

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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

Nous nous souvenons

NEW SERIES 39

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

THE JEWISH BIOGRAPHY OF HENRI BOURASSA

Part 1

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL, CANADA

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INTRODUCTION TO METRO STATIONS

For Jewish readers of Canadian history two metro stations in Montréal are strong reminders of the times and of the men of the great Jewish migration to Québec a century ago.

Millions of Montrealers pass through the Henri Bourassa station and its boulevard named to perpetuate the orator, philosopher and theologian who founded LE DEVOIR, and the Chanoine Lionel Groulx terminus which perpetuates the teacher, nationalist, historian and literary stylist whose memorial René Levesque unveiled soon after the Parti Québécois was elected to office.

They mark a unique feature of the Québec landscape whose toponymy is a veritable paedagogic instrument to affirm the people's love of the kaleidoscope of creative ancestors, sons and daughters. This reverence is transmitted through devotion to a tradition of historiography and patriotism.

Inevitably it is a tradition which is mixed in Canada, and nowhere more confused than in the Jewish heart where mingle conflicts of complex interests, emotions and earlier experiences, evolutions in political positions, the changes in reputations, judgments that differ from area to area -- all create semantic complexities which elsewhere are usually avoided. It speaks much for the homogeneity of Québec that it was able to create a culture of group reverence for its own great characters.

The two national heroes remembered by the metro stations are the more representative coming as they do from the poles of society: Groulx from the less privileged of the farming countryside, along the traditional channel of the church which so often raised the humble to the heights of academe, nationalism and letters; Bourassa deriving from the generations of cultural, artistic and political leadership of the Papineau-Bourassa family. They met as equals in the Mile End presbytery, and then as opponents in the nationalist arena.

Jews cannot but be struck by the biography of Bourassa who was deeply influential in Canadian Jewish history and was himself cruelly marked by his Jewish experience -- and yet remained blind to the essential of Jewish history at his period.

Both Bourassa and Groulx lived through the first and the worst days of the holocaust without mentioning it; totally blind to it, and to the German evil. This myopia is a remarkable illustration of the narrowness in the social and cultural perception of that French Québec, particularly when it is compared with that of anglophone neighbour.

From the earliest holocaust days of the 1880's the English of Quebec foreswore the Russian pogromists and joined the new Jewish community in fraternally welcoming the Jewish victims, while their French fellow-Canadians were unanimously following the harshest ultramontane line. Indeed, after the Kishinev and other massacres, Bourassa may have been the foremost defender of the Russian murderers in the world's parliamentary systems.

Bourassa may have been following, and even setting, this Catholic and nationalist line as he approved the raping and the slaughtering of Jews in Russia.

But a year later the legislature of Québec was beginning to teach him a lesson in what his followers were learning from him about nationalism and the Jews. When the Sunday rest day issue came up in Ottawa Bourassa sensed the community of interests between observant Jews and the French Canadians who were developing their own countryside traditions. With remarkable astuteness he convinced both chambers of parliament and the provincial legislature to permit observant Jews in a limited way to trade on the Sabbath while perpetuating the particular Québec Sunday tradition.

He managed to persuade the parliaments, but his followers preferred to persecute the Jewish merchants at the cost of Québec's traditional folklore. At the lowest levels of nationalism petty harrassment of the bearded Jews was erasing the unique Québec law which Bourassa had invented; until, during the greatest darkness of Duplessis, the admirers of Groulx abolished the Bourassa law and the Jewish privilege.

For these thirty years he was silent on the issue, even as his own eloquent anti-Jewish protégés were encouraging Duplessis and yapping at his ideas. Only when the substance of his political life was ended, when he was ousted from his LE DEVOIR, did he explode on the nature of his people's observance of their Sabbath and on the price their nation paid for their intrusion in the Jews' observance of their Sabbath.

At the end of the first decade of the century, Bourassa had invented his greatest and most durable institution LE DEVOIR, a newspaper which by its very presence became the voice and discipline of his people's conscience.

The error which was incorporated in the Sabbath deviation from Bourassa's principle came to rest at the root of the founding of LE DEVOIR, in the very persons whom he had trustfully placed at its management, during its first days; capable journalists such as anti-Jewish Héroux and Pelletier, whose sins Bourassa came to call extreme nationalism.

In a slow, radical, painful analysis of his newspaper and of his province Bourassa came to locate the focus of the fatal poisoning. The Catholic blockage of Jewish schools was a repetition of the Sabbath tragedy, on the educational arena; later the boycott of Jewish businesses would injure the French Canadian economy.

All this was true on the world scale. Every analysis led him to a further distancing from the ever dominating body of his own young nationalists.

In this mounting conflict of twenty years between a man and his fresh conscience, a man and his younger disciples, there boldly appeared on his arena the dedicated teacher of these youths, Abbé Lionel Groulx -- and on the other hand, the Pope of Rome.

The reader of North American history may well search for a parallel epic, possibly in English. For in the francophone world the shattered fragments of Bourassa scarcely remain, as the Groulx' anti-Semitism swept Québec during the twenties and the thirties, with the victory of boycott and hatred, the destruction of Bourassa's federalism, the support of Hitler's racism, rejection of the pleading Jewish would-be refugees, eventually opposition to the war effort against Naziism.

Twenty years of Québec conflict came to an end in a wider conflagration, in a wider war decided on a world battlefield which included all of Russia, the British Empire, Japan, the United States, Arabia.

The human sacrifices, including tens of thousands of Canadians and millions of Jews, left a newer Québec on the map, with other heroes and wise men on the field of peace.

CANADIANS AND THE RUSSIAN POGROMS

At the beginning of the twentieth century Canadians were aware of the condition of the menaced Jews in Russia, and it was an intense remarkable sympathetic awareness.

The twentieth century has learned from its experience of Germany, as the classic mass torturer of the Jewish people, but a hundred years ago it was the mention of the Russians that sent shivers down the spine of civilized men as they read, decade after decade, of official cruelty and torture of Jews.

Deep in the nineteenth century Russian Jews occasionally still met aged, haggard reminders of one of Russia's most ghastly atrocities: rare "Cantonists" who survived the children's holocaust set up by church and army.

In 1827 the authorities thought of a way to solve several problems at once, to secure conscripts for the army and converts for the Christian church: kidnap Jewish little boys, to convert them by force, to send them to Siberia and to other military camps for life where they will become the Czar's soldiers.

The great Russian-Jewish philosopher, Simon M. Dubnow records,

"Jewish families were stricken with terror on reading the eighth clause of the statute prescribing that 'the Jewish conscripts presented by the Jewish communities shall be between the ages of twelve and twenty-five.' This provision was supplemented by Clause 74: 'Jewish minors, i.e., below the age of eighteen, shall be placed in preparatory establishments for military training.'

"The duty of enlisting the recruits was imposed upon the Jewish communities, or Kahals, which were to elect for that purpose between three and six executive officers, or 'trustees,' in every city. The community as such was held responsible for the supply of a given number of recruits from its own midst. It was authorized to draft into military service any Jew guilty 'of irregularity in the payment of taxes, of vagrancy, and other misdemeanors,' In case the required number of recruits was not forthcoming within a given term, the authorities were empowered to obtain them from the derelict community 'by way of execution.' Any irregularity on the part of the recruiting 'trustees' was to be punished by the imposition of fines or even by sending them into the army.

"Those exempted from military service in kind were required to pay 'recruiting money,' one thousand rubles for each recruit. The general law providing that a regular recruit could offer as his substitute a

'volunteer' was extended to the Jews, with the proviso that the volunteer must also be a Jew.

"The 'Instructions' to the civil authorities specify the formalities to be followed both at the recruiting stations and in administering the oath of allegiance to the conscripts in the synagogues. The latter ceremony was to be marked by gloomy solemnity. The recruit was to be arrayed in his prayer-shawl 'Tallith' and shroud 'Kittel'. With his phylacteries wound around his arm, he should be placed before the Ark and, amidst burning candles and to the accompaniment of shofar blasts, made to recite a lengthy awe-inspiring oath.

"The promulgated 'military constitution' surpassed the very worst apprehension of the Jews. All were staggered by this sudden blow, which descended crushingly upon the mode of life, the time-honored traditions, and the religious ideals of the Jewish people. The Jewish family nests became astir, trembling for their fledglings.

"Barely a month after the publication of the military statute, the central Government in St. Petersburg was startled by the report that the Volhynian town of Old-Constantine had been the scene of 'mutiny and disorders among the Jews' on the promulgation of the ukase.

"The Chief of the Gendarmerie conveyed this information to the Tzar, who thereupon gave orders that 'in all similar cases the culprits be court-martialed.' Evidently, the St. Petersburg authorities apprehended a whole series of Jewish mutinies, as a result of the dreadful ukase, and they were ready with extraordinary measures for the emergency.

"However, their apprehensions were unfounded. Apart from the incident referred to, there were no cases of open rebellion against the authorities. As a matter of fact, even in Old-Constantine, the 'mutiny' was of a nature little calculated to be dealt with by a court-martial. According to the local tradition, the Jewish residents, Hasidim almost to a man, were so profoundly stirred by the imperial ukase that they assembled in the synagogues, fasting and praying, and finally resolved to adopt 'energetic' measures. A petition reciting their grievances against the Tzar was framed in due form and placed in the hands of a member of the community who had just died, with the request that the deceased present it to the Almighty, the God of Israel. This childlike appeal to the heavenly King from the action of an earthly sovereign and the emotional scenes accompanying it were interpreted by the Russian authorities as 'mutiny.'

"Under the patriarchal conditions of Jewish life prevailing at that time a political protest was a matter of impossibility. The only medium through which the Jews could give vent to their burning national sorrow was a religious demonstration within the walls of the synagogue.

"Owing to the fact that every Jewish community, on the mutual responsibility of all its members, was compelled by law to supply a definite number of recruits, and that no one was willing to become a soldier of his own volition, the Kahal administration and the recruiting trustees, who had to answer to the authorities for any shortage in recruits, were practically forced to become sort of police agents, whose function it was to capture the necessary quota of recruits. Prior to every military conscription, the victims marked for prey, the young men and boys of the burgher class, very generally took to flight, hiding in distant cities, outside the zone of their Kahals, or in forests and ravines.

"The recruiting agents hired by the Kahal or its trustees, who received the nickname 'hunters' or 'captors,' hunted down the fugitives, trailing them everywhere and capturing them to make up the shortage. In default of a sufficient number of adults, little children, who were easier 'catch,' were seized, often enough in violation of the provision of the law. Even boys under the required age of twelve, sometimes no more than eight years old, were caught and offered as conscripts at the recruiting stations, their age being misstated. The agents perpetrated incredible cruelties. Houses were raided during the night, and children were torn from the arms of their mothers, or lured away and kidnapped.

"After being captured, the Jewish conscripts were sent into the recruiting jail where they were kept in confinement until their examination at the recruiting station. The enlisted minors were turned over to a special officer to be dispatched to their destination, mostly in the Eastern provinces, including Siberia. For it must be noted that the cantonists were stationed almost to a man in the outlying Russian governments, where they could be brought up at a safe distance from all Jewish influences. The unfortunate victims who were drafted in the army and deported to these far-off regions were mourned by their relatives as dead.

"During the autumnal season, when the recruits were drafted and deported, the streets of the Jewish towns resounded with wailing. The juvenile cantonists were packed into wagons like so many sheep and carried off in batches under a military convoy. When they took leave of their dear ones it was for a quarter of a century; in the case of children it was for a longer term, too often it was good-bye for life.

"Having arrived at their destination, the juvenile conscripts were put into the cantonist battalions. The 'preparation for military service' began with their religious re-education at the hands of sergeants and corporals. No means was neglected so long as it bade fair to bring the children to the baptismal font. The authorities refrained from giving formal instructions, leaving everything to the zeal of the officers who knew the wishes of their superiors. The children were first sent for spiritual admonition to the local Greek-Orthodox priests, whose efforts, however, proved fruitless in nearly every case. They

were then taken in hand by the sergeants and corporals who adopted military methods of persuasion.

"These brutal soldiers invented all kinds of tortures. A favorite procedure was to make the cantonists get down on their knees in the evening after all had gone to bed and to keep the sleepy children in that position for hours. Those who agreed to be baptized were sent to bed, those who refused were kept up the whole night till they dropped from exhaustion. The children who continued to hold their own were flogged and, under the guise of gymnastic exercises, subjected to all kinds of tortures. Those that refused to eat pork or the customary cabbage soup prepared with lard were beaten and left to starve. Others were fed on salted fish and then forbidden to drink, until the little ones, tormented by thirst, agreed to embrace Christianity.

"The majority of these children, unable to endure the tortures inflicted on them, saved themselves by baptism. But many cantonists, particularly those of a maturer age (between fifteen and eighteen), bore their martyrdom with heroic patience. Beaten almost into senselessness, their bodies striped by lashes, tormented to the point of exhaustion by hunger, thirst, and sleeplessness, the lads declared again and again that they would not betray the faith of their fathers. Most of these obstinate youths were carried from the barracks into the military hospitals to be released by a kind death. Only a few remained alive.

"Alongside of this passive heroism there were cases of demonstrative martyrdom. One such incident has survived in the popular memory. The story goes that during a military parade in the city of Kazan the battalion chief drew up all the Jewish cantonists on the banks of the river, where the Greek-Orthodox priests were standing in their vestments, and all was ready for the baptismal ceremony. At the command to jump into the water, the boys answered in military fashion 'Aye, aye!' Whereupon they dived under and disappeared. When they were dragged out, they were dead.

