christ, that is Judaism, in the entire world -- the church has always condemned these...It would be an error to believe that injustices can serve the Christian cause; we fear that some excesses in the campaigns against the Jews have only served the cause that these Jews intended to champion..." (La Vérité, Sept. 6, 1890)

Another of Lemann's books came three years later, entitled La Prépondérance juive, ses origines, 1789-91, d'après des documents nouveaux.

Léon Poliakov draws attention to a moment in the history of France and to the self-hating pathology of Abbé Lemann,

"Of December 23, 1789 the Jew-become-priest wrote, in his Prépondérance juive, about the Constituent Assembly which a century earlier had emancipated actors and hangmen before Jews, commenting,

"That was the most profoundly humiliating day for our race, but it was a case of sublime justice! Yes, the hangman deserved to

be rehabilitated before us; for the executioner killed only men, guilty men; but we, we caused the Son of God to die, the Innocent." (Histoire de l'antisémitisme, l'Europe suicidaire, 1870-1937. Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1977. vol. 4, P. 57)

For a Canadian reader the menace becomes more vivid when we note that L'Entrée was cited by Plamondon's defenders as an authority and as a justification for the Quebec notary's attacks on the Jewish people -- which became the crux of the Ortenberg case.

Tardivel Jr. quoted Father Lemann on the Jews in his controversy with the Hon. A. Weir. (La Vérité, Mar. 22, 1908)

Mgr. Lemann entered the tragic Mortara conflict, when much of the world ranged itself against Pius IX after a two-year-old Jewish boy in Bologna, one of the papal states, had been taken from his parents after his Catholic nurse had had him baptized without his parents' permission. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33; Jules Romain, La Vérité, May 17, 1913)

As Mgr. Lemann wrote, "all governments began to intimidate the pope and judged his actions wrong. But not one of them examined the question from the point of view of the interests of Jesus Christ. Without exception all blamed the decision and the conduct of the pope...Later chanoine Pius Mortara (as the boy from Bologna came to be on his maturity) travelled through the largest cities of Europe to tell of the great favours which he had received from Pius IX"

The Mortara case continued to stir world Jewry for decades and remained a subject of agitation against Jews in Quebec as elsewhere.

The Mortara case in all its principles engaged the highest religious authorities in Canada as represented by the premier Catholic theologian and nationalist of the period, Mgr. L.-A. Paquet, in his classic Droit publique de l'église prepared at this time.

In his discussion of the powers with which the church is endowed he wrote,

"It is easy to justify in the eyes of reason these teachings and proceedings which are so out of harmony with the ideas dominant in our time.

"We must remember that the church, in spite of its eminently spiritual nature, is not out of touch with tangible matters; that its members are human; that it is composed of soul and body; that generally it cannot effectively reach the soul and penetrate it with all its influence without acting by material means on the body itself.

"That principle is at the root of the sacraments and of the grace which they create; it is the same principle which supports the use of corporal punishment and physical restraints. The church has called upon these punishments and this restraint not for temporal purposes, but for this fine and highly saintly spiritual end which is the object of its solicitudes and which it pursues throughout all the struggles, all the reverses and vicissitudes of its entire life.

"As long as the Holy See was surrounded by friends and could count on the aid of the secular arm; as long as the pope was enjoying the free exercise of his territorial kingdom and could add to his spiritual scepter of civil power, we could see religious power extend in all its force and ensure the faithful execution of ecclesiastical laws, by a prudent and salutary energy. For him it was more than a right; it was a grave social duty, which is why in the midst of the most hostile clamour, in the face of the most menacing oppositions, he never hesitated, whenever circumstances allowed, to act with authority and to apply even material restraints.

"We have the not-yet-forgotten example of this in the celebrated Mortara case. Mortara was the name of a Jewish family living uner Pius IX in the Pontifical States, who employed a Catholic woman (contrary to law). This woman noticed at a certain moment that one of the children in her care was dangerously ill, as it seemed to her at the point of death. She considered it a wise and praise-worthy act to baptize him. In this case the baptism was in fact licit and valid. Contrary to the fears entertained by this servant, the sick child, regenerated in the waters of grace, survived.

"Later, the pontifical authorities who were informed of this, anxious to remove the young Christian from the danger that he might lose his faith while in the tutelage of his Jewish parents, considered it their duty to withdraw him from the hands of his family and to secure for him an education, in an asylum in Rome, appropriate to the demands of his baptism.

"This act of temporal sovereignty and spiritual paternity on the part of Pius IX called forth quite a storm. Politicians agitated, the impious press raged; there were appeals to freedom of conscience, to the sacred rights of mothers. The case was presented as 'the middle ages daring to wage war on the revolution and on the nineteenth century.' With the calm which gives strength to right, Pius IX stood firm. The valiant press spared no effort to present the full justice of his attitude, and the French newspaper L'Univers exceeded itself on this occasion in one of the finest press campaigns which Catholic journalism ever illustrated...

"Here is further proof among many that the authority of the church, even when it asserts itself by force, intends only to serve God and souls and that, in this calumnious war waged against it, outraged and misunderstood right bears within itself its justification and its triumph.

"The church thus enjoys very extended coercive power. But does this juridical faculty go so far as to order and inflict the death penalty?

"To respond to this question and to avoid confusion it is necessary to distinguish in the person of the pope, the king and the pontiff, the head of a territory and the head of the church.

"Clearly, as temporal prince with states to administer and frontiers to defend, the pope possesses all the prerogatives attached to civil sovereignty. If he judges it necessary he may strike all his subjects whose insubmission and disorder trouble social peace with all the rigours of the law. Consequently he can push this severity, at the hour of great danger and in extreme cases, and can extend it to capital punishment. He can still raise and maintain an army charged to protect the integrity of the territory over which he is sovereign against all invasions from outside and against seditions from within... (Pp. 148-51)

The tale of the pope resisting all efforts to have the child returned to his parents -- because of his authority over the child's converted soul -- was a frequent theme in La Vérité which quoted His Holiness, "Could I, the Pope, cast pearls before the swine?" The Meshumad Lemann, now Monsignor, approved heartily of the pontiff's stand. (May 17 and 24, 1913)

This firmness earned the Pope an accolade from La Vérité's L. Hacault for "the sacred, heroically sublime life of the great victim of Kabbalism, of Pharisaic freemasonry." (Jan. 18, 1913)

Justin followed some of the consequences of the tragedy upon the Italian Jewish family. (La Vérité, May 24, 1913)

Hacault introduced the readers of La Vérité to young Mortara as author of a biography of Pius IX (Jan. 18, 1913) and seized the occasion to refer to Father Barbier's La Solution de la question juive (1900) and Mgr. Fèvre Continuation de l'histoire de l'église to recall that "the prudent Jesuit order does not receive children of Jews unless they had been Catholic for five generations. The patriotism of St. Ignatius had made the matter clear in regard to this nation, the worst enemies of the church and of Christian peoples...The general of the order may dispense with this impediment for Moslems." (Jan. 18, May 3 and Sept. 13, 1913)

The Lemann brothers had issued, on August 15, 1873, a "Letter to the scattered Jews in regard to the conduct of their coreligionists in Rome during the captivity of Pius IX at the Vatican." (Savard, P. 305)

La Vérité's Justin recalled that Father Joseph Lemann participated in an interesting but little known episode in Catholic- Jewish relations which occurred at the time of Vatican Council I, an episode

which also involved Mgr. Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orléans whose theological position at the time was most important. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 29)

It appears that in connection with that council the pope encouraged the brothers Augustin and Joseph Lemann to prepare a postulatum "in favour of the cause of the remnants of Israel."

Originally the priest-converts had intended Mgr. Dupanloup to act as protector and promoter of the project before the council; 510 signatures of fathers of the council supported the plea.

But the position which the monsignor had taken in regard to the promulgation on the nature of papal infallibility led the sponsors to choose another priest for this role. But they did indeed call upon the Bishop of Orléans for his signature.

As Mgr. Joseph Lemann describes their visit to him in his La Cause des restes d'Israël introduite au concile oecumenique du Vatican, "The welcome which we received was most affable. After glancing with satisfaction at our full postulatum, the Bishop of Orléans asked us, 'Where is the signature of the Bishop of Poitiers?'

"It is important to remember at this point that Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, was the declared opponent of the campaign led by the Bishop of Orléans against the dogma of infallibility. During the declaration of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the first magnificent candelabra lit by Pius IX, he wrote to the august pontiff, 'O Pius, the most pious among the pious.' The Bishop of Poitiers was, then, the antagonist of the Bishop of Orléans in the conflict between the proponents and opponents of the declaration on infallibility.

"At the request of Mgr. Dupanloup we searched in our postulatum for the signature of Mgr. Pie. As soon as we showed it to him the Bishop of Orléans uttered the touching words, 'I will put my signature below the signature of the Bishop of Poitiers.'

"We fell to our knees before this great act of humility and covered his hands with kisses. He, too, was stirred.

"O dear postulatum in favour of the remnants of Israel, you were the first discreet pledge of the reconciliation of hearts."

La Vérité's Justin adds, "We will certainly want to know why the Fathers Lemann had at first chosen Mgr. Dupanloup as promoter of the cause of the remnants of Israel.

"The Bishop of Orléans had become dear to the hearts of the converted Jewish priests following the sermon which he preached at the miraculous apparition of the Very Sacred Virgin to Alphonse Ratisbonne in the Church of St-André at Rome at the moment when

the converted Jew was about to receive the sacred baptism." (May 17, 1913)

Father Augustine Lemann, honorary canon at Lyons, served as authority for rabid anti-Semitic journalist L. Hacault whose anti-Jewish scribblings filled the pages of La Vérité, Action sociale, La Semaine religieuse de Québec, Le Croisé and other periodicals.

Jules Romain was deeply impressed with L'Idée maçonnique of Augustin Lemann.

As has happened so many times in Jewish history, the Talmud was the target of anti-Semitic hate. Canadian anti-Semites being probably even more ignorant than their European colleagues -- as was to be indicated in the Plamondon trial -- they were the more vociferous and more stupid in their "explanations" of this difficult classic, e.g., Jules Romain (in La Vérité of Apr. 16, 23 and 30, 1910).

Mgr. E. Jouin found moral support from the converted Jew, Abbé Lemann for his Le Peril judéo-maçonnique of which the first part consisted of the translation of Les Protocoles des Sages de Sion by Serge Nilus. (Paris, La Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes, 1927. IV 248 p.) The second part, as announced, was entitled Les Actes de la contre-église.

A CONVERSATION WITH ECHOES

Tardivel records witnessing a divine miracle and a miracle of Christian faith with the Lemanns in France. He wrote,

Fireworks were scheduled in Lyons that evening in honour of the Virgin, for the city was consecrated to her. But that December day heavy fog blanketed the city. The twin priests reassured Tardivel that all would be arranged; the fireworks never failed to sparkle, although clouds are always that thick during this season.

As they left the house at six the fog was as thick as ever. But exactly at seven, at the moment of the first lights on the hillside, the fog began to lift, indeed to disappear.

"I had never seen anything as miraculous as this."

The founder of La Vérité left us a remarkable record of the lesson on Judaism, and even on the Jews of Canada, which he received from the former Jew in his Notes de voyage.

He wrote, "If all the sons of Israel were like them, the world would be much happier than it is. Learned, full of faith and charity; very firm in their principles and, with all this, excellent conversationalists, the two Lemann priests are alike as two drops of water, physically and morally. I spent several delicious hours in their company.

"Now, hear this about the Sons of Israel:

"We spoke of many things, but most particularly about the Jewish question which they know thoroughly and which they see from a sublime and profoundly Christian view.

"They know the Jewish peril better than anyone. Canadians, they told me, should be on guard if they are not to fall into the power of the Jews, like all the peoples of Europe now are.

"But the best means, the only effective means of repelling Jewish domination is to live so as not to deserve it. For, let there be no doubt about it, God uses the Jews as a plague to chastise the Christian nations who have evaded, who have denied their baptism.

"The solution of the Jewish problem is the return to Christian principles, to Christian home life, to Christian social life. It is not in violence or hate, as some loud but uncertain writers would have it." (La Vérité, Jan. 5, 1889, Pp. 253-56)

"This priest once asked us, 'Do you have Jews in Canada?'

"'They are beginning to come,' was my reply.

"'Very well. You should know that the Canadians are beginning to be seriously sick.'

"And when we asked him to explain his thought he continued, in substance:

"'Without question the Jewish people have been the People of God. But since the deicide, God has used His people as a plague to punish the Christian nations who prevaricated and abandoned their vows. When a Christian people ceases to live the Christian life, be certain that they are calling down the plague of God upon themselves. The further they go from the teachings of Jesus Christ, the more they neglect their duties, the more solidly the Jews will establish themselves among this people, devouring the substance of this Christian people, oppressing it and corrupting it in every way.

"'So, if the Jews,' he said, 'are beginning to come to Canada, you can be certain that you are sick, and you can be equally certain that the Christian people who suffer from the plague of God can be relieved from it in only one way: to return to Christ and to His Church. Violent language against the Jews; violent plans against them will not avail.

"'Let the Christian people cease to prevaricate and the Jews will cease persecuting them.

"'The work of the Jews, the work of their press, the work of their great weapon, which is freemasonry, are evident enough that we can call blind any Catholics in this country who are happy at seeing Jews grow and strengthen in this country.

"'In a few years even the most liberal of our Catholic leaders will see Jewish grabbing and oppression in Canada as elsewhere. They may not recognize the infinitely more dangerous harm done by the Jews on the level of faith and Christian manners. The role of the Jews in the areas of the profane will bring forth cries of pain and outrage. But by then these will be powerless cries.'"

Tardivel continued,

"We know very well that the constitution of our country, based as it is on liberalism, scarcely permits our rulers to defend the Christian people against the invasion of the Jewish plague. But that Christians and Catholics should publicly rejoice at this invasion -- that is a mystery!

"In truth, our friend the distinguished French priest, the converted Jew, was right. We are becoming seriously sick. We deserve to have the Jews come and become strong among us!"

Father Joseph Lemann was absent when Tardivel called again on March 3, 1889, but he was received by Father Augustin Lemann just as cordially as during his first visit. Again, he "passed several hours there with this priest, as learned as he was amiable.

"I have heard it said by some that they do not care for Jews even when converted. They do not know the Fathers Lemann." (Pp. 408-9; La Vérité, Apr. 6, 1889)

Tardivel more frequently referred to his religious compass, and sought answers to questions which posed themselves before him in theological and ultramontane terms

During his voyage Tardivel visited the Rome ghetto, "the Jewish quarter when Rome was under the rule of its legitimate kings.

"The popes had found the true solution of the Jewish question, a solution dictated at once by compassion, prudence and Christian charity. Purely human governments have never found this solution and will never find it.

"Except in pontifical Rome the Jews were always at the extremes, never at the exact centre. At times persecuted, still maltreated in some countries; in other countries they seize all -- the government, social influence, business.

"In Rome, under the popes, they were never ill-treated; they even found there a refuge from persecution. But, on the other hand, the popes took care not to place the city and the states under the domination of the Jews; they were careful not to permit this essentially anti-Christian element to enter political and social life, the intimate life of the people, to occupy important positions.

"The stupid revolutionary who wants equality for all religions has overturned all these barriers, all precautions. So the Jew profited from this to penetrate to the heart of what was Christian society.

"The Italian government, above all revolutionary, seeks to destroy the very memory of the wise papal legislation in regard to Jews. The demolisher's pickaxe which attacks everything in Rome, to the despair even of the Protestants, is at this moment knocking down the ancient ghetto which is now no more than a heap of bricks, mortar and dust. As for the Jews, they are now scattered throughout the city just as they are to be found throughout modern society.

"In the ghetto there still stands a remarkable monument, the church which the popes had built in the centre of this quarter of the

faithless. I could not enter the church, for I found it closed whenever I came. But the façade is overwhelming. There is a great painting of Christ on a cross, and below, this inscription from Isaiah, in Hebrew and in Latin,

"'I always spread out my hands unto a rebellious people that walk in the way that is not good, after their own thoughts; the people that provoke me in anger to my face continually.'

"This is the touching and sublime invitation which the Jews of the ghetto had constantly before their eyes, thanks to the charity of the popes." (Notes de voyage, Pp. 354; La Vérité, Mar 2, 1889)

Tardivel later cited the Vatican's Osservatore Romano to the effect that as long as the Jews remained in the ghetto, the popes protected them against popular anger; but a century ago they left the ghettos and have spread over the world, invading all social functions, grabbing national wealth, seeking to dominate by means of capital. The popes can no longer protect them against the fury of the peoples they exploit. (Feb. 5, 1898)

French Canadians watched the Russians closely -- and differently. As early as 1890 La Vérité spelled out factually the further anti-Jewish measures proposed in Russia and concluded that "these edicts will lead an exodus of a million Jews from the empire." (Apr. 16, 1890)

Justin looked with admiration at Russia's laws which confined Jews to certain "territories" and certain villages and limited Jews' movements and occupations. He cited with approval the program of "the Congress of Nobility which is conducting the anti-Semitic campaign in Russia...

"Clearly Russia has applied virtually the ancient church legislation in regard to Jews.

"It would be desirable in the interests of Jews and Christians alike to have all peoples who suffer from the Jewish plague adopt the wise policy of the Russians." (Vérité, July 22, 1911)

Jules Romain looked back upon the golden past when church legislation limited the Jews' position in society. All this good was shattered by the evil force of the French Revolution. (July 10, 1910)

Later La Vérité of Tardivel jr. told its readers how the converted Jew had described for his newfound Catholic brothers in communion the constant Jewish hostility towards the papacy. The Quebec weekly, on March 19, 1910, reprinted the text of Abbé Lemann who thus brought oil to the anti-Semitic fires of Canada,

"When the sub-Alpine government forced the gates of Rome by cannon on September 20, 1870, before the breach was forced, a group

of Jews crossed it to congratulate Gen. Cadoine, and the entire ghetto was covered with Piedmont colours.

"They dressed in anti-Vatican colours when the invading troops forced the gates of the city with their cannon and insulted and attacked the Zouave guards, defenders of the pope. They attacked worshippers on the way to church.

"The Zouaves, defenders of Pius IX, had been ordered to stop their heroic defence. The Jews were waiting for them on St-Ange bridge to overwhelm them with insults and even tear the clothing off their backs. While the usurping government was being installed, the Jews were to be seen running like jackals from barracks to barracks pillaging them. In some cases they assembled in front of churches to hiss and strike the Christians who went there to pray. Whenever we asked about the ignoble events at Corso, before the Quirinal and wherever sacred objects were ridiculed, we were told how priests were insulted, madonnas sullied and sacred images pierced and torn; we were always told, 'the buzzards and the Jews'."

"That is how Jews display their gratitude to those, like the pope, who offer them shelter," wrote the anti-Semitic weekly on March 19, 1910.

The Quebec editor continued,

"Are not the Jews, allies of the freemasons, insulting Pope Pie X, the successor to their benefactor? Are they not screaming hatred and death to the old man of the Vatican? They have sworn to drive the pope from Rome.

"The Fathers Lemann, who know the peoples of their race well, have written,

"'It is not King Victor Emanuel who seems to be the greatest danger facing Rome, nor are the men of the revolution. They will pass away. The supreme danger facing Rome are these usurers (the Jews) who shall not pass away.

"'Armed with property rights, your cleverness, your tenacity and your power, the century shall not end but that you shall be masters of Rome.

"'There is the danger, and we are warning all Catholics.'"

The younger Tardivel continued to write in the same vein, in the year 1910, in the midst of the storm centering on Ernesto Nathan, Jewish mayor of Rome. (March 19, 1910),

"During the past ten years Rome has been entirely in the hands of the Jews and their masonic allies. The usurping king is

himself, so to speak, a prisoner of the enemies of the papacy. Nathan is the master of Rome.

"In Canada, as in Rome, the supreme peril is the Jew who brings in his train the lodges, the evil theatre, the bad press, usury, demoralization and degradation."