"In most cases, however, these little martyrs suffered and died noiselessly, in the gloom of the guard-houses, barracks and military hospitals. They strewed with their tiny bodies the roads that led into the outlying regions of the Empire, and those that managed to get there were fading away slowly in the barracks which had been turned into inquisitorial dungeons.

"This martyrdom of children, set in a military environment, represents a singular phenomenon even in the extensive annals of Jewish martyrology.

"The full weight of conscription fell upon the poorest classes of the Jewish population, the so-called burgher estate, consisting of petty artisans and those impoverished tradesmen who could not afford to enrol in the mercantile guilds, though there are cases on record where poor Jews begged from door to door to collect a sufficient sum of

money for a guild certificate in order to save their children from military service."

(Among the communal institutions absorbed in whatever rescue work was possible were the chassidic courts. The Lubavitch historians record that "Sometimes the 'catchers' could be bought off, but most Jews were too poor to afford bribes. At considerable personal risk -- since what he was doing was certainly treasonous -- the Tzemach Tzedek formed a secret society dedicated to freeing the kidnapped children. It was known as Techias Hameisim (Resurrection of the Dead), and its members kept track of the conscripted children and gathered funds to pay government officials for their ransom.)

"The officials would tell their Army liaisons that the children had died en route to their destination, and would issue death certificates to the families.

"The children still had to be hidden, usually with relatives or other Jewish families in some distant town, but eventually they would return to their own families, bodies and beliefs intact."

By chance the Russian writer Alexander Herten, himself a political exile, saw a batch of cantonists on their journey through a village in the Vyatka gubernate in 1835. The escorting officer told him, "'They got together a bunch of these accursed Jewish youngsters between the ages of eight and nine. I suppose they are meant for the fleet, but how should I know? At first the command was to drive them to Perm. Now there is a change. We are told to drive them to Kazan. I have had them on my hands for a hundred versts or thereabouts. The officer that turned them over to me told me they were an awful nuisance. A third of them remained on the road (at this the officer pointed with his finger to the ground). Half of them will not get to their destination,' he added.

"'Epidemics, I suppose?', I inquired, stirred to the very core.

"'No, not exactly epidemics; but they just fall like flies. Well, you know, these Jewish boys are so puny and delicate. They can't stand mixing dirt for ten hours, with dry biscuits to live on. Again everywhere strange folks, no father, no mother, no caresses. Well then, you just hear a cough and the youngster is dead. Hello, corporal, get out the small fry!'

"The little ones were assembled and arrayed in a military line. It was one of the most terrible spectacles I have ever witnessed. Poor, poor children! The boys of twelve or thirteen managed somehow to stand up, but the little ones of eight and ten... No brush, however black, could convey the terror of this scene on the canvas.

"Pale, worn out, with scared looks, this is the way they stood in their uncomfortable, rough soldier uniforms, with their starched, turned-up collars, fixing an inexpressibly helpless and pitiful gaze upon the

garrisoned soldiers, who were handling them rudely. White lips, blue lines under the eyes betokened either fever or cold. And these poor children, without care, without a caress, exposed to the wind which blows unhindered from the Arctic Ocean, were marching to their death. I seized the officer's hand, and, with the words: 'Take good care of them!' threw myself into my carriage, I felt like sobbing, and I knew I could not master myself...

"The great Russian writer saw the Jewish cantonists on the road, but he knew nothing of what happened to them later on, in the recesses of the barracks into which they were driven. This terrible secret was revealed to the world at a later period by the few survivors among these martyred Jewish children." (History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1918. Vol. 2, Pp. 18-29)

The martyrdom of the children was kaleidoscopically reflected in Jewish folklore, not least in its juvenile forms.

Early Canadian Yiddish literature includes a story by the talented Rumanian-born Conrad Bercovici who joined the staff of the ADLER under Reuben Brainin in 1912. His "Their Fatherland" in the issue of November 6, 1912 has old Reb Moische as its narrator, a survivor veteran of the Russian army horror, who had served Czar Nicolai for twenty-five years.

"He lived with us, went on messages, took the children to school; when our parents went to the theatre or for a walk he would stay with us and tell us stories. He knew so many from his military days. He had fought in Crimea, at Plevno and elsewhere, the places became famous for the blood spilled there...

"I will tell you of the battle near Moscow although I was not there.

"It was like this. There were two brothers in Yekaterinoslav. When the time came for one of them to be called for service he ran away from Russia. The other one, younger, remained. In the meantime war broke out between the French and the Fonye (Russia). The French were unafraid and marched into Russia. The Fonyes were badly beaten. Villages were burned. Soldiers were killed every day and there were urgent calls for more soldiers. The kidnappers went from Jewish house to house and whoever could stand on his feet was given a pair of trousers, a sword, a rifle and marched off to war.

So the younger brother became a soldier. He was sent off to Moscow, with many other Jewish boys in a battalion.

"Once a rifle in hand, and in the smoke of war, within sound of cannon, music playing, trumpets blowing, drums beating, it is easy to forget everything; once you are a soldier you want to see war.

"The young man was a very good soldier. Everyone liked him; his captain praised him. He would jump into the midst of things, never tired. When the music played the marches, he would sing the loudest and cheer the longest.

"When the other Jewish soldiers spoke of wives and children he laughed at them and cursed them and even called them 'Jid.' He would have nothing to do with them but developed his friendships with the Goyim and the Cossacks. Soon he was promoted, and persecuted the Jews, calling upon them to do more than the others. They were not permitted to tire of marching. 'This is a disgrace. Lift your feet. March.' A Fonye like all the others, he would sing God Save the Czar louder than all the others. If someone mentioned a Russian setback he became wild.

"In the meantime the French were nearing Moscow. Chaim was with his unit in the cold outside the city. Early there came the order to march. The drums beat, the captain orated about driving the French from Russia and defending Moscow to the last drop of blood. Everyone cheered, with Chaim the loudest. The captain slapped his back, 'Good man.'

"For three days they marched. Messages arrived: the French are close. The music ceased, the battalion stopped, awaiting the enemy in the dark, and the wind brought the first sounds of the approaching French through the bushes on the side of the road. The Russians hid in the foliage silently. Chaim could scarcely restrain his finger on the trigger as the cavalry passed; the infantry was coming.

"The captain whistled his command -- to shoot. The French began to run.

"'Follow them,' the captian ordered. The music played, God Save the Czar. Chaim led the attackers in the dark. Suddenly he felt a pain in his hand. He turned to face his assailant and pierce him with his bayonet.

"The injured Frenchman cried out, 'Oy, mamme,' as he fell. The voice was familiar. In the moonlight Chaim saw his brother. The two recognized each other."

Ripples of the Russian terror reached far, even to Cap des Rosiers in Quebec's Gaspé.

A family of horrified Jews in Russia, the Hymans, fled to Lodz in Poland, but Slav anti-Semitism reached them there. The parents were murdered. But 28-year-old William Hyman and his young wife Amelia survived to reach England and thence New York and, by 1843, the Gaspé in Lower Canada.

"While in Quebec he happened to meet a group of fishermen from the Gaspé Peninsula who had come to obtain supplies for their trade. In

conversation with them, he learned of the Micmac Indians on the Peninsula who desired to exchange their furs for goods.

"The business possibilities of the situation were at once evident to William Hyman, and he decided to go to the Gaspé to investigate. He had not been there long, however, before he realized a more interesting and profitable undertaking would be the establishment of a business which would enable the fishermen to market their catches, receiving credit in return which would be used at the company store," as E.C. Woodley recorded in 1964.

"William Hyman entered new territory, for he decided to open business near a cove at the extreme of the Peninsula, near where Gaspé Bay and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence meet, only a few miles from Ship Head, the 700-foot cape against which the Atlantic lashes in fury much of the year.

"Just above this cove, with its pebbly beach known as Grande Grève, William Hyman built a substantial house and store which were the heart of ever-expanding business enterprises for the next thirty years.

"Those were years of bold adventure, with many hardships met with indomitable courage. After four years of pioneer work, the whole establishment was burned down, and operations had to begin again, without the benefit of insurance. But a new house and store soon rose on the ruins of the old ones and are still in use after nearly a hundred years."

He did not pioneer the fishing industry of the Gaspé only. When in the early eighties the Canadian Pacific Railway first ran its trains through to the Pacific Coast, he also exploited the hitherto neglected halibut fisheries of British Columbia.

In the course of some forty years Hyman became one of the principal fish merchants in the Gaspé, supplier of consumers' needs and proprietors in the area. He operated an extensive credit system which was central to the scattered economy of the peninsula. He served as mayor of Cap des Rosiers from its establishment until his death, the first Jewish mayor in Canada. He was also a member of the county council, justice of the peace and captain of the militia, on active service during the Fenian raids.

"His son Isaac Hyman was also a remarkable man. While showing great initiative, he carried on the traditions established by his father, both in business and in the community. He spent most of his life at Grande Grève, in the old home, and for forty years was mayor of the municipality, most of whose inhabitants were French or Catholic.

"The business had by this time expanded to other places, and an important branch had been formed at Fox River. This was in the charge, for fifty years of Horatio Hyman, Isaac's brother.

"The monotony of Isaac Hyman's life at Grande Grève was broken by business trips abroad. While in London during one of these trips, he met the lady who later became his wife, Miss Cohen, the daughter of a wealthy Jewish manufacturer. One wonders at the assurance of Isaac Hyman, who knew so well the nature of the life in a remote corner of the Gaspé Peninsula, in asking a lady accustomed to the social life and luxury of London, to share his lot with him.

"When she arrived from London, she brought with her twenty-seven trunks of silk and finery. One wonders what happened to this wealth of material, for there was little occasion for its destined use at Grande Grève. Probably much of it was used for more utilitarian purposes.

"She lived almost to the age of ninety and lies buried in the quiet Jewish cemetery on the slopes of Mount Royal in the Hyman family lot.

"The company still functions through six branches, in addition to its headquarters at Gaspé Harbour, set up by Percy Human in 1914. The branches are located at Grande Grève, Cap des Rosiers, Fox River, St-Maurice-l'Echourie, Gloridome and Grande Vallée." ("The Hymans of Gaspé," in REVUE D'HISTORIE DE LA GASPE, vol. 11, 1979, Pp. 74-78; reprinted in Canadian Jewish Congress SMALL COMMUNITIES NATIONAL NEWSLETTER)

William Hyman died in his Montreal home on December 8, 1882, just at the arrival of the first extensive movement of immigrants, fleeing like him from the horrors of the Russians. (Michel Lemoignan and Roch Samson. "William Hyman" in DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN BIOGRAPHY, vol. 11, reprinted in GASPE, vol. 24, no. 3, July 1986, Pp. 10-12; Roch Samson. PECHEURS ET MARCHANDS DE LA BAIE DE GASPE EN XIX^e SIECLE, LES RAPPORTS DE PRODUCTION ENTRE LA COMPAGNIE WILLIAM HYMAN AND SONS ET LES PECHEURS CLIENTS. Ottawa, Ministère des approvisionnement et services, 1984. 146 p.; E.G. Woodley; B.G. Sack. HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN CANADA. 1945. P. 146)

When Nathan Hyman attained his thirteenth birthday at Grande Grève, on June 14, 1902, he recited his Bar-Mitzvah blessings over the Torah at the McGill College Avenue Synagogue (the name of the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation at the time) in Montreal in a creditable manner showing that he had made good use of the opportunity provided by his parents in sending him this long distance to receive religious instruction." (JEWISH TIMES, June 20, 1902)

A grandson of William Hyman, Edgar C. Levine, son of Mrs. R.M. Levine who was the daughter of William Hyman, was elected mayor of Rivière au Renard in the Gaspé at the age of 21, around the turn of the century. Shortly afterwards he abandoned business, returned to high school and graduated in medicine in the early 1920's to become the first Jewish surgeon in Montreal; he served in World War I.

His son, Dr. Robert M. Levine, serves on the staff of the Jewish General Hospital. (GAZETTE, May 23, 1967)

THE HORRORS OF 1882

The lasting agony of the cantonists was not an isolated tragedy in the bloody history of East European Jewry. Each year during the century was marked by its own invention of inquisition and torture. The archives of Russian history record that a remarkable proportion of time and ingenuity of its rulers were shamelessly and openly devoted to the infamous "Jewish question," to developing new instruments to persecute, impoverish, displace and destroy the life of the country's Jewish population.

The American ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1882 reported on "disorders directed at Jews resulting in the loss of a number of lives and the destruction of an enormous amount of property. The scenes of these riots have been in the vicinity of Elisavethgrad and Kiev, with less serious demonstrations at Odessa and other places.

"The participants have been almost exclusively of the lowest and most ignorant classes in the towns and cities, joined by the peasants, and the demonstrations appear to have been so powerful that for days the authorities were paralyzed, and the rioters were able to give full sway to their work of bigotry and destruction.

"In Kiev the work was so thorough that not a single Jewish house escaped the inmates being driven out, beaten, and stoned, and some of them killed and the contents plundered or thrown into the streets. The damage there is estimated at several millions of roubles, and business has been seriously affected thereby...

"Massacre and destruction of property have become so threatening in other localities, where no actual outbreaks have taken place, that the Jews in large numbers have fled from their homes and taken refuge across the frontier in Austria or in Moscow, where the military force is sufficient to guarantee safety.

"At Easter, 1882 a brutal attack was made upon the Jewish population in Elisavethgrad. Although excesses had been threatening for some time and officials had been approached for protection, the mob was able to destroy and plunder the Jewish quarter with brutal vandalism for two days under the very eyes of the military.