This explosion of venom was evoked in La Vérité by a report of the imminent arrival of more Jewish immigrants into Canada.

"It seems to have become quite natural for Canada to become the new theatre of action for the Jews who have been driven from the old lands. Has not Sir Wilfrid Laurier issued the Jews an invitation from the full parliament?

"We do not seem to be aware of the danger which the Jews pose to our country. The future will prove us right. Our people have shown them an exaggerated generosity; our legislators pass laws of exception on their behalf. When the Jews become numerous here, within the decade, we will see their gratitude. Russia, France and England already know something about this historic ingratitude."

Father Joseph Lemann contributed a long series of articles on the Rothschilds to the authoritative Quebec La Semaine religieuse in which he disseminated in Canada the hideous caricature of the European Jewish family of financiers as a major anti-Christian agency. (vol. 8, Apr. 17, 1895 - Aug. 1, 1896, Pp. 543-44, 559-60, 573-74, 590, 700-2, 758-65, 778-82; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

The religious character and the judgment of this now Catholic priest of Jewish origin emerges from his comment on Nathan Rothschild and on Napoleon. This vituperation against a Jew develops into a paean of hatred against the Jews.

"The Jewish financier established an empire which succeeded Napoleon's the very evening of the French defeat at Waterloo, an empire quite unlike all the empires which had preceded his own. Rothschild used all the instruments which Napoleon had called upon to set up his dynasty, but inevitably in Hebraic form.

"Napoleon had entered the family of kings as a crowned soldier with weapons and baggage; his marriage was a conquest. Rothschild entered the family not through the nuptial chamber but through the treasury, and old Europe was not the less stupefied or silent for all this.

"It is the beginning of a coalition of capital, as powerful as armies, a new type of conqueror; capital marches toward supremacy more surely than did Caesar's sword.

"Only the church, as proud as the first Christians in the arenas, saluted the Red Sign of the Rothschilds, as they hailed Caesar, 'We, the condemned, salute you.'

"The inveterate Jewish hatred persecutes Christianity. Furthermore, the imagination of Israel has never ceased, being haunted by a dream of universal domination; so that, by virtue of innate and traditional hatreds and by this dream of domination, all Jews, good and evil, participate in the persecution which brought some of them into the masonic order and even to lead it.

"They have made common cause. Tacitly they accept responsibility, and the best proof is that not a single rabbi, no renowned Israelite has protested against the persecution which Christians suffer. In the past, popes have risen to protect persecuted Jews. Now no rabbi shows gratitude. The entire Jewish people may then be seen, if not as among the persecutors, at least as their allies."

Tardivel frequently recalled his lessons from the Lyons priests. He was confirmed by them as he hailed the anti-Jewish preachings of Father Lacasse in the Quatrième mine. (Dec. 30, 1893)

The meeting between Tardivel and the French priest become the enemy of his own Jewish blood reechoed in Canada for many years.

The converted Jew did not displace from Tardivel's mind the extraordinary chapter on Jews in Romans, and he insisted, "certainly we must not hate or despise the Jews of our times, for we must hate no one." He claimed that he was not anti-Semitic in the ordinary sense of the word. "We must ever recall that they are the people chosen of God.

"On the other hand we must remember that even as we wait for God to remove the veil from their hearts, they remain the sworn enemies of Christ and of His Church. It is as impossible for Christians to trust the Jew, deicides not yet repentant, or to fraternise with them, as it is impossible to hate or despise them. The solution found by the church: no persecution of the Jews, but a better protection of the people against them." (La Vérité, Sept. 1, 1900; reprinted July 23, 1910)

CAPT. DREYFUS

Anti-Semitism does not lend itself easily to mensuration or to comparison. But Michael Brown notes that the French variety of century's end was so virulent that it even infected the Jews in France and created self-hatred. (Paper on "France, the Catholic Church, French-Canadians and Jews before 1914" at the Canadian Jewish Historical Society, June 1, 1976)

The Dreyfus case in France did not divide French Canada. Its loudest and most consistent voices saw in the Paris affaire the powerful action of an anti-Catholic, revolutionary Jewry that frightened Quebec. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

For nearly half a century it was constantly recalled, and again the populace and its spokesmen differed only in intensity and in the radicalism of its anti-Jewish sentiment.

As we shall see, after two decades of anti-Dreyfusism the clamour continued with another anti-Jewish court action, the Kiev accusation of ritual murder against, again, the symbolic Jew; this time his name was Mendel Beilis.

The Dreyfus affair -- dramatic in its sensational action, and earth-shaking in its political and international consequences involving half a world, and the whole based upon a lie -- has the complex structure of a symphony.

It began routinely, as political crimes go. A French army officer was arrested on charges of betraying his nation's secrets. He was tried, found guily and sentenced to life imprisonment.

On the same level of the routine, he pleaded not guilty and maintained his innocence.

Still on the same level: he was of Jewish origin, and this was seized upon by the anti-Semites of the age as further evidence of his guilt and of the corrupting influence of the Jewish people.

Dreyfus and his loyal family mobilized articulate and powerful friends in their quest for exoneration and claimed that they had found evidence to vindicate the convicted man on Devil's Island.

But in 1898 the case exploded from internal blasts.

To begin with a number of prominent French citizens whose views could not be dismissed began to doubt the authenticity and the justice of the judicial procedures. The feeling developed that the

perversion of justice had taken the direction of racial prejudice. By virtue of this alone France seemed ready to split with the century-old cleavage of 1789.

But then came factual evidence that there had indeed been a miscarriage of justice, that an innocent man had been convicted and sentenced to not much less than death.

A.I. Silver noted that "the Dreyfus affair which tormented France for more than a decade after 1894, was seen as a sign of secret Jewish and masonic control in France. 'Poor France is completely in the hands of cosmopolitan Jewry,' lamented La Revue canadienne, (Quebec's respectable, conservative monthly journal) on hearing of Dreyfus' arrest. France ought to recognize in this affair 'the underground work being carried out by Jewry to destroy her.' (Vol. 30, 1894. Pp. 778-79) Nor was Jewish control confined to France, for the international sympathy which the defenders of Dreyfus had acquired by the end of the 1890s was to be attributed to 'the despatches of the wire agencies, which are controlled by the Jews.' (Ibid., vol. 34, 1898. P. 220)

"In any case, though foreign opinion might support Dreyfus, French-Canadian conservatives remained convinced that the Dreyfusards represented 'everything which is most impious, most revolutionary, most anti-French,' while 'all our friends in France, the Catholic press, the most respectable writers' were opposed to him." (Pp. XI-XII)

The debate became universal in France because the dedication to justice by the agencies of justice and the dedication to security by the security agencies came unabashedly to be placed at stake; it centered not only on the details of the evidence but on whether French justice itself can be tried. What was on trial was the character of the proponents of the various positions, of their motivation. The ultimate consequence of the victory or defeat of one party or another in this matter became partisan, ideological, cultural, religious; particularly as on all sides the participants did not hesitate to stake the very validity of their philosophies and institutions on the outcome. The elements in the debate included the veracity (or the opposite) of the press and of the international press agencies, the role of the mobs on the streets.

As early as July 7, 1883 La Vérité had seen the Jews and the freemasons as being in control of the news agencies and of many newspapers and using these powers to spread error and calumnies against Catholics. It repeated this accusation on February 27, 1890 and on February 26, 1898 against the Jews as the sworn enemies of Christianity; Providence makes use of them to punish Christian prevarication. (Oct. 4, 1890)

The alignment of forces in the case was such that for decades no pro-Dreyfus partisans could exist in French Quebec, while the anti-Dreyfus Catholic conservatives were dominant.

Tardivel was then only following the Montréal L'Etandard which, again, stated clearly on September 24, 1889 that the Jews inspire and lead freemasonry. (Savard, P. 303)

In much of this Canada was anticipating the orgy of evil launched in France by Edouard Drumont in 1886. When Drumont's chef d'oeuvre La France juive appeared in 1886 Tardivel welcomed it if only because the French Catholic journalist Louis Veuillot of L'Univers had praised it as a courageous and instructive work. (May 15 and Aug. 21, 1886)

As La Presse wrote of the case on December 10, 1898,

"It is a matter of the public conscience; a poignant and unforeseen question, the soul of a nation dividing and putting on the line its very existence on a question of justice."

The newspaper saw, for the first time, a nation and half of mankind aroused for the fate of one man; half robbed of their sleep for an Innocent, the other half for the repute of a state, of its system of justice, of respect for judgment rendered, of the flags of its army.

A poet, George Martin, spoke for Protestant anglophony in "Dreyfus's Farewell to Exile,"

"Lone island of horror and pain,
Sad prison of hope and despair,
They have broked the infamous chain
Whose clanking has whitened my hair.

Have they dragged from its covert the wrong
That doomed me to exile and shame?
Have they humbled the necks of the strong,
Whose calumny blackened my name?

I have walked in the shadow of death,
I have lain 'neath the stars in a tomb;
Inhaling with every breath
The fever pervading its gloom.

To freedom and honor restored,
To country and kindred -- O God!
In my heart I have hidden the sword
On which in their malice they trod..."

(Daily Witness, reprinted in Jewish Times, July 21, 1899)

Early in 1898 the Gazette summarized the Jewish condition in Europe,

"Forty years ago the development of Jewish emancipation in England reached its consummation, and since then we have members of the ancient race occupying the highest social and official ranks obtainable by Her Majesty's Christian subjects.

"Yet twenty years after the fulfilment of their desire, a reaction, which elicited from George Eliot characteristic protest, had set in, and many were ready to pull down those whom they had helped to exist. It was not in England, however, nor in any daughter state that a reaction so out of harmony with the spirit of our time rose to the pitch of persecution. A Bible-reading people could hardly wage cruel war against a race of whose calling for great ends the Scriptures are so full and whose restitution is with millions a received doctrine...