"From Elisavethgrad the terror spread in waves during the next few months through the provinces of Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kherson, and Ekaterinoslav; some 160 cities and villages were the scenes of raging violence. The intent was chiefly to destroy and plunder Jewish property, but there were many instances of savage murder, cruel mutilation, especially of children, brutal rape of women and girls." (Ismar Elbogen. A CENTURY OF JEWISH LIFE. Philadelphia, 1944. P. 201)

The attention of Canadians of all faiths in 1882 turned to the horror saga of how the Russian government and its church treated the Jews.

The manner in which the reports of these Jewish events in the Russian empire were received reflected the welcoming tones of the Canadian population.

The political atmosphere in Canada was favourable to the Jews; the immigration authorities were not shutting the doors, watchful as they were of cases likely to leave burdens upon the Canadian public -- an eventuality of which the small Jewish community was also aware and was studious to avoid. Anglophone society which spoke through its churches and its press was more than friendly. The Montreal GAZETTE in its editorial on "The Persecuted Jews of Russia" of February 1, 1882 saw it the duty of the federal government "to make proper provision for the hospitable reception of such of them as may land on our shores..."

English Canada, in this context, saw Russia as the epitome of backwardness, amorality, violence, cruelty, enslavement. Only the intercourse of nations made civilized contact with that Asiatic country necessary. ("The Persecution of Jews in Russia," in GAZETTE, Jan. 21, 1882; "Jewish Persecution in Russia," Ibid., Mar. 18, 1882; "Aid for Russian Jews," Ibid., May 15, 1882; and "Jewish Relief," in WITNESS, May 23, 1882)

There is an old tradition of decent words in young Canada. On February 1, 1882, when a series of pogroms in Russia shocked the freer world, the Lord Mayor of London set up the Mansion House Funds to assist the victims. The friendship of Canadian anglophones at this crisis in Jewish survival was exemplified in the figure of Sir Alexander Tillock Galt, Canadian High Commissioner in Great Britain. He had addressed the meeting at which the fund was established, sat on the committee after consultation with Jewish friends, and consequently took energetic action to promote settlement of Russian Jews in Canada; not without the support of Sir John A. Macdonald, his nasty humourous comment about Jewish peddlers notwithstanding. (CONGRESS BULLETIN, July 1946; B.G. Sack, HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN CANADA, 1945. Pp. 261-63)

We have noted the warm words of the Montreal GAZETTE in 1882. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no.33, Pp.13-15) They largely reflected the welcome which anglophones extended to the Jewish migration of the half century which followed.

Canadians aided the Russian Jews immediately following the precedent set in the mother country. A relief fund was established in Montreal under the leadership of John Redpath Dougall, editor of the WITNESS. (Michael Brown. JEW OR JUIF? JEWS, FRENCH CANADIANS AND ANGLO CANADIANS, 1759-1914. Philadelphia, 1987, P. 16)

As the MONTREAL DAILY WITNESS reported, "A meeting of those interested in the Jewish Relief Fund was held in the lecture hall of the Y.M.C. Association on Monday, the 13th inst. His Lordship, Bishop Bond presided and in his opening remarks, said that it was the right of humanity to interfere to the utmost in the terrible persecution which was being undergone by the Jews who, he maintained, compared favourably with any nation in morality, and were good and peaceable citizens; it was our bounden duty to endeavour to do something to ameliorate the condition in which the Russians, without any cause, had placed these unfortunate people.

"The next speaker was the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, who said that he wished to give utterance to his deep feeling of sorrow at the abominable persecution of the Jews in Russia. Having, during his college days, been intimately connected with several of the Jewish persuasion, who were his fellow-students and some of them his best friends, he could emphatically endorse His Lordship's assertion as to the Jews being law-abiding citizens, and he assured his hearers that they were intellectual as well as loyal, firm and affectionate friends, and faithful and trustworthy in their personal relations. The speaker said that we and they have a good deal in common -- notably sacred books -- and we are bound to utter a distinct voice of protest when any power oppresses them; it was, in his opinion, a proof of utter barbarism in a nation to wrong the Hebrew, who was a civilized being when the English were nothing but painted beings. Though we could hardly expect thorough civilization in Russia, there certainly ought to be common humanity and tolerance in that country. He maintained that the Jews were cruelly kept out of their rights as citizens there, and that there was no kind of excuse for what has taken place. Mendelssohn and many men prominent in arts and science were Jews.

"At the close of a fluent speech, which was listened to with much attention and elicited frequent applause, the learned doctor said that he hoped his voice would ever be raised in behalf of the oppressed whoever they might be, and he held that injustice or oppression waged against God's chosen people was a terrible wrong.

"After remarks of a similar tenor by Rev. Canon Baldwin, Rev. G.H. Wells and Rev. Dr. Sullivan, it was moved and carried that the Revs. Messrs. Wells, Stevenson and Baldwin name a committee to solicit relief for the distressed Jews; those gentlemen, after a short retirement, proposed as such committee the Bishop, the Revs. G. Lang, H. Johnston, Principal MacVicar, Dr. Clark, W.S. Barnes, Wells, Canon Baldwin, Dr. Stevenson, and Dr. Sullivan, Dr. Dawson and Messrs. Geo. Hague, D. Morrice, the Hon. James Ferrier, F.E. Grafton, Hugh McLennan, M.H. Gault, M.P., J.R. McDougall and Thos. White, M.P., with power to add to their number.

"The Rev. Dr. DeSola, in the course of a few remarks, said that the reason of the Russian Jews being so little engaged in agricultural pursuits was because of their liability of being at any moment sent far into the interior or to Siberia, and no man, Jew or Gentile, would be

willing to sow unless he had every reasonable probability of being allowed to reap.

After a short speech by the Rev. M. Marks, who spoke on behalf of the Jews generally and his own congregation particularly, the meeting was brought to a close by His Lordship pronouncing the Jewish Benediction." (Mar. 14, 1882; Reprinted in JEWISH MESSENGER, Mar. 24, 1882)

On March 15, 1882 "a special committee met in the YMCA to organize a relief fund for the persecuted Jews in Russia. There were present J.R. McDougall, Revs. Canon Baldwin, Canon Anderson, Dr. Sullivan, Dr. Stevenson, Hugh Johnston, G.H. Wells and Messrs. Grafton and Hague. The following resolutions were adopted:-

"1. That having heard with the deepest pain the report of the cruelties practised on the Jews resident in Russia -- how husbands, fathers and mothers have been slaughtered in cold blood, and where not killed, barbarously mutilated for life, their wives and daughters brutally dishonored and outraged, their children foully murdered, their property wantonly destroyed, leaving them by tens of thousands homeless and penniless, and this without provocation or excuse, the victims of these inhuman barbarities being well known to be peaceable and law-abiding citizens -- this Committee desire to place on record, on behalf of the citizens of Montreal, an indignant protest against such cruelties, as a foul blot on the name of Christianity, a disgrace to our civilization and a wound inflicted on our common humanity.

"2. That while expressing our abhorrence of these barbarous cruelties, we desire also to manifest our sympathy in some practical form with the oppressed, in common with other friends of humanity in England and the United States, and therefore appeal to every citizen of Montreal, irrespective of creed and nationality, to come forward and by his contribution, be it much or little, aid in a work so charitable and humane." (GAZETTE, Mar. 16, 1882)

The GAZETTE of May 23, 1882 summarizes the remarkable cooperation that existed in the anglophone community in the face of the considerable refugee crisis:

"The following circular has been issued by the committee on this question:-

"The committee appointed by the public meeting held on the 16th of March last, at the Young Men's Christian Association's Hall, has since that time been in communication with the representatives of the Jewish community here to learn in what way relief could be practically extended to the sufferers. The answer to this enquiry has at length come in definite shape through the arrival of the advance guard of a large and, to a great extent, destitute Jewish emigration.

"The committee feels that no more practical kindness can be done for the destitute industrial classes of any old-world community than to put them in the way of emigration to countries where, instead of being surplus population, they will be welcomed as producers of wealth. The committee has had assurance that many of these refugees are agriculturists, that nearly all of the remainder belong to the industrial classes, and that many of them are bound for Manitoba. The people of Montreal, who seemed two months ago ready to do their share in relieving the distresses of this outraged people, have now the need for such relief brought in the most practical manner to their own doors. That a clear understanding may be reached with regard to the character and extent of the need, a letter from the Rev. Dr. DeSola to the secretary of the committee is here appended:-

"Very hurriedly and very imperfectly I jot down, just as I am leaving town, some needs which I think should be included in any Appeal made to the public.

"The persecuting spirit in Russia is rather on the increase than decrease. The Government, however, is not opposing emigration which is being availed of to a very large extent. All reports from the Jewish bodies concur in announcing the constant increase in the number of the would-be and actual Russian Jewish emigrants. Everywhere on the Continent of Europe, the funds for aid are proving insufficient. Even the Mansion House fund in England is being reduced at a rapid rate, amounting as it does to some £66,000. The Jewish community in Montreal is likely to be called upon to do more than its limited numbers would permit.

"The recent arrivals of yesterday, of which even the Anglo-Jewish Association had no advice -- and it is the only representative body likely to be communicated with from England -- shows that we may have at any moment larger bodies of immigrants thrown upon us. True, the United Societies met the wants of those arriving yesterday as well as others arriving this week, promptly and efficiently, but the strain may prove too much for them, and their means must very quickly become exhausted. It is to unite, therefore, in a philanthropic object that the Christian community is invited to aid their Jewish fellow-citizens in a work too great for them.'

"Copies of this appeal and subscription lists will be found at the exchanges, banks, newspaper offices, booksellers and public institutions. Subscriptions may also be sent to the Treasurer, D. Morrice, Esq., 39 St. Joseph Street. Moneys collected will be administered until further announcement through the Montreal Agency of the Anglo-Jewish Association, a thoroughly representative body.

"The Treasurer of this Society, Mr. John E. Moss, begs to acknowledge the following subscriptions in support of those Russian refugees who are arriving in our midst, with a view to their temporary assistance or permanent settlement in this country:- John E. Moss \$100, Mona Lesser \$50, B. Kortosk \$50, G.I. & J.G. Ascher \$50, G.W.

Stephens \$25, H.A. Nelson & Sons \$25, Jonathan Hodgson \$25, Hugh Mackay \$25, John Taylor & Co. \$25, S. Harris \$25, M. Vineberg \$25, and E.A. Benjamin \$25. Other donations were received too late for acknowledgement today.

"A committee of the above society has been actively engaged during the past few days in meeting the exigencies consequent on the arrival here of a portion of the large body of refugees now en route for America. A suitable building has been secured, and is being furnished in a manner to amply meet the wants of those requiring it, and other arrangements made to house and clothe them until employment can be found.

"Special delegates have been empowered to solicit contributions from the public on behalf of this society; and judging from that ready sympathy with any good object so characteristic of our citizens, it is anticipated this work will be crowned with substantial success."

The early list of contributors mingles the names of J.J. Duffy and Hicks with E. Benjamin and N. Green of Saint John, N.B., A. Rosenthal and L. Levy of Ottawa, H. Kellert and M. Vineberg of Lancaster, Mrs. Dubois and A.E. Manis. It is unclear whether the agency is Jewish or Christian. (GAZETTE, May 30 and 31, June 1, 3 and 9, 1882)

This confusion of loves is demonstrated by one page in the GAZETTE of May 26, 1882 which carried a report of the Citizens' Jewish Relief Committee and another of the Jewish Emigration Aid Society.

It was a test of the reader's orientation in semantics, for the Citizens' Jewish Relief Committee was the Christian Committee for the Relief of Jews, and listed its officers headed by the Lord Bishop of Montreal. From the ambiguous title and the list of contributors to its considerable funds in 1882 it is difficult to tell whether the Jewish Emigration Aid Society was Jewish or non-sectarian. It is a condition that has few parallels in the annals of aid to Jewish refugees in flight.

The Jewish Emigration Aid Society was a committee of Jewish initiative, headed by J.E. Moss. It was reporting donations received from A. Bluntin, W. Dangerfield, T. Marshall, J.G. Davie, M. Henricks, M. Michaels, D. Barry, I. Isaacs and H. and H.G. Levetus -- almost all of them Christians.

The GAZETTE also published a report on the immigration group,

"The Montreal branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, assisted by the Hebrew charitable societies, has been actively engaged in attending to two hundred and sixty Russo-Jewish refugees who arrived during the past week. A large number of these were forwarded westward, and were provided in this city with food and clothing by the association. The seventy-five remaining in Montreal consist of bricklayers, carpenters, etc., and are being rapidly placed in positions which will

enable them to gain their own livelihood. As the relief and temporary support of these unfortunates has entailed a very heavy outlay, and as advice has been received by the Association of a further shipment of emigrants, it has become necessary to solicit aid from the general public. A large sum has already been subscribed to the Citizens' Committee Fund, in the hands of Mr. D. Morrice, which will be administered through the Anglo-Jewish Association." (May 24, 1882)

To complicate this laudable confusion "the Citizens' General Relief Fund" also published that day a list of substantial contributions, half by Jews and half by others.

"D. Morrice & Co. \$100; Hyam David Moss, \$100; B.A. Boas, \$100; H. & A. Saunders, \$100; M. Schwob, \$100; Louis Davis, \$100; Gault Bros. & Co. \$100; S. Silverman, \$100; S. Davis & Son, \$100; J.G. McKenzie & Co., \$100; Jesse Joseph, \$100; Green, Sons & Co., \$50; Cantlie, Ewen & Co., \$50; Cochrane, Cassils & Co., \$30; Robert Benny, \$20; Saul Brahadi, \$25; Jacob L. Moss, \$20; S. Goldman, \$10."