"The anti-Semite movement has, however, drawn in its train persons of nearly every political allegiance and who were capable of sympathizing with every race but one. The grounds on which this antagonism has been based are of a comprehensive diversity. Some object to them because they are rich; others denounce them as a nuisance because they are poor. Some accuse them of unwillingness to work; others protest against their competition. By one claim they are declared outlaws because they keep aloof from the social and political interests of the country in which they reside; but those who enter the civil service or the army or the professions or engage in public life fare no better. If they succeed, they are objects of bitterest envy and are charged with seeking advancement by dishonest means. If they fail or incur disgrace or misfortune, their shortcomings are made pretexts for assailing the whole race indiscriminately. If they exhibit reluctance to fight for the nation of their adoption they are regarded as traitors; if they take service willingly and endeavour to approve themselves good soldiers, they have some purpose apart and are objects of suspicion.

"The fact that the unhappy man of German name who, after wearing a French artillery captain's uniform, was found guilty of treason, and was sentenced to a punishment more bitter than death, is of Jewish origin has made the Esterhazy trial and its sequel an excuse for reviving the anti-Jewish agitation.

"Although in France, as in England, the Jews labor under no disabilities, the paper war has been conducted there with a virulence unsurpassed, if paralleled elsewhere. As yet the outward manifestations of Parisian anti-Semitism have not come up to the official brutality of Russia, the mob violence of Vienna or the fierce anger of the Roumanian peasantry.

"Paris is nevertheless the hottest focus of anti-Semitism, as it never lacks representatives of all the groups of Jew-baiters that keep

the fire of bigotry burning. An article in a Paris paper may bear fruit in Berlin or Amsterdam or Prague or Bucharest, and the leaders in the students' outcries may be thinking of affairs at home (for many of them are aliens) rather than of French politics. If, therefore, the intervention of M. Zola in the Esterhazy-Dreyfus business should cause a revival of the anti-Jewish cry, or should bring out any important facts as to the Government's dealings with the Jews, the consequences may be far-reaching.

"It is certain that the huis-clos court-martial, of which the public heard only the upshot, has left the whole question in a most unsatisfactory state, and the impression that something is kept back, the publication of which would affect the reputations of more than the officers who ostensibly are alone concerned, gains strength every day. In spite of the apparent weakness of the case of Alfred Dreyfus against Major Count W. Esterhazy, the evident sincerity of the Dreyfus family in their conviction of their condemned kinsman's innocence has proved contagious, and M. Zola is not alone in holding that wrong has been done. But in seeking to clear and free him by using a clew in the discovery of the truth, the same defective thread which (as they hold) broke short in the quest, and thus doomed to ignominy and torture a guiltless man, they are only 'renewing unutterable pain' without shedding any new light on the real course of the mischief.

"The only chance of good from the reopening up of the matter is that the public excitement may take a form that will force the Government at whatever cost to disclose what has hitherto been withheld. Until the mystery is cleared up the authorities in France will be liable to the suspicion that, to escape from the odium of having betrayed their country to Jewish influence hostile to France, they have persisted in condemning to a living death of torment an army officer who, were he not a Jew, would not have been thus punished." (Jan. 25, 1898)

Time and again in Quebec history, when the anti-Semites had to choose between a Catholic or an anti-Semitic position -- such as in following Maurras, or the Hitler who had not yet begun to persecute the Church -- they abandoned the Catholic cause.

As so often happens in religious and political institutions, pious and innocent names and phrases conceal complicated realities often belied by their titles. The good Catholic press hid a complex condition in France which militated very actively even against the policies of the pope when these appeared to be liberal. In Paris, the Maison de la bonne presse, operated by the Assumptionist Congregation, formally accepted Pope Leo XIII's Ralliement program of reconciliation but its daily La Croix, diligently copied in the Quebec press, cooperated with Drumont in preventing the success of the pope's policy.

This clear, sad unanimity of anti-Semitism in Quebec Catholicism at this time was even in sharp contrast with the condition prevading at this time in France whence the Quebec journalists and churchmen were claiming their inspiration.

There, too, Jew-hatred was rife among the men of the church, and the predominance of the prejudice proved tragic. But there were other voices in the communion. As R.F. Byrnes put it,

"The French Catholics were divided into just as many factions or parties as the French Socialists, and acceptance or rejection of anti-Semitism was an important issue for each of the various groupings. The conservative and moderate Catholic groups both were divided on anti-Semitism and on the attitude towards the democratic Third Republic which its acceptance or rejection implied. Anti-Semitism not only intensified hatred of the Republic among those conservative and moderate Catholics who followed Drumont, but it also contributed to the development of a third Catholic party, the Christian Socialists or Christian Democrats. The political and social views of this group seriously alarmed both of the other combinations and increased their suspicion of democracy. As a result, Drumont's anti-Semitism was an important factor in the growing disagreement among French Catholic groups during the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the eventual unfortunate failure of ralliement. But for Drumont, Leo XIII's wise policy would have won far more general acceptance among French Catholics and the tragedy of the perpetuation of les deux Frances might have been avoided. In other words, the anti-Semitic movement helped to destroy the finest opportunity the French people had to unite freely from 1815 until 1944...

"Leo XIII, surely one of the greatest of all Popes, was as emphatic in his denunciation of Drumont's anti-Semitism as any modern democrat has been of racial or religious hatred anywhere. French clergymen and French Catholic laymen from all walks of life denounced anti-Semitism in Russia both before and after the publication of Drumont's book, and French Catholics were among the most generous in contributing aid to the oppressed Russian Jews. Moreover, although it has never been generaly recognized, many of the most ardent and early Dreyfusards were French Catholics and many of those who fought most valiantly throughout the entire Dreyfus Affair for the defence of the Third Republic, of democracy and of the rights of the individual were Catholics.

"Nevertheless, the evidence from all sides is overwhelming that Catholics were the strength of French anti-Semitism during these years. Catholics manned the press and journals which spread Drumont's teachings throughout France, and Catholic writers, especially priests, provided much of the ammunition in the anti-Semitic barrage laid down after 1886. Country priests, whose background and poor education had overemphasized piety to the detriment of a scholarly intellectual foundation and whose reading of

the Croix and little else had prepared them, were Drumont's most avid readers.

"The conservative Catholics, therefore, between the critical years of 1892 and 1896, divided into two groups. One group accepted the Republic but remained critical of its legislation, while the other remained irreconcilable and refused to cooperate with Leo XIII's sensible program. The Radicals naturally were suspicious of ralliement as an attempt by the Catholics to seize the Republic by infiltration; but the responsibility for the failure of that program lies mainly with the intransigent Catholics. All of the leaders of this group were anti-Semites, and most Catholic anti-Semites were violently opposed to the Pope's policy. The ultimate effect of anti-Semitism upon those conservatives who accepted it and preached it, therefore, was that their attitude towards the Republic and the issue of ralliement was very strongly influenced during these critical years. As a result, the Catholics not only lost a fine opportunity to construct a more satisfactory arrangement concerning the relations between the Church and the State, but they also helped to destroy the foundations of conciliation which had appeared among many Opportunists and Radicals, thus maintaining les deux Frances as the fundamental weakness of France." (Anti-Semitism in Modern France. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1950, vol. 1, Pp. 179-81, 203)

It needs to be noted that those who accepted the papal missive with so great enthusiasm failed so notably to implement it: "without hate, without anger, dispassionately" as he had commended; this must be seen as a common fate of the counsel of perfection. It was the fate of the pope's injunctions in France. As R.F. Byrnes put it,

"Leo XIII by 1890 had contemplated, like a new Ezekiel, the valley of dry bones of French Royalist politics and had decided that (barring a political miracle) the cause of the Most Christian King was as dead as that of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. He therefore re-instituted the policy of 'ralliement,' which simply recognized that the great majority of the French people had freely accepted the Republican form of government, and that the Catholic Church should follow its traditional principle of adapting itself to the government in power. This policy would free the Church and French Catholics from the dead body of monarchism in France and would allow the Catholics to exert far more influence upon the government than the hostile attitude thus far followed had permitted. This policy would, if successful, also soften ultimately the very strong anticlericalism of the French Radicals and Socialists and would lead to the establishment of a more firm foundation for the Third Republic.

"Leo XIII proposed, but the French themselves, alas, disposed. 'Ralliement' was crippled throughout the 1890's by the refusal or grumbling reluctance of many Catholic leaders to accept Leo XIII's suggestion. The anti-Semitic movement played a major role in this tortuous development, as well as in the Dreyfus Affair, which

destroyed completely the wise pope's excellent program." (Pp. 185, 194-97)

The reopening of the Dreyfus case, in spite of powerful opposition, was seen by La Semaine religieuse de Québec as one of the greatest victories freemasonry had ever won. (Nov. 5, 1898)

HESITATIONS

Some anti-Semites in Quebec, as elsewhere, were anxious for a conviction of Dreyfus, but many who were moderate sought a relaxation of world-wide tension about the Affair. They observed that the case had assumed a life of its own, quite aside from the accusations and the trials.

At the height of the Dreyfus agitation Tardivel thanked the French Abbé Lemire for his moderate statement on the Dreyfus case. At a time when fanatical anticlericalists sought to profit from the case, the abbé recalled the traditional attitude of the popes towards the Jews. (Feb. 11, 1899)

Tardivel might have been one of the very few, in France or in Canada, of those constantly hostile to Dreyfus who had a frightening afterthought, as they considered how great were the stakes they had placed on Dreyfus' guilt -- political, moral, ecclesial, even dogmatic: "What if Dreyfus was indeed, in fact, really innocent?!"

But he agreed that Jews should not enjoy full rights of citizenship and should not be permitted in finance. Although not opposing revision of the Dreyfus case, he was convinced that the agitation for such revision was a masonic conspiracy.

According to M. Brown the "respectable" Canadian French language press was not kinder to Dreyfus than was the fringe press. Even La Patrie, in spite of a fair beginning suddenly, between the lst and the 3rd of December 1897, became anti-Dreyfus and anti-Semitic.

He ascribes the attitude of La Presse, at least restrained and ambivalent, as possibly due to the presence of Helbronner. (Ibid., Pp. 269-71)

La Patrie was surprised at the intense foreign interest in the case, and questioned whether it was only in the interests of justice and humanity that this concern has been raised; or was it an excess of hatred against a nation which has loved and practised justice, which has given blood in the interests of humanity?

The newspaper was generally not hostile to Jews, but it reacted to the threat of a boycott against France suggested by some supporters of Dreyfus, as did Tardivel. La Vérité agreed that such a campaign against France would bring one benefit: it might expose the cosmopolite and the masonic power and danger, and no one would any longer mock those who fight this secret organization which holds the entire world in its grip. (Sept. 30, 1899)

La Patrie was convinced of Dreyfus' guilt: the problem that faced the world was the anti-French agitation in his defence conducted by world Jewry, by the Dreyfus syndicate which seeks a revolution in French opinion and in the French spirit.

La Vérité notes that in the United States, Britain and in Germany there is a plan on foot to boycott the Paris Exposition in protest against the condemnation of the officer.

"The plan derives from masonic and cosmopolitan Jewry. Innocent or guilty, the affaire shows the power and the astonishing cohesion of the Jews and freemasons. If Dreyfus were not a Jew and a freemason do you believe that the entire world would agitate to liberate him? When will Christians learn to unite against the Jews and Freemasons?" (Sept. 11, 1899)

The Montreal newspaper found support in the Toulouse Dépêche which had written, "This syndicate is not a myth. It exists not only in flesh and bones but also in treasure. It was founded a few months after his condemnation. A Catholic banker entrusted with its moneys lives near one of the large boulevards. He had two million francs at his disposal at the beginning of the campaign, probably much reduced by now. The syndicate covered the enormous costs of the research that is needed, in France and elsewhere, to absolve Dreyfus. It paid generously for the support which the case has received. One of its agents received 12,000 francs as one payment for his services. It has a complete police force at its disposal, including former government detectives. The list of the syndicate members is in the hands of the government." (La Patrie, Dec. 13, 1897)

The newspaper devoted a large part of its November 20, 1899 front page to drawings of Dreyfus and his Devil's Island "home," a remarkable contribution to Canadian Jewish iconography.

The young cartoonist Raoul Barré contributed to the defence of Dreyfus by his work in the satirical periodical Le Soufflet. (N. Auf der Maur in Montreal Gazette, July 9, 1982)

It is interesting to note Tardivel's nuances in the case of Capt. Dreyfus. Of course, he was no Dreyfusard. But he certainly did not join the fanatical hunt for the blood of the Jew and of the Jews. Many of his long paragraphs on the case are objective and even better.

Tardivel was strongly impressed by the worldwide attention to the obscure soldier accused of the crime; "attention," he wrote on August 19, 1899; "which the run-of-the-mill Frenchman thus accused would not have been granted."

The Quebec editor had no reason for believing in the innocence of the Jewish officer in the French army. He saw the

campaign to exonerate the Jew rather as "an immense conspiracy by cosmopolitan Jewry to drag France into some disastrous war, after destroying all confidence in the leaders of its army, rather than as a legitimate attempt on behalf of a man whom they hold to be unjustly condemned."

Yet he disapproved of the alignment of some Catholics, "who sense the hand of Jewry in this case and on the other hand, the French journals of the New World, and the great publicity agencies of America and of Europe who support Dreyfus and insult France." (La Vérité, March 5, 1898)

The Quebec City Vérité reprinted the analysis by Arthur Loth of "The Spirit of the Affaire" from the Paris La Vérité.

This intransigent weekly was founded by Loth when he and several other associates broke away from Veuillot's Univers because they would not accept moderating, "socialist" instructions from the Vatican. Like Drumont, Loth campaigned against the Jewish presence in the professions in France. (Byrnes, Pp. 202-3, 270)

Loth sought to be objective on Dreyfus' innocence or guilt, but dwelt at length on the political, anti-clerical, radical character of the campaign which formed about the accused Jew. "Even if we lean to the side of guilt, we are not rooted there," he wrote as he left this question to the judges.

Marcel Trudel notes Tardivel's "openness" in the Dreyfus case.

As Trudel put it, "Zola's anticlericalism and his militant atheism explain why Tardivel and other Catholics showed little sympathy for his cause." (L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada. Montreal, Fides. vol. 2, P. 308)

Tardivel was furiously anti-Zola when the French novelist became so very active in his quest for the reopening of the Dreyfus trial. But even then he admitted the possibility of the Jew being innocent, improbable as this appeared to him. (La Vérité, March 5, 1898)

"We always want to be sober in commenting on the Dreyfus case, for we are not clear in our mind about it. Let us hope that a revision of the case, whatever the outcome, will quiet the agitation which is so long sweeping France.

"If it is proven that a Jewish officer has been condemned on the basis of forgeries, anti-Semitism will be greatly discredited, and for years the Jews will be able to continue their diverse political, financial and social operations in peace. This is an outcome which we fear.

"It is also possible that anti-Semitic zeal, untempered and not guided by religion, impelled some officers to organize a conspiracy against the Jew, and he may indeed be a victim, as his friends claim, of a cruel and odious persecution. It is in the order of the possible.

"Outside the church, the great Moderate, there is seldom moderation. In regard to Jews the world easily goes from one extreme to the other. Today it flatters them; tomorrow it persecutes them. Today it opens wide the doors of civil society for them; tomorrow it pursues them in all its hatred.

"This is not the way of the church." (Ibid., Oct. 7, 1898)

Tardivel noted that Dreyfus' effort to secure judicial vindication was perverted in "A Propos de la campagne dreyfusiste" (La Vérité, March 26, 1898, P. 487) and in "Le Complot juif" (Feb. 12, 1898, Pp. 391-92) as a Jewish conspiracy to frame Commandant Esterhazy.

Similarly he endorsed the strong condemnation by Chanoine Mustel in France of the anti-Semites who attacked the Old Testament. (Dec. 17 and 24, 1898)

He strongly condemned certain Catholic French newspapers such as La Croix and L'Univers which opposed angrily every effort at revision of the Dreyfus case and thereby provided terrible arms to the enemies of religion. "Each of the victories of the revisionists become plausibly a defeat for religion; and the acquittal of Dreyfus, easily predictable, will be a pretext for systematic persecution of French Catholics."

Tardivel drew a parallel with the case of Taxil who organized a pseudo-Masonic campaign in the hope of discrediting for long the anti-Masonic movement. "Has not cosmopolite Jewry conspired the illegal condemnation of Dreyfus to end all struggles against this Judaism?" He argued this particularly after the Henry incident and the more when the compromising conduct of Esterhazy became apparent. "Would not those who are convinced of Dreyfus' guilt do better to demand the immediate revision of his conviction as the best means of ending the agitation?"

At moments of his moderation Tardivel was slow to nail his flag to the standard of his French party. He was prepared to consider Dreyfus innocent, the whole affair a conspiracy to discredit the conservatives by attaching them to the conviction of the Innocent. It was thus that he had been burned in his involvement with the free-masonic conspiracy. Nevertheless Jewish freemasonry was still at fault in stirring up blind hate of the church and the clergy. (Oct. lst and 22, 1899) He even regretted that Louis Veuillot's L'Univers opposed a review of the case.

"We always believed this, and are now more convinced than ever." (Ibid., Aug. 5, 1899)

La Vérité rejected the effort by the Lévis Quotidien to elevate the character of French Col. Henry who had committed suicide after admitting he had forged a document in the complex legal and political Dreyfus case. (Jan. 14, 1899)

Inherent in this argumentation is the innocence of the Jewish captain.

Again and again he entertains the possibility that "anti-Semitic zeal, untempered and unguided by religion," may have led some members of the army to conspire against Dreyfus. (Ibid., Sept. 30, 1890) Yet there is poison in the cup.

La Presse was criticized for its cynicism in expressing impartiality in the Dreyfus case by the Trifluvien of Trois-Rivières. (La Vérité, Aug. 26, 1899)

Tardivel discusses the controversy between Le Trifluvien and La Presse on this issue. La Presse is friendly to the Jewish affair. "The Trois-Rivières paper is wrong in assuming that Dreyfus has been convicted; in point of law the court has annulled the earlier condemnation," he writes on Aug. 26, 1899. "But La Presse is not impartial in the case. It is only natural since it counts, or counted, a Jew among its chief editors, (Jules Helbronner)."

One voice in Quebec that spoke of Dreyfus' innocence was Les Débats. (Apr. 12, 1903)

Again, the Jew is a touchstone and the anti-Semitism debate tells us much about this Canadian society and its solitudes. The people were not simply immured. There was deeply significant interaction, often between the hearts. Often these reactions were hostile; they were seen as decisive for the survival or the opposite of the person or the group; threatening the peace of the country and its peaceable continuity. The Dreyfus case and the alignment about it was as concrete as it was symbolic.

A JEWISH VOICE

There was a remarkable Jewish voice, as there were remarkable voices for the vast francophone majority and for the numerous, powerful anglophones.

Demographic statistics are not helpful in understanding the articulations of Quebec or its Jewries, for they obscure the fact that almost all the several thousands of Jews in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century had just arrived from another world, eastern Europe. They were of the Yiddish language, unheard then -- as today -- by the Christian environment and even by the integrated, Canadian-born Jews.

These Hebrews of the English language were very few, as they faced the many sectors of French, English, Protestant, Catholic, anti-Semitic and friendly fellow Canadians.

During the very months of the Dreyfus debates, in December 1897 to be precise -- and because of it, they stated -- several of them created a voice for Jewry on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the English-language The Jewish Times. It was remarkably articulate, considering its limited resources; yet this is not surprising when we identify its principals, S.W. Jacobs and Lyon Cohen.

An interesting smaller sector of Quebec society, with its own history and complex group relationships, was the anglophone Catholic, dividing its origins and loyalties between its membership in the universal Roman church and its linguistic traditions rooted in the British Isles, not to speak of its bonds with its growing American fraternity which had its centre but a few miles south of Montreal.

Its voice in Quebec at this period was The True Witness. The ideological and linguistic complexity of Quebec becomes stark and vivid when we read its article on "The Dreyfus Affair",

"Of course it is possible -- doit est possible, as our French friends say -- that Captain Dreyfus may have been condemned for a crime of which he is innocent. But it should be borne in mind that the highest authorities in the French Army, and all of the members of the court-martial by which he was tried have declared their belief that he did commit the crime of selling important military secrets to the German war office. The Chamber of Deputies has also, by a very large majority, affirmed its conviction that the charge was fully proven.