The same day treasurer John Moss of the Jewish Emigration Aid Society acknowledged contributions from James Coristine & Co., Boyd, Egan & Co., J. McShane, A. Jacobs, H.R. Beveridge & Co., J.H. Jones & Co., B. Levine & Co. and J. Sterling.

Montreal followed the British pattern for a time, probably under the impulse of the Lord Mayor of London and his Mansion House Committee. The leadership of England in sending Russian Jews to Canada and in funding the Moosomin experiment encouraged the formation of branches of the Anglo-Jewish Association in Montreal and in Toronto by 1882. It was this leadership that welcomed the arrivals of that year.

However, this was not succeeded by any strong wave of migrants for several years.

The francophone press was not that welcoming of Jewish immigrants; it was more sympathetic to the East European authorities who were making it impossible for Jews to remain in their native lands.

Almost no French Canadian attended the mass meetings to protest the Russian atrocities. Certainly much French Canadian sentiment -- as exemplified by the Hon. Thomas Chapais, graduate of that nest of early anti-Semitism at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, historian, head of Quebec's Legislative Council, later to be senator -- ran contrary to anglophone sympathy to the Jews. Some of the French Canadian papers over the years justified Russian barbarity directed at Jews.

1903

In May, 1903 the Jewish community of Canada was again shaken by pogroms, this time in Kischinev.

In the beginning of 1903, in Dubossary the mutilated body of a Russian peasant boy, Rybalenko, had been found, who, as was subsequently brought out by the judicial inquiry, had been slain by his uncle in the hope of appropriating his portion of a bequest. An attempt at a pogrom was made at Dubossary, but it was frustrated by the local Jews who were of a sturdy physique.

"On the eve of the Easter festival of 1903, mysterious rumors were set afloat in Kishinev itself telling of the murder of a Christian servant girl, whose death was ascribed to the Jews. In reality the girl had taken poison and died, despite the efforts of her Jewish master to save her life. The goings-on in Kishinev on the eve of that Easter bore the earmarks of an energetic activity on the part of some secret organization which was hatching an elaborate fiendish scheme.

"That criminal organization was centered in the local Russian club which was the rallying-point of the officials of the province. Shortly before the holiday, there suddenly appeared in the city an emissary of the political police, the gendarmerie officer Levendahl, who had been despatched from St. Petersburg; after Easter, when the sanguinary crime had already been committed, the same mysterious envoy vanished just as suddenly.

"Printed hand-bills were scattered about in the city, telling the people that an imperial ukase had been published, granting permission to inflict a 'bloody punishment' upon the Jews in the course of the three days of the Christian Passover. The police made no attempt to suppress these circulars, for, as was subsequently brought out, they were in the conspiracy. Several police officials even hinted at the impending events in their talks with Jewish acquaintances. In the saloons and in the tea-houses, the approaching pogrom was the subject of public discussion

"The Jews were fully aware of the coming storm, though they scarcely realized that it would take the form not merely of an ordinary pogrom, but of a regular butchery. On the eve of the festival of Passover, the representatives of the Jewish community waited upon the governor and the Chief of Police, praying for protection, and received the cool reply that the necessary instructions had already been given and that the proper measures for their safety had been adopted. The local Greek Orthodox bishop asked the rabbi, who came to see him on the subject, whether it was true that there was a Jewish sect which used Christian blood for ritual purposes.

"The conflagration which was openly prepared by the incendiaries broke out at the moment determined upon. On Sunday, April 6, the first day of the Christian Passover and the seventh day of the Jewish holiday, the church bells began to ring at noontime, and a large crowd of Russian burghers and artisans, acting undoubtedly upon a given signal, scattered all over the town, and fell upon the Jewish houses and stores. The bands were preceded by street urchins who were throwing stones at the windows. The rioters, whose number was swelled by these youthful 'fighters,' seeing that the police made no attempt to interfere, began to break into the houses and stores, and to throw the contents on the street where everything was destroyed or plundered by the festive crowd. But even then the police and soldier detachments, who were stationed on the streets, remained passive, and made no attempt to arrest the rioters. This attitude served in the eyes of the mob as a final proof that the rumors concerning the permission of the Tzar 'to beat the Jews' were correct. An immense riff-raff, in a state of intoxication, crowded the streets, shouting 'Death to the Zhyds! Beat the Zhyds!'

"In the evening looting gave way to killing. The murderers, armed with clubs and knives, assailed the Jews in the cars, on the streets, and in the houses, wounding them severely, sometimes even fatally. Even then, the police and military remained inactive.

"The army soon received the necessary orders, and in the course of the entire day of April 7, from daybreak until eight o'clock in the evening, Kishinev was the scene of bestialities such as have few parallels even in the history of the most barbarous ages. Finding themselves defenceless and exposed to the passions of a savage crowd, many Jewish families hid in their cellars or in their garrets, and sometimes sought safety in the houses of their Christian neighbors. But the murderers succeeded in hunting down their unfortunate victims. The Jews were slain in most barbarous fashion. Many of them were not killed at once, but were left writhing in pre-mortal agonies. Some had nails driven into their heads or had their eyes put out. Little children were thrown from garrets to the pavement, and their brains dashed out upon the stones. Women had their stomachs ripped open or their breasts cut off. Many of them became the victims of rape. One gymnasium pupil who saw his mother attacked by these fiends threw himself single-handed upon them, and saved at the cost of his life his mother's honor; he himself was slain, and his mother's eyes were put out. The drunken hordes broke into the synagogue, and, getting hold of the Torah scrolls, tore them to shreds, defiled them, and trampled upon them. In one synagogue, the old Shammes (beadle), arrayed in his prayer-shawl, and shielding with his body the Ark containing the sacred scrolls, was savagely murdered by the desecrators on the threshold of the sanctuary.

"Throughout the entire day, wagons were seen moving in the streets, carrying wounded and slain Jews to the hospitals which had been converted into field-lazaretttes.

"But even this sight did not induce the police to step in. The Russian population, outside of a few isolated cases, made no attempt to defend the tormented Jews. The so-called 'intelligent' public, the officials with their wives and children, the students, the lawyers, the physicians, walked leisurely upon the streets and looked on indifferently, and sometimes even sympathetically, while the terrible work was going on.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon, a telegram was received from Plehve, and at six o'clock large detachments of troops, fully armed, appeared on the central streets. No sooner had the crowd noticed that the soldiers were ready to act than it took to its heels without a single shot being fired.

"The murderers had been given a free hand for two days, and the result was that forty-five Jews were slain, eighty-six severely wounded or crippled, five hundred slightly wounded, apart from cases of rape, the number of which could not be determined. Fifteen hundred houses and stores were demolished and looted." (S.M. Dubnow. Vol. III. Pp. 70-75)

It is necessary to remember that, at that period, in the western world meetings at which citizens express their indignation at unacceptable actions of various authorities were not common events on the political arena. Not only in 1882 but for more than half a century later, the advisability of convening such manifestations was severely debated by those who fully agreed on the substance of the message in question.

In the situation under discussion, in spite of extended public and private discussion, no such protest meeting was convened in France where the conscience of Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn and of his community permitted him to preach in honour of the coronation of the Czar and to urge Russian Jews to serve the czar loyally. (Z. Szaikowski, Pp. 150-51)

In Montreal, after a meeting of protest Rabbi Isaac Landman at Temple Emanuel wrote the Governor-General at Ottawa, on May 21, 1903:

"I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a certified copy of the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Montreal held on the 18th inst. with respect to the recent massacre of Jews in Kischineff, Bessarabia, Russia; and humbly to pray that Your Excellency be pleased to forward the same in accordance with the wishes therein expressed." (PAC, RG7, G20, file 1659)

In due course I. Chamberlain acknowledged to Governor-General the Earl of Minto, on June 27, 1903:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's despatch No. 184 of the 27th of May, forwarding for the consideration of His Majesty's Government a copy of a Resolution passed at a meeting

of citizens of Montreal on the 18th of May protesting against the recent massacre of Jews at Kischineff in Russia.

"2. I duly communicated this Resolution to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his Lordship has now informed me that, while it would not be in accordance with international usage for His Majesty's Government to interfere in matters of Russian internal administration; yet he feels confident that the necessity of more adequate measures for the protection of the Jews is receiving the attention of the Emperor of Russia and his Ministers." (Ibid., RG 7, G1, file 218)

1905

Late in 1905 the pogroms in Russia brought Jew-genocide before the Canadian public and revealed frighteningly the attitudes of various Canadians to murder. The language in which each person expressed himself is the least significant -- whether it is sympathy or hatred of constitutionalism or disinterest. What was crystal-clear was identification with either life or with axe.

The violence of the pogroms of 1905 evoked such a horror in Europe and in Canada that it had noticeable consequences on Canadian immigration trends and on the social characteristics of Jewish nationalism in Canada.

"The principal victims of this protracted St. Bartholomew Night in Russia were the new Huguenots of the emancipation movement -- the Jews. They were to pay the penalty for having assisted in wresting from the despotic Government the manifesto with its promise of liberties. In the course of one week, nearly fifty anti-Jewish pogroms, accompanied by bloodshed, took place in various cities (Odessa, Kiev, Kishinev, Kalarash, Simferopol, Remny, Kremenchug, Chernigov, Nicholayev, Yekaterinoslav, Kamentz-Podolsk, Yelisavetgrad, Orsha, etc.), in addition to several hundred 'bloodless' pogroms, marked in regular fashion by the destruction of property, plunder, and incendiarism.

"The 'patriotic demonstrators' -- consisting mostly of the scum of society, of detectives and police officials in plain clothes -- would emerge from their nooks and crannies, carrying the portrait of the Tzar under the shadow of the national flag, singing the national hymn and shouting, 'Hurrah, beat the Zhyds! The Zhyds are eager for liberty. They go against our Tzar to put a Zhyd in his place.' These 'patriotic' demonstrators would be accompanied by police and Cossack patrols (or soldiers), ostensibly to preserve order, but in reality to enable the hooligans to attack and maltreat the Jews and prevent the victims from defending themselves. As soon as the Jews assembled for self-defence, they would be driven off by the police and troops. Thereupon, the 'patriotic' demonstrators, and the accomplices joining them on the way, would break up into small bands and disperse all over the city, invading Jewish houses and stores, ruin, plunder, beat, and sometimes slaughter entire families.

"The most terrible pogrom took place in Odessa. It lasted fully four days. The rioters were openly assisted by the police and troops, and were encouraged by the active support of city-governor Neidhart, and the criminal inactivity of the military governor, Kaulbars. The heroism displayed by the Jewish self-defence was strong enough to beat off the hooligans, but it was powerless to defeat the troops and police. Over three hundred dead, thousands of wounded or crippled

Jews, among them many who lost their minds from the horrors, one hundred and forty widows, five hundred and ninety-three orphans, and more than forty thousand Jews materially ruined -- such were the results of the battle which was fought against the Jews of Odessa during October 18-21.

"Approximately along the same lines the pogrom campaign was conducted in scores of other cities." (Dubnow. III, Pp. 127-29)

The events in Russia entered the daily life of Jews in Canada and elsewhere -- through the testimony of surviving migrants. In distant Winnipeg Mrs. Sina Shur was able to tell her story.

"A young woman of 22 who was living in Odessa when the streets of that city ran red with the blood of butchered Jews last November, is now living quietly in Winnipeg, a guest in the home of Isaac Rosen, a retired merchant. She came to locate her husband, from whom she has not heard for four years. She is prepossessing, vivacious, well educated, speaking Russian and German fluently, and French passably, and as a singer had much repute in her former home. Mrs. Shur witnessed scenes of unparalleled barbarity in the 'Bloody November.'

"Mrs. Shur described the events in Odessa succeeding the proclaiming of the constitution as witnessed by her.

"When the news of the granting of the constitution reached Odessa' said Mrs. Shur, 'the people went out into the streets to have a jollification. Then the police came and fired upon them, killing and wounding great numbers. There was awful slaughter.

"On the day following a great deputation of prominent citizens, both Christians and Jews, went to Mayor Nitgarten and asked him to protect the people, and he in turn asked the governor, and the governor sent troops. But the troops were told by the prefects of police that all the trouble was coming from the Jews. They brought cannon to the Jewish quarter and destroyed houses full of people, and sometimes Christians as well as Jews were in the houses and fell victims to the massacres. There was no distinction between age or sex. This was the work of the military which had been sent to protect the people.

"Up to this point it was open and official massacre. On Nov. 20, however, there was no volley firing on the streets, but bands of police, or rowdies instigated by them, disguised as civilians, roamed the city massacring Jews wherever they could find them. They seized tender children, rent them limb from limb, and lifting up the gratings, dropped the mutilated bodies in the sewers. The higher classes of Jews suffered most severely. On the corner of Rehselwsky street I saw a group of these fiends meet a young woman. Asking her whether she was a Jew, a fact she could not deny, they compelled her to open her mouth, and inserting a pistol, fired into her throat. Grown up girls were taken and undressed on the streets, and one such had her

breasts cut off, and running in that condition toward a hospital, fell dying on the steps.

"In the meantime the students had been preparing 200 dynamite bombs. The first three days these were not dry enough to use, and when they were ready, the police got wind of it and seized the bombs. So nothing came of that. It was ordered that none should go out of their houses at night, and those that did, including drivers, were seized and stripped, and their clothes and hacks confiscated.