"The agitation now going on in the Paris press is, it should be remembered, the result of bribes paid for the purpose by a Jewish

syndicate, who naturally desired to clear, if possible, the name of one of their co-religionists from the terrible stain of treachery of the worst description. Many of the leading newspapers in the French capital are owned by Jews; and this also accounts for the vigor by which the movement for a new court-martial is being kept up.

"It is not likely, however, that it will succeed; for, apart altogether from the merits of the case, the evidence in Paris, as in Vienna and Berlin, of a bitter anti-Semitic feeling on account of the undue prominence attained by Jews in the financial, political and journalistic world, together with the fact that a Jewish syndicate has been organized to bribe the press, will undoubtedly hurt the scheme. The corruption fund will defeat its own ends. Its establishment was an insult to French honor and French patriotism."

The young Jewish Times was indignant as it reproduced this statement on December 24, 1897.

"For the True Witness is an Irish, Catholic paper and Irish Catholics, like Jews, have suffered centuries of persecution on account of their religious faith. But untaught by their own sufferings, unmindful of the ways they have been held up to the scorn and contempt of the world by their enemies, Irish Catholic journalists show how readily they can assume the role of persecutors, and emulate the worst efforts of those against whose oppression and misrepresentations they are ceaselessly crying out.

"Now as to the facts in the Dreyfus case. There is not one word of truth in the article we quote from the True Witness.

"It is not true that the highest military authorities in the French Army, and all of the members of the Court Martial by which he was tried, have declared their belief that he did commit the crime of selling important military secrets to the German War Office. The utmost that has been alleged is that he sold information to a foreign government. The statement that he dealt in the matter with the German War Office is a pure assumption. No military authorities in France, high or low, ever declared their belief to that effect. If they should do so, Emperor William has intimated what his answer would be. The German Government and the military attachés have always denied all knowledge of the affair, when it was hinted in the newspapers of Paris that Germany was the foreign government referred to.

"Dreyfus was arrested on information given by some person or persons whose identity has never been revealed. At his trial witnesses for the defence were not examined, and he was convicted on the testimony of two out of five graphological experts who maintain that his writing is the same as that of a criminating document said to have been 'stolen' from a waste-paper basket of a foreign embassy by detectives. Two French, two English, two American and two Swiss

experts declare that Dreyfus never wrote the incriminating document attributed to him.

"It is not true that the Chamber of Deputies has by a very large majority affirmed its conviction that the charge was fully proved. All that was done was that a majority in the Senate supported the Government in its refusal to grant a new trial.

"It is not true that the agitation now going on in the Paris press is the result of bribes, paid for the purpose by a Jewish syndicate."

"As the Zuricher Zeitung observes, 'It is not easy to find any motive for his action except that he is anxious to serve the cause of justice. He is wealthy, in an honored position and of undoubted integrity. The fact is the French people are ashamed of the whole affair; they fear that Dreyfus will be proven innocent, and that an enormous crime has been committed. Hence this secrecy, and the rumour that a war with Germany must needs follow the publication of the actual facts of the case.'

"The Literary Digest points out that one of the most striking peculiarities of the case is that the French people, through the majority of the press, reject the possibility that any one but a foreigner could commit such a crime as that for which Dreyfus was sentenced. Dreyfus is a Jew and an Alsatian, Esterhazy is descended from a Hungarian family settled in France for over a century. There is, however, a great deal of opposition to this combination of nativism and anti-Semitism. Paul de Cassagnac, the great Imperialist, writes in the Autorité of Paris:-

"'I alone have always had the courage to protest against Dreyfus's conviction, in the face of thoughtless public opinion. Such things may be all right with savages, but a man's life should not be ruined in this way with us. We want more information on the affair.

"'It sounds almost incredible that neither the accused nor his counsel were allowed to see the document upon which the conviction was chiefly based. State secrets? Fudge! Dreyfus is a Jew, and because he is a Jew he had to be guilty. I certainly do not love the Jews, but it does not follow that a man is a traitor solely because he is a Jew.'

"It is not true that 'many of the leading newspapers in the French capital are owned by Jews.' The only Paris newspapers that have expressed a fear that a horrible error has been committed are the Débats, Temps, and Figaro. These are the most respectable and reliable papers in Paris, and are not owned by Jews. On the other side, against Dreyfus, we have the whole pack of the reptile press and what are known as the Boulevard papers. Thus the Libre Pàrole asserts that all the friends of the convicted man are either Protestants or Jews, or they have some Protestant or Jewish or, at

least, foreign relations. 'It is a Protestant attack upon France,' says that paper."

An anonymous reader, subscribing himself a Jew, protested in a letter to The Jewish Times against the Irish editor "assuming an air of authority on the Dreyfus affair, and affirming positively the existence in France of a Jewish Syndicate whose business is to bribe right and left in order to prove a guilty man innocent. This is indeed strange, when with slight trouble one can peruse reliable non-Jewish journals, such as the London Times, Daily Chronicle, Spectator, Saturday Review, etc., etc., as well as reliable non-Jewish French journals, where one will read authoritative denials of such diabolical statements emanating exclusively in such unchristian sheets as the Libre parole, the Instransigeant, etc., whose only stock-in-trade is hatred of the Jews. Were such a statement mentioned as an item of news no objection exists, but that of all papers the True Witness should see fit to thus poison the minds of its readers is indeed painful.

"I may mention a significant coincidence in the same regard. Prof. Goldwin Smith (whom the True Witness knows not as a hater of the Irish and the Jews) who writes under the pseudonym of 'Bystander' in the Toronto Sun, finds it also convenient to have a bark at the Jews the same week; and mark, also, by culling from foreign anti-Semitic sources.

"But a journal like the True Witness, which one comes to regard as an educator of its people, to perhaps unconsciously prejudice its readers against a portion of idustrious and law-abiding citizens, is a sorry commentary on its headings.

"As to the statement that Jews gain an undue influence in the affairs of the country they live in, that is another fallacy." (Jan. 7, 1898)

The True Witness editor responded to the Jewish correspondent by testifying that he personally knew of the existence of a Jewish syndicate and cited the Paris Le Petit journal, Figaro, etc. as being owned or controlled by Jews.

A Jew replied to the True Witness in the columns of the Jewish Times of February 4, 1898,

"Such journalistic diplomacy I reiterate is a sorry commentary on his paper's heading. In support of his statement he says that 'La Petite Journal, Figaro, etc.' are owned or controlled by Jews. Let us see.

"Harold Frederic, a non-Jew, of international fame, in his cable letter to the Commercial Tribune, amongst other things says of degenerate France: 'The cheap papers like the Libre parole, Patrie, and Petite Journal, which have the biggest circulation, have been for

years preaching destruction to the Jews, until they have filled the weak and ill-balanced brains of thousands of readers with the most savage ideas.' So much for the ownership by Jews of the Petite Journal, etc.

"As to the Figaro, any one who has read the daily press could have seen the announcement that one of the owners (there are two) has withdrawn from active managership, for a time, because on his own responsibility he championed Dreyfus. According to the London Speaker, both owners are non-Jews, and vigorougly condemns as cowardly the withdrawal at the present time.

"In my letter I did not, nor does any intelligent Jew, defend or persist in claiming that Dreyfus is innocent because he is a Jew. We should be utterly ashamed of ourselves were we guilty of such un-Jewish sentiments. But in common with civilized people and, in view of the farcical Esterhazy affair, we certainly claim that humanity is entitled to know upon what ground Dreyfus was condemned. Day after day it becomes more apparent that the proofs of his guilt must be produced before the world is finally convinced.

"The True Witness would feel justified in condemning us for creating sympathy for Dreyfus because he is a Jew, were it well informed, but to condemn without proof shows a biased mind. Let the True Witness peruse strictly reliable Jewish papers in Great Britain, the continent or the United States; it will there read not a defence of Dreyfus but abhorrence that a Jew should be so unnaturally false to his country, at the same time recognizing that a mistake exists somewhere. They vie with the true Christian papers in asking for some light upon the whole affair.

"Before closing I wish to assure the True Witness that I am conscious of the fact that as a people we are not infallible, we possess good and bad points, just like other people. Intelligent Jews resent and distrust flattering eulogies upon them because some of their race by their genius contributed to benefit humanity. They also resent condemnation, because there are some -- too many -- vulgar and bad among them. The Jews are men, to be judged as men for their individual acts and not en masse."

The Jewish Times remembered that there were other Irish voices in Montreal.

"The Pen is the happily chosen title of a weekly literary paper published in this city, five numbers of which have appeared. It is edited by the proprietor, Mr. J.K. Foran, formerly editor of the True Witness. He is an Irish-Roman Catholic, and in referring to the Dreyfus case, expresses an opinion which is certainly more in accordance with the unbiased judgment of the outside world than the crude, prejudiced and wholly unsupported opinion of the True Witness, to which we recently referred. In this respect Mr. Foran more truly voices the sentiments of the Irish people of Montreal than

does the paper which he recently edited, besides showing a humane disposition towards the unhappy victim of French official persecution." (Jan. 21, 1898)

Anti-Dreyfus feeling among Canadian Catholics was not confined to Quebec. In London, Ont. the Catholic Record summarized the Paris drama,

"The fact that the Paris newspapers are clamoring for his release counts for very little. They are principally in the hands of the Jews and freemasons who are everywhere and have an unlimited command of money. They naturally desire the pardon of a compatriot, and French tribunals will inform us very soon if justice can be bought or sold.

"France is about to take the name of God from her coins. She has banished Him from her schools, her parliament and her families, and she declares that her path is through the desert of Infidelity. No nation ever went far without God. Years ago France was within the grasp of the invader, and her path was that of the slave. Today she is within the grasp of the Jew and freemasons, and she is fronting annihilation. Years ago Joan of Arc kindled into white flame the dying flame of patriotism, and Frenchmen were free again, with their own laws... They believed in God and confided to Him their destiny, and handed down to their children the memory of the brave deeds done by Heaven through the maid of Domremy.

"Today, however, the outlook is darker than in the days when the sons of France were awaked from sleep to battle with their hereditary foe; they have done with the traditions of the past, and they are content with the abject slavery of present. Thirty-eight million are controlled by one hundred Jews. There are, we are told, many pious Catholics in France. We believe that. But the Catholicity that allows its rights to be violated and its cause to be disregarded does not lend itself to much admiration." (Jewish Times, Nov. 11, 1898)

The Jewish Times (Sept. 30, 1898) reports a minor incident which reflects the atmosphere reigning in some "better circles" of the Canadien community:

"La Presse regretted the recent decision arrived at without any reason or justification by the Montreal French Chamber of Commerce against a member whose crime was that of being a Jew; the board maintained the decision notwithstanding the protests of the party interested who, however, treated with the indifference it deserved such a surly manifestation of unreasonable sentiments."

In the spirit of the converted Jew Lemann, Le Trifluvien expressed its alarm when it heard that the Rothschilds were about to open a bank in Toronto. "Is it an indication that we are about to be

inflicted with the Jewish plague? The bank will no doubt be a hot bed of Judaism." (June 9, 1898)

The Trois-Rivières paper received a lengthy response from the Liberal Montreal weekly Le Signal edited by T. Dubreil. (Jewish Times, June 24, 1898)

THE DURABLE CASE

With his vindication by the courts, the Dreyfus agitation did not cease from public awareness, and Dreyfus' guilt and Jewish complicity in his liberation remained an axiom in French Canada for decades, not least in La Vérité.

His protests against the unjustified dishonour imposed upon him were outshouted by anti-Semitic street arabs who counted generals within their gang. ("L'Affaire Dreyfus," by Sirius in Semaine religieuse de Québec, Jan. 4, 1904)

When Action sociale was established in 1908 Dreyfus' protests became one of its major news themes. Like Georges Pelletier, who soon left Action sociale to join the Devoir and became its editor-in-chief when Bourassa was forced out by the extremists, Omer Heroux was also to join Le Devoir. In Action sociale Héroux wrote on the attempt to assassinate Dreyfus. ("Encore Dreyfus", June 8); he continued the following winter on the Affaire continuing ("L'Affaire Dreyfus; L'incident André Gaucher" Feb. 4, 1909), and a few weeks later, on the 27th, "Encore l'affaire Dreyfus".

Action sociale devoted a long editorial, "Deux points de vue" summarizing Drumont's analysis of the Dreyfus case and the activities of the Jews in France. (Nov. 6, 1908)

Drumont rejoiced, as did Action again on December 9, 1908, at the acquittal by a French jury of one Grigori who attacked and injured Dreyfus. This was written in connection with the French film about the case being shown in a St. Roch theatre. The film is a landmark in the history of the cinema.

The Associated Press reported the condemnation of one Ullmo for espionage against the French navy, making no reference to his family. (Feb. 21, 1908) But a few days later Action sociale catholique published a further story without naming any source, stating that Ullmo was a member of the Dreyfus family. (Feb. 25) It informed its readers that a kinsman of Adolphe Dreyfus, an ensign, had also been condemned for treason. (Feb. 28, 1909) On March 13, 1909 it wrote The Dreyfus Case to announce, in objective terms, the appearance in Paris of a book on the case by H. Dutrait-Crozon.

For years L'Action sociale analysts saw the complex political affairs of France turn on Dreyfus at their pivot; for Dreyfus, their Joseph Denoir wrote, had vowed that his race would avenge itself on their race." ("Lettre de France," Mar. 11, 1911; "L'Action française," May 1, 1914)

When the French government proposed to place the ashes of Emile Zola in the Pantheon in 1908 the protest movement led by Action française and other such groups became one of the significant manifestations of French history of the period. The reports came to Quebec through the official church daily, Action sociale catholique from its own special service. (March 23 -Apr. 9, 1908), and so in Action for decades.

A quarter of a century later, when Dreyfus died, in 1935 -- even as Hitler was demonstrating the horrendous consequences of anti-Semitism but a few hundred kilometres from the Paris he was threatening -- the Montreal L'Illustration was commenting on the Dreyfus case in terms which the prosecution at its harshest might have used: "Dreyfus represented republican sabotage of the national defence and of the idea of Fatherland, violent anti-clericalism by government, the secret rule by Jewish-German bankers over French politics, Zolaism, all filthy with what the lodges had splashed over the name of France. The Associated Press obituary is clearly Dreyfusard, in accusing the clergy and the patriots of all that is evil." (July 15, 1935)

As late as November 1937 the film Life of Emil Zola, the leader of the French movement to reinstate Dreyfus, was banned by the Quebec Board of Censors. (Gazette, Nov. 4, 1937)

IN QUEBEC

Tardivel remembered Father Lemann's words on the Jews as the scourge of God when he read in L'Electeur of October 8, 1894 and in L'Evénement that the Jews in St-Roch parish "have become a plague; 200 German Jews, nearly all of them peddlers, cause more trouble to the police than the rest of the population. The Government should tax them mercilessly and the city authorities should harass them until they find another refuge." he wrote as he recalled the warning of Father Lemann,

"Remember that the Jewish people are always the people of God. In the past He called them to maintain the faith in the world. Since the deicide he used them to chastise prevaricating peoples. When you see the Jews coming to settle in Canada, say that your country is sick.

To which Tardivel added, "It will be worse when our peddler Jews, door-to-door merchants, become bankers, directors of newspapers, property owners. They will trouble the police less; they will be more civilized, set the tone for the fashionable world, but they will be more dangerous for the Christian people. We are only at the first symptoms of the plague." (La Vérité, Oct. 20, 1894)

He noted that "the peddlers of two or three years ago now operate stores on St. Paul St.; several are on rue Desfossés, on St. Joseph St. and on St. Vallier. They are tailors, bakers, wholesalers, manufacturers of suspenders; one of them bought $2,000 worth of buckles for his belts.

"They ruin our trade, rob their customers by selling inferior merchandise and sometimes offend our fine customs.

"Contrary to the scrupulous census of 1890 which counted 45 of them in Quebec, they now number 450, as a Jew told me recently...

"When one of these dirty kikes calls on you, ask for his permit; if he does not have one, call a policeman." (Nov. 10, 1894)

"These wandering merchants which overrun our countryside have their ghettoes in Quebec where they live in disgusting promiscuity, heaped by the score in two or three room apartments. In these permanently pestilential slums they live their revolting life, gorging themselves and wallowing in their mire and vice, and then going out to spread their germs of all types of illness across the city."

Renault reprinted the comments of La Vérité in La Croix du Canada (Jan. 8, 1895),

"The provincial government was wrong to give Jews the same advantages which other religious denominations enjoy."

This group is largely a floating population, settling for several months in the city and then migrating elsewhere. Nevertheless their number in the city reaches 200 families. "Among them a dozen very respectable, Jewish only by name and by faith. Of some 190 families living in crowded conditions in the St-Roch quarter this cannot be said. They have no stable employment and live off trading which is harmful to commerce and to the public health. Officers find it difficult to insure compliance with the hygiene regulations.

"Arriving as they do without luggage or language, we see them the next day after they had called on some of their local compatriots, on our streets or country roads, properly dressed, well provided with packs of merchandise which they sell to our good old women and beadles. They are thus launched into business by their brothers; if one of them is not successful, they are sent on elsewhere.

"They are not the idols of our society, and our civic officers seek to track them down to impose some tax upon them. But it is hard to find them and to bring them before the recorder. These bearded immigrants all call themselves Smithberg, Schmidberg, Sweetberg, Seethberg, not to speak of the Goldbergs, Diamondbergs, Franzbergs, etc.

"In short, these peddling merchants endeavor by all means to evade paying the tax and to become rich by every possible means. Though they do not frequent the theatres and picnics or corner delicatessens, they are nevertheless quite sly.

"They understand that it would be advantageous to their children to be educated in our schools. But their appearance in our schools and convents would create a bad impression and they would be told to go elsewhere. For several years they have been attending English public schools. It is thus that a citizen complained that these children, not quite clean, for the most part, are considered a nuisance by some parents whose children have come to suffer from scalp diseases as a result.

"It has been suggested that there are enough of these children to justify a school for them; otherwise sanitary measures might be introduced." (Aug. 14, 1897)

La Patrie had always watched the Jewish migration. As early as November 18, 1897 it reported that "during the past season a large number of Germans and Jewish Poles were among the immigrants who came to Canada. However, nearly all of them crossed the line.

"Yesterday another group of German Jews arrived in Montreal on their way to Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. These are very poor immigrants."

No opportunity to snipe at immigrants -- and identifying immigrants with Jews -- was missed by Vérité including official naturalization forms when applicants were asked to state all the names and aliases by which they have been known.

"Most of these immigrants, brought from London on the initiative of the Anglo-Jewish Committee led by Lord Rothschild, are anxious to adopt false English family names. The government lends itself to this incredible trick while non-Jewish immigrants tend to keep their true name. Why? Is it to favour the admission of Jews?

"This confirms our view that high places seek to make us Jewish.

"Our Jews take English names and hope thereby to accomplish their work more easily...We know the ills from which the countries that opened their doors to them suffer. That is the history of our time." (May 22, 1909)

It is not surprising that La Vérité did not recognize this change of name by Jewish immigrants as a disavowal of adhesion to foreign traditions and a first step to integration into the society of their new homeland.

La Vérité again cited Lemann on February 29, 1908 "Juifs et Maçons."

"We are no longer at the state when a few filthy Jews ignorant and with no influence, small storekeepers and peddlers went around our countryside with a basket selling from door to door. Today this petty trade has developed alarmingly and many are established in our large cities and in our rural centres where they became growing rich. As they become rich businessmen, industrialists, speculators, but above all voters they have acquired influence; which explains why some unprincipled political persons seek out alliances with them.

"If Jews continue to immigrate into Canada they will within a decade be exerting an important role in our political life, in the parliaments, in commerce, industry and finance. The entire province is infested with them. Soon we will have Jewish bankers, judges, newspaper owners. The Jewish press in a country is the worst plague. Abbé Lemann, a converted Jew residing in Lyons has told the founder of La Vérité that when you see Jews coming to Canada tell yourself that your country is in danger."