"The next day a great train of these freebooters left the city and proceeded to plunder all along the line of railway, stopping at every station, and making armed forays, which were often turned into massacres, and burning the towns after having sacked them. Every manner of violence was used, the school children encountered on the road were torn to pieces.

"This bloody expedition was finally stopped by a station agent at a junction who held up the train and surrounded it with an armed force. The miscreants on board were found to be loaded down with spoils taken from their victims, including both valuables and money. They claimed that they had been sent to Odessa by Gen. Trepoff, minister of the interior, with 200,000 roubles and instructions to do what they liked to the Jews, without fear of interference from the authorities.

"When I left Odessa, on Dec. 17, it was estimated that 5,000 persons had been killed in the massacres, and 10,000 wounded, without counting the corpses choking the sewers and found in attics.'

"Mrs. Shur said that Premier Witte's promise that everything would be made satisfactory in the course of time was what eventually quieted Odessa.

"Mrs. Shur's home was not in Odessa, but in the country about thirty miles from the city, though she received her education in the schools of the city, and happened to be there during the time of the massacres. The Russian consul in Montreal gave her a letter to Ald. Finkelstein of Winnipeg, and she is now in communication with her husband." (JEWISH TIMES, Feb. 9, 1906)

MONTREAL PROTESTS

In Toronto a mass meeting to express sympathy with and to take practical means to aid the Jews in Russia who are passing through such horrors at the present time was held at the McCaul St. synagogue. The building was crowded in every part and hundreds were turned away. In addition to Jews from every land there were a number of leading representatives of Christian denominations. Among others present were Chancellor Burwash, Col. J.B. Maclean, Frank Slattery, ex-Ald. Burns, Maurice Bachrack, R.L. Fraser, Rev. J. Pitt Lewis, Dr. Samuel Levine and Louis Levinsky.

"Addresses in English and Yiddish bearing on the recent outrages in Russia were delivered. Rabbi Jacob Gordon and Rabbi Weintraub spoke in Yiddish. Rabbi Jacobs in English, and addresses were delivered by Mayor Urquhart, Premier Whitney, H.H. Dewart, Rev. Dr. Wild, T.C. Robinette, K.C., Rev. Dr. Gilray, Dr. McTavish and Mrs. S.C. Biggs. Resolutions were moved that a petition be prepared and forwarded to King Edward praying that he may be pleased to take such action as he may deem expedient to protect the lives of those who are in such imminent peril." (JEWISH TIMES, Nov. 17, 1905)

In Montreal "a mass meeting was held in Empire Hall under the auspices of the Jewish Labour Union to protest against the barbarous outrages and massacres in Russia, and to raise funds to help those who had survived.

"The hall, though large, was inadequate to accommodate the numbers who gathered, and hundreds were outside.

"The chair was occupied by Mr. Moses Shapiro who stated that it had been said that the flag of liberty had been run up in Russia when the Czar granted a constitution, but it had proved for the Jews to be a flag only at half-mast and soaked with Jewish blood.

"He was followed by Mr. H. Cronenberg, who spoke in Yiddish. Mr. A. Blumenthal also made a strong appeal. He asked for contributions to the relief fund and was followed by the Rev. H. Cohen, who pictured the horrors of the recent massacres at Odessa.

"Mr. Clarence I. de Sola, president of the Zionist Federation, declared that these horrible and frequent outbreaks of barbarous outrages proved that the Jews would always be a football of autocratic power, so long as they possessed no land of their own. Sending money, starting relief funds, or holding protest meetings might temporarily alleviate the distress in Russia, but the Zionist programme of transplanting the Russian Jews to Palestine is the only permanent cure for these frightful persecutions.

"Mr. B. Rose followed in a strong appeal that those present make their contributions to the relief fund.

"Mr. Schaffer moved that every workingman should contribute one day's earnings towards the relief fund. This motion was supported in a stirring speech by Mr. H. Popkin.

"The meeting was addressed by Mr. J.B. Mack, who stated that he had come as a Christian citizen to join the Hebrews in their protest against the barbarities that they had suffered in Darkest Russia." (Ibid.)

The ideological composition of the program is significant. Sponsored by the labour movement, it featured on its agenda Cronenberg who was one of the founders of the newly organized Poale Zion; Blumenthal who pioneered Jewish activity on the municipal scene, soon to be elected alderman; Rabbi H. Cohen of the Lyon Cohen family, one of the founders of the Orthodox rabbinate; Clarence I. de Sola, son of the Rev. Abraham de Sola and founder of the Canadian federation of Zionist organizations; and Bernard Rose who became active in the federal political scene.

Another public meeting of protest in Montreal took place on November 19, 1905 at the Monument National under the auspices of the older, more soundly established community. It was even more strongly Zionist in tone than the earlier meeting.

D.A. Ansell, president of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal, on November 16, 1905 invited Laurier to speak on November 25, in Montreal,

"The Board of Governors of the above Institution have decided to call a Mass Meeting of the citizens of Montreal, irrespective of creed, to protest against the recent massacre in Odessa and other parts of Russia, and to devise means to alleviate the distress of those suffering therefrom."

Laurier responded by telegram on November 20,

"I beg you to accept expression of my regret that other duties will not allow me to attend meeting to be held this evening to protest against recent massacres in Russia. I heartily sympathize with the object of meeting, and I earnestly concur in your laudable efforts."

Sen. L.O. David responded to the invitation,

"I regret that I cannot accept your invitation to be present at the public meeting called to protest against the recent massacres in Russia. Circumstances nevertheless may change and allow me to join those who will sympathize with the unfortunate victims of insane cruelty. How is it that in our times, in the 20th Century, such

horrors can be seen? It is a terrible drawback for those who are so proud of the progress of civilization."

Marine and Fisheries Minister J.R.L. Prefontaine regretted his inability to attend. He assured Mr. Ansell of his entire sympathy with any movement that might be started and his willingness to be at its disposal.

On November 19 a labour-sponsored protest meeting took place at the Monument National "assembled to protest against the Russian atrocities and subscribe for the relief of the surviving sufferers.

"After a collection had been taken it was found that the fund had an addition of over \$1,000 in cash, and a like sum promised. Furthermore, the meeting almost to a man promised to contribute one day's earnings in addition to what they had already subscribed. Arrangements were also started for the holding of a Jewish ball, the expenses of which one of those present had promised to bear, with the same purpose in view.

"The chair was occupied by Mr. J.S. Leo who rehearsed the horrors of the situation and pointed out the necessity of immediate and aggressive action. He read a number of telegrams from different parts of Europe begging for assistance."

"Mr. Clarence I. de Sola, president of the Zionist movement in Canada, the first speaker, said that he felt confident that the present movement had the entire sympathy of all races and all creeds in Montreal. He did not think that even the Jews themselves wholly realized the seriousness of the situation. More victims had fallen in these massacres than in the majority of the largest battles in the world's history. The call had come to Canada only a short time ago, but already the thirty-six branches of the Zionist movement in Canada had signified their willingness to assist. 'But we want every Jew whether he is a Zionist or not to give his quota,' said Mr. de Sola, 'and we who are living in the British Empire, under the benign influence of the Union Jack, knowing that we are secure in our lives and possessions, owe it to our God and to our humanity, to assist our less fortunate brethren beyond the seas.' He concluded by declaring that the only solution of the Jewish question in Russia was to send all Russian Jews to Palestine.

"Rev. Dr. Johnson, of the American Presbyterian Church, was the only speaker outside the faith. In a very eloquent address he told the meeting that the sympathies of the whole Empire went out to them in their trouble. The spirit of the Russian people was not indicative of the Christian religion. Persecution was due to ignorance not to education.

"Rabbi Herman Abramowitz, of the McGill College Avenue synagogue, gave an address, in which he deprecated Russian Christianity and its

teachings, denounced the attitude of the press, and called upon the Jewish race to assert their rights as God's chosen people.

"'The Christian Church today,' he said, 'stands upon its defence. It must vindicate its position or be held up to universal scorn. With what irony and hypocrisy it is propagating its tenets! Here we see a peaceful people, industrious and sober, massacred, outraged and robbed of their very means of sustenance, and the powerful Christian Church looking idly and calmly on without raising a single word of protest. The massacre of Christians in Armenia raised a universal shout of protest from press and pulpit, and it looked for a time as though Turkey were doomed to destruction. Why is the world silent now? Is it because the unspeakable Russian and not the Turk is involved? No! It is because the Jew -- a mere outcast, living on sufferance, is the victim.'

"Rabbi Hirsch Cohen gave in rotation the great persecutors of the Jewish people since Pharoah, and said that the spirit of evil in them was incarnate in Emperor Nicholas, in Count Trepoff and the Metropolitan of the Greek Church. If the so-called Christian nations had done their duty, France would have abrogated her treaty with Russia, and the warships of England and America would be knocking at Russia's door.

"Mr. Bernard Rose spoke in Yiddish. Among the other speakers were Mr. M. Shapiro, I.D. Holfcener of Ottawa, Rabbi J. Manuelson, Rabbi Kornfeld and L. Gurofsky of Toronto." (JEWISH TIMES, Dec. 1, 1905)

D.A. Ansell presided over a mass meeting at the Baron de Hirsch Institute on November 20 which was addressed by leading citizens of Montreal of Christian as well as of Jewish faith. He spoke of the "cry that was coming from Russia for help, by reason of the recent massacres there.

"Mr. M. Goldstein, K.C. remarked that the meeting was the culmination of a large number that had been held in the city during the past week to give expression to the feelings of the citizens at the horrible atrocities which had been perpetrated in Russia. But the prayer went forth that this greatest and worst massacre of all should produce sentiments which would make it impossible for anything like it ever to occur in any part of the civilized world, even in Russia.

"Bishop Carmichael remarked that he was present, outside the bounds of nationality and creed, to raise his voice as a man, on the side of humanity. As a man, he put himself in the place of men, and strove to think what would be the feeling of indignation that would fill the heart of every thinking being if such a crime, or series of crimes, as had been perpetrated in the streets of Odessa were committed in the streets of Montreal.

"'God grant in His mercy and in His love,' said His Lordship, 'that there may go up from the civilized nations of the world an appeal to that monarch which will lead him, in spite of the chaos in which at this moment he is living, to raise his own voice against the diabolical crimes which disgrace the land over which he rules.'

"Principal Peterson spoke of the sympathy with the Jewish race which was expressed by the civilized world, in the recent atrocities. 'If there was one thing that made the heart of the Gentile beat in sympathy with that of the Jew, it was that the Jew shared in the equal rights for all that were guaranteed under the ample folds of the British flag. A deep-hearted utterance of abhorrence at these atrocities, and a hope be expressed that the recurrence of such outrages should be made impossible, even in the most backward country in Europe.'

"Sir William Hingston expressed the hope that the meeting might be successful, and that it would result in a sum of money being sent to the distressed in Russia.

"Major G.W. Stephens said that the barriers of creed, of nationality, of personality, must fall asunder in the face of the terrible calamity that had befallen our brethren of the Hebrew race. He hoped that the horror at the outrages which might be stirred by that meeting, would make every man, woman and child in Montreal realize that their part in this great world tragedy was to give their support to the relief of the distressed and the purging out of a crime the like of which the world had never seen.

"Rabbi de Sola said that words utterly failed to express the indignation, the horror, the detestation excited by the Russian outrage. It was said that humanity shuddered. Then let humanity act accordingly.

"Let such pressure be brought to bear upon the savage government of Russia as would render a recurrence of these atrocities impossible. He denied that the Russian authorities were unable to prevent these troubles. Their paid officials, their minions, were responsible for the comprehensive character of the massacres. Although the horizon was indeed dark, he hoped tha humanity would assert itself. The imperative duty of the hour was for each one to contribute to the best of his ability to the relief fund that was being formed. He hoped that Montreal would rise to the gravity of the situation. Although it was the Jewish people primarily who were affected by the massacres in Russia, it must not be forgotten that civilization must vindicate itself.

"Rev. Dr. Shaw said that his heart had been moved with intense indignation as, morning after morning, he had read the harrowing details of the persecutions in Russia. A state of anarchy was but the inevitable outcome of the misgovernment, tyranny and cruelty of the past. 'But whether it be God or Czar,' said he, 'I declare, in the name of God and humanity: this cruelty must stop. It is not a

question of who is directly guilty, but the whole world re-echoes the demand this cruelty must stop.'

"Dean Evans said it was the desire to stretch out a long, drawn and strong arm to minister to the immediate wants and necessities of those who stood in such awful need."

At this time, too, the House of Commons had occasion to discuss the plight of the Jews in Russia and their migration-flight to Canada and elsewhere.

OTTAWA PROTEST

The invitation to Mr. Laurier to a protest meeting was pursued by Clarence de Sola on November 21, 1905,

"A meeting for the purpose of expressing sympathy for the families of the victims of the recent terrible massacres of Jews in Russia, and to take steps for raising a fund for the relief of the survivors, will be held in Ottawa next Monday evening, 27th inst., and a committee will wait upon you to ask you to honor the gathering with your presence.

"This meeting is being held under the auspices of the Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada, representing the thirty-six branches of the Zionist Movement in this country, and we beg to express the hope that you will accede to this request. You are doubtless aware that the most authentic figures obtainable place the killed at about 23,000 and the wounded at 108,000, and that, in addition to this terrible list, hundreds of thousands are homeless, and have been deprived of their means of sustenance by the total destruction of their property.

"It has been a source of great gratification to us to receive demonstrations of sympathy from our fellow-citizens of all denominations throughout Canada, and we feel assured of your sympathy and support in our efforts to relieve the awful distress caused by this calamity."