This conversation has been repeated many times in the family of media of which La Vérité was the paterfamilias.

La Croix of June 3, 1905 devotes a front page article to the Rothschild empire which begins, "During a trip to Europe by our late regretted friend Tardivel, a priest, a converted Jew, asked him whether we have many Jews in Canada. 'We have some; we already have a fair number,' he replied 'and this number is growing rapidly.' 'Very well then, so much worse for the Canadian people' said the priest, 'it deserves to be punished, for the Jews are the plague of God to such peoples.'"

La Croix continues, "The great countries of Europe, above all France, deserve to be ravaged by their rapacious and despoiling hands. If the Americans are not as naive as the old peoples of Europe and are as wise as the Jews in matters of finance, they will not give them a free hand on the exchanges and the Jews will then turn to Canada to ravage this land.

"The Rothschilds are Rothschilds first and then they are Jews and then they are strangers everywhere and nothing else."

Tardivel was seconded by Raoul Renault who left his finger marks on the press of century-end Quebec. This journalist recalled the progress of the Jews since the emancipation as analyzed by Drumont and by Gougeot, the author of La Domination juive en Algérie.

The persistence of this hate theme -- with a convert from Judaism as an important link in this continuity -- is remarkable. Some forty years later Abbé Ed.-Valmore Lavergne, influential parish priest of Notre Dame de Grace in the Old Capital, was still citing the converted Jew and his message to Tardivel in his proclamation to "Les Juifs" in his La Bonne Nouvelle (reprinted in Action catholique, March 8, 1936; Clouds in the Thirties, sections 1, 3)

The reader is rendered helpless before the phraseology of Abbé Edouard-Valmore Lavergne, editor of Action and later radio voice: "The Jews are our enemies. Their purpose is to efface the Christian name, even if at the cost of rivers of blood... What we reproach the Jew is not for the blood in his veins, not for the lines of their noses, but for the violent hate that animates them, their profound contempt for all that is Christian." (Editorial in Action catholique, "Hate of the Jews," Sept. 21, 1921 and signed editorial, "The Jewish Dream," on Jan. 2, 1922)

Abbé Lavergne consistently followed every weird anti-Semitic idea thrown into the hopper of his society, not the least Social Credit.

The movement rewarded him and the Notre Dame de Grâce Parish he founded in Quebec by concentrating their prayers on the message of Garabondal even though the church did not recognize it as supernatural. The August 1967 issue of their anti-Semitic Vers Demain appeared in praise of the good father.

In fact -- the Virgin appeared two months later in the grotto he had built behind his church. No one, certainly not Gilles Bibeau -- says that the creditistes forced the Virgin to appear just there, but facts are facts.

Action catholique reported his "well-documented lecture over CHRC on The Jewish Influence under the Communist Wave; Unmasking the True Makers of the Russian Revolution; the Work of Karl Marx; the Remedy is in Obedience to Papal Teachings. The Jewish complicity in this Bolshevik movement has as its intention the domination of the world. They are confident of finding the Messiah in their ranks whom they await. This supremacy towards which the entire Jewish idealism is directed is the cause of Bolshevism, or at least its principal cause.

"Jews played a preponderant role in the founding of the three Marxist internationals. All the names associated with Lenin, the murderers, the accomplices in the uprisings of the masses, bear a Jewish sound. Jews furnished arms to the communists. Jewish hands have guided the overthrow of regimes, because they look forward to their domination of the world.

"The lecturer cited a number of books written by Jews which indicate that the Jewish people believe themselves to be the Messiah. For them Messiah is not a man but the triumph of the Jewish people. That is why they seek to impose their leaders upon the workers. Their energies are directed to that end, particularly since the war, to push aside the powers of governments. A number of books predict Jewish domination when their sovereign will own all property, including real estate. When all peoples are divided the Jewish gangs will remain.

"The speaker listed the instruments to which the Jews will resort to destroy the world. He pointed to the danger of the red wave which is organizing class war and the interests of the proletariat." (March 9, 1931)

It speaks well for Tardivel that, with such teachings from former Jews whom he felt he could believe, he did not become an even more irrational anti-Semite. That was the condition of his son who succeeded him as editor of La Vérité. Yet over the years the younger Tardivel constantly referred to the lesson communicated to the father. (e.g., Feb. 29, 1908)

THE SON

When Jules-P. Tardivel passed away in 1905 his son Paul Tardivel continued the publication for another eighteen years with the same vigour and even with intense fanaticism; but he lacked his father's refinement and deeply buried humanism and his particular sense of justice.

There is an identity problem between three entities which are also one -- between the father, the son and the Vérité.

The founding father who established this very personal periodical remains a decisive figure in the history and the ideology of Quebec and of Canada as one of the makers of his nation.

The voice which Tardivel père sounded out became an indispensible element of the paysage of the country and continued to resound and reecho without hesitation after he passed away.

Jules-Paul Tardivel's obsession with fremasonry as an evil became a somewhat ridiculous lodestar of his Catholic political life which led him into tragicomic situations; comic for observers but tragic for the many admirers of this idealist and for the thought pattern of his people whom he had hoped to enrich. Furthermore, Tardivel was spurred to campaign against Jews, especially in Quebec, by Catholic priests who were of Jewish birth. Morally the dice were loaded against the credulous Tardivel from the beginning.

When in 1905 his son, Paul, inherited the direction of La Vérité, that weekly became the percursor of Arcand's Goglu and Ménard's Le Patriote

The son who continued La Vérité repeatedly asserted his fidelity to its tradition to the point of repeatedly reprinting his father's words. So much so that from the Canadian social and political perspective there is a near perfect continuity and whole integrity from the first day of the periodical to its last. Especially on the question of the Jews, the editors in later years insisted on the consistency and identity of attitude.

But the younger Tardivel faced his anti-Semitism more brazenly.

When Le Canada denounced his journal as anti-Semitic he responded by publishing a letter "from a working man who speaks in his own name and in the name of his friends, a number of working men who read you quite often." This correspondent had told

Tardivel, "It is a pleasure to note that you are well-informed on what is happening in the Montreal Jewish colony.

"We agree with you about the Jews who are beginning to do here everything that made them so odious in Russia and elsewhere as they try to grab everything.

"I have read a letter in Le Canada from a gentleman who signs himself 'Canadien-français" who protested against your article on the Israelite invasion. The correspondent must be ignorant of the Jews and of their grasping spirit to dare write as he does.

"I would like to know how the 25,000 Jews of Montreal live, if it is not at the expense of the French Canadians. In factories which I could name you will find three or four token Canadians for 300 underpaid Jewish workers. In such conditions our Canadian manufacturers cannot compete with these manufacturers and are forced to shut their doors.

"In some businesses the slogan 'No Christians' has been openly adopted. Clear enough.

"Find me a Jew who will buy from a Canadian if he can walk two miles to buy from one of his compatriots. I know something because I live with them."

Paul Tardivel adds, "Who knows but the false zeal of Le Canada may lead our compatriots not only to institute a serious boycott campaign against the Jews but even a denunciation of their injustices and attacks in the press. We hope so." (Jan. 11, 1908)

Tardivel shared with Father Caubé the longing for the anti-Semitic whip which Christ used in the Temple!

La Vérité reprinted this passage from the priest's Ames juives,

"The act of the Lord when he drove the traders from the Temple with a whip was also anti-Semitic.

"Oh! This whip of Christ, what a shame that the Catholics of our time are not privileged to use it.

"Of all the relics of the Saviour it is the one I miss most. It teaches us what we need." (Christmas Day, 1909)

This is not the language that Tardivel père wrote. It was a language quite other than that which the father had written to a correspondent on June 2, 1900 in regard to a plan to settle several hundred Jews on Lac St. Jean, a plan which he also opposed.

"Certainly we must not hate the Jews, for we must not hate anyone." Furthermore, the director of La Vérité has declared more

than once that he is not an anti-Semite in the sense that the word is commonly understood. He is not of the school of Drumont; far from it.

"Not only must we not hate the Jewish people but we must ever recall that it was the people chosen by God. Even more, we must remember these words of St. Paul to the Romans, 'God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew...'

"Christians must not hate or despise the Jews, even the Jews of our time.

"On the other hand we must not forget that Jews, awaiting that it please God to remove the veil from their hearts, are the sworn enemies of Christ and His church. We remember that they are under the weight of the terrible curse which they pronounced upon themselves before Pilate... It is therefore as impossible for Christians to trust the unrepentant Jewish deicides and to fraternize with them as it is to hate them and to persecute them."

He reverts again, even before Mgr. Paquet, to the medieval ghettos about which he had written in 1889 where Jews had lived under church regulation.

On the specific question of Lac St. Jean settlement he wrote,

"If the federal government has engaged these Jews, through its agents, to migrate to Canada, it is bound in strict justice to ensure that they do not fall into misery here. But if the federal government wants to establish these Jews in Canada, they should do it at their own expense and not at the expense of the province of Quebec. We believe that the Ottawa government still holds vast empty areas in the west. Let them put the Jews there as a single isolated group.

"We certainly do not want to see them ill treated. But neither do we want the Ottawa authorities to rid themselves of these people by implanting them in the centre of our Catholic population of Quebec. We do not consider it too much to ask that Quebec be reserved for French Canadians.

"Some Jewish families dispersed here and there may not do us much harm. But after these 200 there will be 400 and then 4,000. Within a few years our countryside will be Judaized.

"Implant these Jewish families who are so miserable now in the midst of our people, and within a few years you will find them rich and opulent. But undeniably, the rich Jew is a social danger. He is essentially an invader and monopolist. The experience of other nations is there to prove it... Furthermore, he is a danger to religion. Everywhere he is arrogant and seeks to spread hatred of

the religion of Him whom his ancestors have crucified. He gains control of the press and uses it to spread impious propaganda...

"It is the love of our people, not hatred of the Jews that animates us." (June 2, 1900)

Under the direction of Tardivel fils the hostility was less concealed and more rude.

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