Later the prime minister referred to his comments on this occasion during the House of Commons debate on the subject.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier attended the Ottawa protest meeting on November 27. The press reported his address:

"The almost daily atrocities which had been taking place in Russia, and which had drenched with blood the soil of that country, had brought an indelible blot on its fair name. Such barbarities had taken place recently as to make the blood run cold in one's veins. For his part, he had very small hope that anything which might be said at the meeting would reach St. Petersburg, but at any rate their voices would swell the volume of remonstrances which from all parts of the world had converged to the authorities at St. Petersburg praying them if possible to put an end to such atrocities. He was not even quite sure that the Government at St. Petersburg today had sufficient power left in its hands to put a stop to this awful condition of things. In his opinion the Government at St. Petersburg today was reaping what it had sown years ago. The Czar in former years had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of his subjects for liberty and justice. When the Czar refused reforms he invited revolution and revolution had indeed come with all the horrors and atrocities inseparable from all revolutions.

"All the Russian Jews could not be brought to this country, but whoever chose to come to Canada was sure to find a hearty welcome. We cherish the institutions under which we live, we appreciate, perhaps more than ever, those British institutions in which there are equal rights for all and under which every man, no matter what his origin, his creed or his race, is sure to find an equal share of liberty, of justice, of equity, and of sunshine."

He said he deserved no credit for being at the meeting. It was his duty as a citizen to be present when, as a Canadian, as a British subject, one must be proud to assert the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. (JEWISH TIMES, Dec. 1, 1905)

Mr. de Sola wrote to Sir Wilfrid on December 6 on his personal crested paper,

"The members of the council of the Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada have asked me to formally convey to you their sincerest thanks for your kindness in attending the meeting lately held in Ottawa, under the auspices of our association, for furthering the measures of relief undertaken on behalf of the Jewish families who suffered through the recent terrible massacres in Russia. Your presence at our gathering, and your very sympathetic address, were very highly appreciated by the Jewish citizens of this country, and will ever be remembered by them with feelings of the deepest gratitude.

"May I be permitted to add the assurance of my own personal appreciation of your great kindness, and although I am not a rabbi, as some of the Ottawa papers persist in styling me (evidently mistaking me for my brother) still I hope I may yet have an opportunity of practising the rabbinical precept that 'it is good to thank by words but better to thank by deeds,' for believe me if the opportunity ever presents itself my deeds shall prove my thanks."

To which the premier responded,

"You attach altogether too much importance to what little I did at the meeting which it was my pleasure to attend the other day. I can assure you that what I said came from my heart. I feel very strongly upon this subject and my gratitude is all the greater since you evidently appreciate what little I did or said.

"Will you allow me to ask you to gratify a curiosity of mine. I notice on your note paper what seems to be your coat of arms, in the figure of a lamb. May I ask you if there is in this any connection with Jewish antiquities or historical associations.

"Will you permit me the favour of being remembered to Mrs. de Sola."

The purpose of these meetings was purely moral with no practical aspects, for Canada as a country had no direct relations with Russia; indeed at that time, decades before Westminster, Canada had no

external affairs policy or administration. On the agenda in 1905 there was solely the question of expression of sentiment about the massacring of Jews. But even this became a question.

A third of a century later a leading member of the Commons had occasion to recall those days. Hammering at Canadian heartlessness in barring entry to Hitler's Jewish victims, M.J. Coldwell, CCF leader, told the House of Commons on January 18, 1939:

"Last evening I read some letters in an old Montreal newspaper file regarding Canada's reaction to similar but much less serious atrocities in Russia in 1905, now thirty-three years ago.

"At that time a great protest meeting was held in Montreal and a resolution of protest and of horror was passed unanimously and forwarded to the Czar. Protestants, Roman Catholics and Jews in the province of Quebec joined in expressing their abhorrence of crimes which now pale into insignificance before the cruelties of Nazi persecution in Germany and in the areas under Hitler's iron heel. Many notable people who could not be present sent messages.

"Here is one written at that time by His Excellency the Archbishop of Montreal to Mr. D.A. Ansell of that city. I will read the English translation. It is dated at Montreal, November 15, 1905, and is as follows:

"I have received your letter of the 13th instant. I greatly deplore, as you do, the massacres that have taken place at Odessa and in other parts of Russia. Such massacres are contrary to the spirit of Christianity and to the laws of humanity.

"However, I do not consider it advisable for me to take part in the meeting to which you invite me.'

"I understand that the last sentence simply means that as a rule high ranking prelates of the Roman Catholic Church do not participate in public demonstrations.

"The Anglican Archdeacon of Montreal wrote a very fine letter at that time:

"The Archdeacon of Montreal and Mrs. Norton regret that another engagement will prevent their being present at the meeting on Monday evening. They beg to enclose ten dollars as a small expression of their sympathy, and of the disgust and horror with which they regard the massacres in Russia of law abiding and innocent Jews, whose nation has in God's good providence given to the world its greatest moral and spiritual instructors, and has contributed enormously towards the upbuilding of the British Empire by the loyalty and genius of such Jews as Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Herschel and Lord Goschen.'

"After over thirty years of education and Christianity are we going to say anything less than our predecessors did thirty-three years ago?"

But a totally different reaction to the Russian massacres came from Quebec. LE CANADA the voice of the Hon. Thomas Chapais, durable anti-Semite, warned that press reports were unreliable and prejudiced against Russia which was beset by Jewish and masonic enemies who control trans-Atlantic telegraphy. (REVUE CANADIENNE, 1905. Pp. 316-18; CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 20. Pp. 229-30A)

On the other hand, when LE CANADA wrote in Laurier's manner, LE BULLETIN spoke out, "Judaism is one of our pests, and is the worst element among the bad infecting our Canadian soil. We do not need these parasites... Nothing will prevent us from continuing our anti-Semitic campaign." ("LE CANADA et les Juifs," Dec. 10, 1905)

"Sir Wilfrid is perfectly cognizant of the animosity and hardly concealed revolt that now and then escapes from our population against the Jews; and he does not for one wish to see an influx of outcasts without country or morals who will soon become a source of annoyance and trouble for the government."

T.D. Bouchard sought to answer the anti-Semites, precisely LE COURIER, who condemned Laurier for his stand on the Russian authors of the pogroms.

"The COURIER sees all Jews as blackguards. How little he knows these people," Bouchard wrote in the UNION of Dec. 16, 1905. "The Jews are just like other people, like the French Canadians and the English."

"They would tell us that the Jews do not have a country of their own; do the French Canadians, whom they consider a super people, have a homeland? Does the province of Quebec belong to them, or is it one more facet in the finest diamond in the British crown?"

"How would the COURIER react if a Catholic lecturer in Toronto would be received as Sarah Bernhardt was received in Quebec?" (Cited in his MEMOIRES, vol. 2. Pp. 115-16)

Years later, in 1911, a French Canadian liberal in Montreal recalled these Canadian protest meetings of 1905 when the Russian government refused to recognize American passports held by citizens of Jewish origin.

"Is not the American government duty bound to protect its Jewish citizens from Russian injustice, deprivation of rights and other persecution? If it fails to come to the defence of Hebrew bearers of its documents whom the Russians seek to exclude from the protection due them and whose rights as Americans it despises and treads under-foot, the United States government would be committing an attack upon

civilization and would stain its national conscience." (Elzéar Boulay in the ADLER of Dec. 6, 1911)

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The Russian pogroms came up in the Canadian House of Commons on March 15, 1906 when A.C. MacDonnell of South Toronto proposed a resolution to be transmitted through the British government, Canada at this time not conducting its own external affairs. A discussion developed as to the constitutional propriety of such a resolution.

There was no Jewish member in the parliament of Canada at this time. Thirty-five years earlier, in 1871, the new member for Victoria had been Jewish, but the tradition of a Hebrew representative from one of the immigrant constituencies in the large Canadian cities had not yet been established in 1906. The participants in the debate were Christian Canadians -- Protestants and Catholics -- speaking out of their personal sentiments, friendly or hostile, and not generally as representative of the interests involved.

Mr. MacDonnell proposed on March 15, 1906 "That during the reign of terror which recently prevailed in many parts of Russia, large numbers of helpless men, women and children of the Hebrew race were massacred in a most brutal and inhuman manner.

"That no adequate effort appears to have been made to prevent these outrages, the perpetrators of which were permitted to complete their atrocious work.

"That the parliament of Canada, expressing the sentiment of the Canadian people, without distinction of race, creed or party, deploras such wanton and inhuman massacre of the Jews in Russia, and affirms that these atrocities are a disgrace to the civilization of the twentieth century.

"That this resolution be forwarded, through His Excellency the Governor General to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order that His Majesty may be advised of the sentiment of his Canadian subjects in the premises, and to the end that such action may be taken thereon as His Majesty's advisers may deem meet."

Introducing it to the House, Mr. MacDonnell said,

"The resolution speaks for itself but my object in introducing it to the House is two-fold: firstly, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the victims and sufferers of these massacres and of deploring and condemning them insofar as we have the right to do so; and secondly, for the purpose of, if possible, by placing ourselves on record in this matter and by voicing the sentiments of the Canadian people through the Canadian House of Commons, averting a continuation or repetition of these outrages, or at least of mitigating the rigour of them.

"It is within the knowledge of every honourable member of this House, and I think of every citizen of Canada, that these outrages have been committed. I, therefore, need not dwell at any length upon them. Suffice it to say that during the last two years over 100,000 helpless men, women and children of the Hebrew race have been massacred in Russia. The Russian people took advantage of the riots which they themselves, apparently incited, to rise and massacre these helpless creatures. The intensity of these massacres, if I may use the term, increased as time went on and they seemed to culminate in one great outburst of passion and the shedding of blood in the month of November last.

"Since that time practically the whole civilized world has gone on record against such a condition of things. The peoples of Canada, Great Britain and the United States particularly have condemned these occurrences. We have seen throughout this country public meetings held and resolutions passed condemning these outrages.

"I think I am correct in saying that the right hon. the prime minister of this country dignified one of these meetings in this city with his presence and, either by presiding thereat or speaking thereat, expressed what I believe to be the sentiments of the Canadian people in regard to these outrages.

"Much has been done towards, if possible, preventing a recurrence of them. Various Ministers of the Gospel throughout the country have preached against them. Public contributions have been made to relieve the sufferers, collections have been taken up for the purpose of aiding these helpless creatures. The public press, I think, without exception, had condemned these outrages. They have been condemned by the public press and by public writers. The letters that have appeared in the public press have been almost innumerable, and as recently as January of this year the Congress of the United States of America has gone on record by the passing of a resolution similar in sentiment to the one which I have proposed to this House, but in much stronger terms and language.

"I think, Sir, it is not asking this House too much when I ask it to endorse this resolution as the resolution itself says: without distinction of creed, or race, or party. Let us at least enter our protest; let us hope this resolution will not miscarry.

"It may be said, and no doubt it will be said, that such a resolution is futile and can be of no avail. I decline to accept that view. I believe that if we thus formally place the sentiments of the Canadian parliament in the hands of His Majesty, it will strengthen His Majesty's hands to take whatever course his advisers may see fit in regard to the matter. It is known to us all that massacres of a somewhat similar character were stopped in Turkey and in China by the interference of other nations, and let us hope that this resolution may tend towards a similar result in the present sad circumstances.

"We see in the newspapers today, threats of a recurrence of these dreadful massacres during the coming Easter season. It seems strange that the sanctified Easter time should be selected for such an inhuman purpose, but we have the fact that these outrages occurred at Easter time in 1903, 1904 and 1905.

"Even if this resolution should have the effect of staying the hand of only one assassin of the Jews, the resolution will not be passed in vain.

"And, Sir, who are these people who have been so persecuted in Russia? If we are to judge them as we find them in Canada we must form a high opinion of the Jewish race. It is safe to say there are no more law abiding citizens of His Majesty in this country than are our Hebrew fellow subjects. They enjoy perfect security under our British constitution, they enjoy equal rights with their Christian fellow subjects and in their turn they respect the law which protects them, and evidence their desire to uphold the constitution. They are law abiding and good citizens of Canada. They are a charitable race, and this resolution partakes of the qualities of charity and mercy. They are a people who maintain their own poor; they make a practice of their religion. We see no Jews in the public charitable institutions of the country, and I am happy to say very few of them in the prisons and penitentiaries.

"I trust, Sir, that this resolution will not contravene any international usage, law, or custom. I trust that this expression of the sentiment of the people of Canada will not in any way be considered as a violation of the comity of nations. The resolution is framed in as moderate language as it is possible to frame it in order to give expression to the sentiments it contains.

"But, Sir, if it is thought that the resolution is too strong in its terms, if it is thought it asks more than we in Canada have the right to ask of His Majesty in connection with this matter, then I am perfectly willing that the resolution should be modified so as to conform to the ordinary usage. This is a humanitarian and a philanthropic resolution. I hope that there will be no difference of opinion in this House regarding it, and no misconstruction of any motives in bringing it forward.

"I submit it with the suggestion, that if it is considered to be too strong in its terms, it may be modified in any way that may suit the exigencies of the case, so long as it preserves intact the expression of the unanimous sentiment of the Canadian people which I believe it embodies."

Prime Minister Laurier brought other considerations into the discussion.

"I certainly have no exception to take to anything that has been said by my hon. friend (Mr. MacDonnell), nor to the motive which has

inspired him in bringing this resolution before the House. Our fellow citizens of the Hebrew race deserve every encomium he has bestowed upon them. They are industrious, they are peaceful, they are frugal, they are respectable citizens of Canada in every sense of the word. We have reason to presume that their character in Russia is the same as it is here; but whatever may be their character as citizens of the Russian empire, there is no possible justification for the harsh treatment to which they have been subjected. What has taken place in Russia must instill a feeling of horror in the breast of any civilized man.

"I have, however, to call the attention of my hon. friend, and of the House, to this point: Whether it is advisable that we should pass such a resolution in this parliament. The citizens of Canada have passed somewhat similar resolutions in public meetings -- in one of which I have myself taken part -- and that proceeding is quite proper. It is right that the sense of horror of every man in this free country should be expressed, so that by the multiplicity and unanimity of these expressions of opinion some influence may perhaps be brought upon the government of Russia to induce them to protect the lives of their citizens. That is a thing that is quite within the duty of every Canadian citizen.

"But, I would like the House to remember that this parliament does not represent the full plenary sovereign power. We are a colony of England, and, whilst we have full autonomous power, we have not at this moment the right to interfere in foreign matters as to which the Crown of England alone is responsible. We have on more than one occasion in this House passed resolutions on matters affecting a people beyond our own purview and jurisdiction, but in relation to the condition of British subjects in other parts of the empire. Take the example with which we are all familiar: upon more than one occasion this House has passed a resolution on the question of Home Rule for Ireland. I believe it is quite within our power and quite within our right as British subjects to express opinions as to conditions which may affect our fellow British subjects in any part of the world.

"But I think we should hesitate somewhat, or all all events take some care to reflect, before we interfere in a matter which is purely within the domain of the Foreign Office and the relations of England with a foreign power.

"If we had full plenary power it would be for us to determine whether it would be advisable for us to interfere even ever so slightly with the domestic policy of any other nation. But, the relations of England at the present time with Russia are the relations which belong simply to the diplomatic service of Great Britain and in that service we have no voice whatever.

"I am not prepared to say at this moment that I would condemn the action taken by my hon. friend (Mr. MacDonnell); far from it. I would simply ask this House of Commons to reflect whether or not it is

wise for us, as a dependent colony of Great Britain, having no plenary sovereignty, to interfere in the slightest degree with the sovereignty of England in its relation to other nations.

"I am not prepared at this moment to express any opinion on this question. I would like to have the opinion of the House upon it, though I express my own conviction that it is far preferable for us not to attempt to advise England as to what her duties are with regard to other nations. At this moment, while I am not prepared to take issue altogether with my hon. friend, I would ask the House again to reflect on this matter and to postpone the consideration of it to a future date.

"As I have said, I sympathize with the object of my hon. friend. He is moved by motives of humanity. We all sympathize with him. He has put his case in moderate language, to which I am sure no exception can be taken. But I think that the matter had better be deferred for future consideration, and therefore, I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned."

The South Toronto member found support from W.F. Maclean, member for South York,

"I do not altogether agree with the doctrine that has been laid down by the Prime Minister on this occasion. The British parliament has taken up questions of this kind and has expressed sympathy with oppressed people in various portions of the world, and I think the parliament of Canada has sufficient rights, if it cares to assert them, to express its sympathy in the same way. This parliament is not secondary to the British parliament in matters of this kind, and I hope the day will soon come when we shall have the fullest liberty, and assert the fullest liberty, of declaring our views with regard to matters of this kind. I sympathize altogether with what the hon. member for South Toronto (Mr. MacDonnell) has said.

"While I regret the massacres that have taken place and the injustice that has been done to the Jews, it must be a matter of satisfaction to Canadians and to the world at large that Russia today is effecting her emancipation, and that constitutional government is coming in that country. Everybody must be more than pleased to see the dawn of a better day in Russia, with the coming of constitutional government founded somewhat on British lines."

Mr. R.L. Borden, then leader of the Opposition, agreed with Laurier,

"...that it is better to postpone the further consideration of this question at the moment. The resolution is couched, as the mover has said, in less forcible language than that which was employed in a resolution on the same subject passed by the Congress of the United States.

"With most of what the Prime Minister has said I would be inclined to agree, except that one qualification perhaps might be made, which is

this: that technically as well as actually this parliament has a perfect right to address the King on any subject whatever. From that standpoint one would think that this parliament might be very well justified in passing a moderate resolution with regard to what has taken place in Russia. And I join most heartily in what has been said by the prime minister and by the mover of the resolution as to the feeling with which these outrages have been regarded by the people of Canada as a whole.

"The position of Canada, with regard to the foreign relations of the empire is, as the Prime Minister has said, somewhat peculiar. It is possible that it may be a transition stage. As to that we can only speculate.

"On one occasion I recollect that this House passed a resolution, since I have had the honour of being a member of it, which concerned people outside the empire. That was the resolution which was passed I think in 1899, with regard to the rights of British subjects in the Transvaal."

Sir Wilfrid interjected, "England claimed a suzerainty over the Transvaal."

Mr. Borden continued, "She claimed suzerainty, it is true; there is that observation to be made. There was a good deal of difference of opinion as to whether that was merely a nominal right or a practical right. The prime minister will remember that English jurists and statesmen differed a good deal in opinion as to what that amounted to, after all.

"However, for the moment I entirely agree with the proposal which the prime minister has made that the debate be adjourned. If it is proper for this parliament, having regard to its relation to the King and to the empire, to make a moderate expression of opinion with regard to these outrages, it seems to me that the motion of my hon. friend is well founded, and that some resolution couched in these or similar terms might very well be passed. It is, however, a case in which it is not wise for us to make too great haste. Therefore, I am entirely in accord with the motion of the prime minister."

BOURASSA IN THE COMMONS

The name of Louis-Joseph Papineau in this record of eminent Canadians on the history of Canadian Jewry is marked with a consistent ambiguity shared with Henri Bourassa and André Laurendeau.

Papineau is the distinctive hero of fundamental liberation, the permanent enfranchisement of Canadian Judaism, as Bourassa was the eloquent explicator of Jewish dignity in the face of anti-Semitic prejudice, as Laurendeau's was the contrite voice of decency after the years of frightening degradation. No one was more sensitive of this his grandfather's historic role than Papineau's grandson. Yet Bourassa seems not to have been aware that in the Jews' first battle in parliament for their rights, Louis-Joseph Papineau, member for Kent, his first constituency and a student at law, voted on May 6, 1809, against Mr. Mures' amendment which would have permitted Ezekiel Hart to sit in the legislature.

Henri Bourassa (1868-1952) was so fully the aristocrat of French Canada that he is best described in the paragraphs of the history of the century,

"Then came a man from an illustrious root, gifted with a great soul and great thought, a man with a fiery glance, a vibrant voice, a noble and majestic bearing, impressive gesture, elevated head, high sentiments and patriotic.

"In his illustrious family great talent was hereditary. For a century his ancestors were notaries, faithful guardians of political freedom, distinguished orators and celebrated consultant at law; their legal opinions were often cited in parliament. Endowed with precocious intelligence, their aptitudes astonished their contemporaries. Their mentors constantly recognized the fathers in the bearing of the sons even in school. Their careers were forecast by the nature of their talents; a pronounced tendency for politics, for popular issues, for parliament, of course with the family's national party." (Edmond Larue. MELANGES HISTORIQUES ET LITTERAIRES. Montreal, 1897. Pp. 117-19)

In his MES MEMOIRES Chanoine Lionel Groulx, (1878-1967) who was to become his lasting enemy, provides as eloquent and accurate a description as one would wish of the magic power which Bourassa exerted on French Canada and on its nationalist youth of these early days.

Groulx speaks of "his seductive powers through his family origins, his culture and his marvellous gifts. The grandson of Papineau, the Bourassa of the years 1899-1900, the first to rise against the idol

Laurier and his imperialist policy, soon replaced Laurier in the admiration of the young." (Vol. 3, Pp. 184-89)

Groulx recalls that his colleagues in college came to idolize the 22-year-old grandson of Louis-Joseph Papineau, orator, who had been elected mayor of Montebello -- "All that was needed to stir the imagination of the young men at college, then impassioned by fine speakers, by the great tenors of the hustings... What else was needed to turn the unknown youth into a sort of superman?

"In 1900 the young member for Labelle eloquently opposed sending a Canadian contingent to South Africa, an act of incredible courage, the first audacious revolt against the omnipotent Laurier become newly a mythic figure. A revolt against political conformity, and in the name of Canadian autonomy, eminently proper to soothe the reactionary spirit of the young generation...

"I read his impressions on Ireland, the sane sober prose of the orator. I admired his culture not less. We knew him as a patriot as much as a man of the faith, how far above the politician -- plebeians... Was this Bourassa to be the awakener whom our impatient wishes were awaiting?

"In all history of any scope generations live with the sense of being on the threshold of new times; for them the stars emerge from the ocean flush with the decks, every night. They come to live these new earths and these new times as their own, as their birthright. Blessed be the man, this demi-urge who will offer himself to open the door to this future.

"The soul of the young men of my time possessed some of this feverish and joyous awaiting, the enthusiasms which attached to this young chief, to his young glory so radiant and virile...

"During these first two decades of the century we have learned to know the fine culture of the man who had come to us; his writings, his lectures had revealed him; his culture established him as exceptional in Canada's political universe. Furthermore we knew the young powerful orator, peerless. Above all he was spoken of as of an incorruptible conscience, above the temptations of gold or honours, profoundly patriotic, incapable of bending in the face of what he believed his duty. Above all a practising believer, almost ultramontane, radically opposed to the philosophy and religion of his grandfather, Papineau." (MES MEMOIRES, vol. 2, Pp. 188-204)

Abbé Groulx came to know Bourassa "at his best" as he put it, in 1917 when he was residing at the legendary presbytery of Father Perrier who presided over a priestly salon where Bourassa reigned as master conversationalist-teacher-comrade. It was one of the beautiful gatherings of its élite which almost every nation has in its collective memory where "profane conversation" shaped its Aggadah and the Halachah. In Quebec's "Mile-End parish Bourassa inspired such priest-activists as the maker of syndicalism Edmour Hébert, the future

bishop of Rimouski Courchesne, the future Cardinal Villeneuve, the director of the Ottawa LE DROIT Charles Charlebois, Archbishop of St. Boniface Béliveau, the anti-Semitic Abbé Valmore LaVergne; laymen journalists Omer Héroux, Georges Pelletier of LE DEVOIR and legalist Antonio Perrault.

Bourassa drew upon his vast international and Canadian experience, his memory bulging with witnessed picturesque recollections of comic and tragic scenes and upon his vast reading and profound philosophic contemplation since early childhood. Groulx recalled: "he rambled in this variety of men and events in simple transitions in a unified tone so full of variations, clearly his ultimate relaxation after the hard discipline of a day's work; it was pleasure and a need in an environment he knew to be sympathetic and receptive.

"No one knew how to capture, in a few phrases, the personages in his spontaneous accounts. What I admired more than the simplicity, erudition and dignity of this gentleman of exquisite company were the scope and the vigour of his robust spirit, his cutting and penetrating logic, his disarming manners and his rare ability to fix a problem, to scrutinize it.

"This peerless polemicist of fighting words on the platform, of sharp pen, of merciless journalism became the most moderate compassionate bearer of memory, even of the recollections of those who had betrayed him and had vilified him; he always found extenuating excuses and circumstances for them; he even corrected his judgments of them which he found too severe.

"The long evenings at Mile End, my most loaded memories; evenings which revealed to me so much that lay under politics, under the human comedy."

"We loved Bourassa, admired him particularly because he was the antithesis of the hollow, the loquacious, the sonorous. For us a man suddenly appeared on the scene, the man of ideas, of broad and fine culture, of fine intelligence, of talent which touched genius and who projected a flashing light upon our problems. Furthermore, a man of healthy fabric, of noble conscience, craggy, impervious to base temptation; French Canadian to the marrow, uncompromising ultramontane Catholic. Without electoral pathos in his lucid, vehemence. Passion is not carrying his idea; his idea warms, becomes passionate.

"I recall his most magnificent oratorical flights. At such moments his arguments would press upon his brain, heavy-booted, helmetted, in battle rank, and would set forth at a charging tempo. The entire person of the orator would attack, his face inspired, the voice consuming, exploding, pathetic to shake you to the soul; to bring shivers to your innermost veins. A single sovereign passion animated him, the apostles' passion.

"What else can we ask of a leader?"

"Such was the Bourassa I heard, the Bourassa of the good years between 1905 and 1922." (L.Groulx. "Henry Bourassa ou le causeur prestigieux" in André Laurendau, ed., HOMMAGE A HENRI BOURASSA, Montreal; LE DEVOIR, Oct. 25, 1952, Pp. 91-96; L. Groulx. MES MEMOIRES, vol. 2, Pp. 201-207)

The Perrier-Bourassa relationship was particularly poignant. Rumilly notes that in his silent twenties Bourassa did not even see Perrier. But during the war years Perrier put his presbytery at the disposition of the no longer believed Bourassa. This might well have cost the curé his chances at the mitre of the archbishop of Montreal according to Rumilly. (HENRI BOURASSA, P. 731)

Ironically, these "good years" of Bourassa's during the early century were the years of his anti-Semitism. We have already noted his reaction to the Sarah Bernhardt Quebec incident. But even then the hostile Bourassa did not approve of the "patriotic" Quebec youths pelting the Bernhardt party with eggs. "National pride ought to find better arguments than rotten eggs." (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 8, P.6A)

At this point Henri Bourassa had already had nearly a decade of experience in the House of Commons, which was to continue intermittently for nearly three decades.

Rumilly recalls that some Quebec opinion opposed the immigration policy of the federal government. "Bourassa understood the problem in its full measure and criticized the system which brought the most diverse elements into the country. 'The government,' he said, 'is little interested in Frenchmen or Belgians while it is attracting masses of Jews from Russia and Poland.'" (HISTOIRE DE LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC, vol. 12, P. 115)

Immigration historian William Peterson recalled that "The man who spearheaded the French Canadian attack on this immigration policy was Henri Bourassa, a nationalist member of Parliament. The charges that he and his associates made against the government were principally these:

"1. The purpose of immigration was to swamp the French minority in a sea of 'drunkards, paupers, loafers, and jailbirds' from England; eccentric Doukhobors; East European Jews; and similar types.

"2. The many children of poor French peasants would have liked to emigrate, but did not go to Canada because of the complete lack of organized propaganda in France.

"3. The railways' policy of granting cheap fares to immigrants was part of a scheme to deny the French access to the West. 'It was more expensive for an inhabitant of Rivière-du-Loup to go to Alberta than for a Jew from Galicia or a peasant from the Danube.'" ("The

Ideological Background to Canada's Immigration," in CANADIAN SOCIETY, 1961. Pp. 72-73)

To situate and to relate the historic Bourassa statement on Jews in the Commons we need to note, as did young Groulx at the time, that on his first tour of Europe, in 1901, Bourassa chose to send his impressions of Ireland to Tardivel's LA VERITE.

He chose Drumont's Paris newspaper LA LIBRE PAROLE as the periodical to publish his article on "The Battle of French Canada for Language and Liberty." (ACTION SOCIAL CATHOLIQUE, Dec. 15, 1910)

Years later Bourassa publicly revealed the drama of the progress of his early anti-Semitism and the evolution of his attitude towards the Jews from his 1905 savagery all the way to his Christian philosemitism and to Québécois traditions of justice and moderation. This evolution from anti-Semitism has been documented in CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, section 4.

We can appreciate the bilingual roots of his anti-Semitism from his own references to "one of the most illustrious of English writers," the Torontonion Goldwin Smith, kindred Jew-hater who found further comradeship in their common position on the Boer War. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 32, passim, esp. P.132)

Bourassa points to a Torontonion influence on his thinking on the Jews early in the century. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 32) Yet Bourassa came to differ on other matters from the man he considered his intellectual leader. As Bourassa wrote in his "Goldwin Smith Souvenirs" (LE DEVOIR, June 11, 1910),

"In spite of the gentleman's urbanity and of the high intellectual culture that were his, he was a man of passion; the passion of his system sometimes troubled the serenity of his judgment in some matters.

"So he really saw in the Syllabus and in the eventual claims of religious authorities the sign of a permanent effort to place the state at the service of the church."

"At the age of twenty," Bourassa recalled in 1930, "I had read and reread all Veillot -- I still delight in him -- and subscribed to L'UNIVERS. My favourite Canadian papers were Tardivel's LA VERITE and 'the great vicar' Trudel's L'ETENDARD." (LE DEVOIR, Feb. 4, 1930)

RUSSIA'S DEFENDER IN THE COMMONS

The violence and extremism of Bourassa's anti-Semitism when he gave it free play proved damaging and frightening. He helped set the tragic pattern of relations between the nationalistic movement of French Canada and the Jewish community of the nation. But this violence hides a complex subtlety in this racism. His starting point was an intense Catholic faith and an attachment to ultramontanism. He began with violent anti-Semitism confirmed by the example of Protestant Smith. But simultaneously this proud and independent man was confident in his own Catholic thought, even when this ran a course different from his bishop's.

A few months later this anti-Semite supported the Jewish cause in the same Commons against the policies of the Bishop of Montreal and in effect against Duplessis on the Sunday observance question.

But this is to run too far ahead of the day in March 1906.

It was a pattern, to anticipate a quarter of a century, that led to his destruction by the school of Abbé Groulx on the altar of his own LE DEVOIR.

There are parallels, Abbé Groulx was not the least to notice, between Bourassa and his grandfather Louis-Joseph Papineau. One major identity was in their evolution in thinking in regard to Jews. Papineau, too, in his early days in the legislature voted against Ezekiel Hart. Both became militant friends of the Jewish people in Quebec. Both came to be disavowed by the extremists among their nationalist movement, and ended their political careers tragically.

At this moment in the parliamentary debate young Henri Bourassa, member for Labelle County, P.Q. delivered an address which proved of importance in the annals of Quebec and of the Canadian Jewish community.

The young political leader was already an important figure in Quebec nationalism and was setting forth the great lines of his long career as a legislator, philosopher, orator, mentor of a generation of young Quebecers.

At this time he was already deeply involved in the great Canadian immigration issue and the Québécois fear of its majorization by anglophone newcomers, not least by Jewish immigrants in Eastern Canada, as recorded by Pierre Anctil.

During this important debate of 1906 on the Russian massacres Bourassa said,

"In case this motion should result, as some other motions for the adjournment of debates have resulted in times past, I think this debate should not be ended without some sober thought being expressed now to clear the atmosphere of what I might call the fictitious sentiment which some have sought to develop in this country in favour of the Jews.

"I need not say that I am animated by no feeling against the Jews, any more than I suppose the hon. member for South Toronto (Mr. MacDonnell) is animated by consideration of the influence the Jewish vote may have in his constituency. I take for granted that both my hon. friend and myself are speaking our mind on this subject.

"I may say in passing that the province of Quebec was the first part of the British Empire to accord to the Jews their rights as citizens. Even at the time when my co-religionists and those of my hon. friend were denied those rights in England, the French Canadian Catholics in the province of Quebec passed a law -- and if I may speak personally, I may say that my own grandfather was the author of it -- to give the Jews civil rights in the province of Quebec, before England or any other part of the British Empire had done so.

"But if we allow ourselves, even before we have the right to rule ourselves a nation, to be drawn into debates on international questions and to take upon ourselves the tremendous responsibility of advising all nations on earth as to what they should do in regard to their internal affairs, I think we should take care to study a little the questions on which we pass resolutions. Otherwise our action might carry us very far. For instance, we might be induced to pass resolutions condemning the barbarous custom of lynching which is kept up in the United States in time of peace, and when there is no social revolution to excuse the American government for not stamping out the barbarous custom. We might also from time to time pass resolutions condemning the criminal neglect of the Turkish government to prevent the massacre of thousands of Christians in countries where England, France and some other European powers have the right to exert their influence.

"So far as Russian Jews are concerned, perhaps we might be a little careful about our expressions of sympathy. In view of the well-established fact, which has been vouched for by the most sober correspondents of British newspapers, that the Jews have been at the bottom of most of the social troubles that have arisen in Russia; that a great deal of money that has been raised by subscription in foreign countries on behalf of the Russian Jews has been as a matter of fact used in purchasing firearms and supplies for the revolutionists."

We may note that Bourassa's accusation that funds raised for the relief of Jewish victims of violence in Russia were directed to revolutionary purposes was probably based on German journalistic comments. The Montreal LA CROIX reprinted the German allegations of February 10,

1906 that anarchist clubs and Russian revolutionary committees were the eventual beneficiaries of these relief funds.

"Therefore it might be embarrassing for the British government, of which I suppose my hon. friend from Toronto is a loyal supporter, if we passed a resolution here asking the British parliament to express sympathy for people who, having taken a large share in the revolution in Russia, are now to a certain extent sufferers from that revolution. It is a well-known fact, and this has been published in the London TIMES, that the slaughters in some of the Russian cities were made by the Christians because the Jews had prepared a conspiracy to slaughter the Christians.

"Now so far as the charity of the Jewish people is concerned, I shall not go into a long historical study. I certainly sympathize with the Jews for some of the persecutions to which they have been subjected on account of their religious belief.

"But as had been very clearly stated time and again by one of the most illustrious of English writers, Mr. Goldwin Smith, the sentiments of hatred against the Jews, not only in Russia but in other countries, does not come from racial or religious feeling but from the fact that the Jew does not assimilate himself to the country in which he is living, except to that extent that will enable him to profit by the citizenship of the country in which he is living in order to enrich himself and contribute in the least possible degree to the development of that country.

"It is a well-known fact that the Jews do not become owners of property to a large extent. In Russia, especially, they have not purchased land, but have lived and enriched themselves to an enormous extent by extorting from the poor people not only their money but the blood of their life, and repeating in fact the historical example that has been illustrated over 300 years ago by the greatest of English poets.

"In days of revolution, the common people simply go and strike blindly but instinctively against the people who have persecuted them for years and years. Revolutions in England, revolutions in France, gave rise to a great deal of slaughter and abominable crime, but they were the natural result of the oppression under which the people had suffered for years and years. And when the law was weak and revolutions came, the people struck at those from whom they had suffered.

"The Russian peasants had been sucked for centuries by the Jewish usurers. It is no surprise now that they are acting terribly in their dealings with them. I think it would be most ridiculous of the parliament to adopt a resolution, inspired, I am afraid by local conditions of an electoral character, passing judgment on a problem which has been trying the spirit not only of Russian statesmen but the statesmen of many countries for years, for centuries; a problem which

consists in trying to bring the Jewish people to adapt themselves to the social conditions of the country and not merely to use those social conditions for their own benefit.

"Moreover, Sir, I think it would place this parliament in a still more ridiculous position within our own imperial borders. We have been reminded by the leader of the opposition (Mr. R.L. Borden) that some seven years ago a resolution was adopted by this parliament expressing sympathy with the British citizens who were for the time being living in the Republic of Transvaal. The pretense was then made of the suzerainty of Great Britain over the Transvaal. And parliament being surprised, as it would be surprised at this time, by an absence of the knowledge of facts, put on its records the doctrine of suzerainty of the British over the Transvaal, after that doctrine had been entirely discarded by the British government, and when it had been decided by the highest tribunal in Great Britain that the suzerainty was abandoned. Therefore, it was an interference in international matters.

"But now that the Transvaal is part of the British Empire, why not propose a resolution of sympathy with the effort being made to stamp out slavery under the name of the British crown and British sovereignty? The British people have decided by hundreds of thousands of majority that the slavery established by the Conservative government in the Transvaal should be stamped out."

Mr. Borden interjected at this point,

"Does my hon. friend not know that the expression was absolutely discountenanced and withdrawn by members of the British government in recent debates in the British parliament?"

Mr. Bourassa continued, "I know that members of the British parliament..."

Again, Mr. Borden, "...of the British government, not of the British parliament."

Mr. Bourassa conceded, "Of the British government, all right; the word is very little to me, I must say. I attach very little importance to words; it is to facts that I look, and when I see men, when I see corporations organized under British law, going to a foreign country and purchasing men for money, and having nearly the right of life and death over them for years, and having the right of using corporal punishment to force them to work so many hours a day and so many days a year, I call it slavery. And as a matter of fact, it is the process and not the word which has been condemned so strongly, and with such an unmistakable voice by the British people at the last election.

"What I was going to say when I was interrupted was that, if we had something to do with the reform of social iniquities, we should begin

within our own world first; and therefore if we wish to utter expressions of sympathy in matters of this kind, we should begin by those parts of the British Empire where, under British law, processes similar to slavery are now held one century after that magnificent movement which was started by Wilberforce for the abolition of the slave trade.

"But, Sir, I do not wish to bring on a discussion of that extent, I simply remind you of the fact to show that we are apt to be carried away by prejudices raised by petty interests to step out of our constitutional, of our national, of our social, of our political role. And that we would do far better if we want to enjoy the confidence of the British people, if we want to cooperate with the British government in the good works of social reform within our own imperial borders, we had better come down to the basis of common sense, and not bother ourselves with problems which we are not prepared to solve and of which we even do not know the basis."

RESPONDING TO BOURASSA

One parliamentarian in the House who objected to Bourassa's accusations was W.B. Northrup of East Hastings.

"I would not have risen to say a word had it not been for the insinuation of the last speaker that those who have spoken in favour of this resolution have been influenced by the fact that there was a vote in their constituency that might be favourably influenced by remarks of this kind.

"I am not aware that there is a single Jewish vote in my constituency, and I therefore rise that I might at least claim to speak with absolute freedom from any such bias as was suggested by the last speaker. At the same time, if the last speaker had read the notice of motion instead of preparing to pour out his vials of ridicule and wrath on its mover, he would have seen that we are not asking His Majesty to do anything whatever in connection with these massacres. We merely, as a body which certainly has plenary authority as far as its rights to express its opinions are concerned, express our opinion on a most lamentable state of affairs.

"I am not aware of any person the world over who is prepared to defend the murderers who in the last few months have been slaughtering the unfortunate Jews in Russia.

"It may be possible that, among the Jews there, there are some who have excited the enmity of the Russians. But I am sure if the last speaker will read the play of England's greatest poet, when he reads the gems that fall from the lips of Portia, he will hardly find that she is inspired by the same spirit that seems to actuate him this afternoon; even although it may be impossible that in the whole history of Russia there could have been a greater usurer than old Shylock himself. My hon. friend, to be consistent, would have to advocate that it would have been Portia's duty to raise a rabble to slaughter old Shylock and all his family and all other Jews, old and young, male or female, whom they could find.

"I quite agree with what has been said by the prime minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) and the leader of the opposition (Mr. R.L. Borden) that perhaps it is well to have this matter considered. But I do hope that, after due consideration is given to it, that this parliament of Canada -- which was not afraid to send representations home to the mother country at a time when, on such a subject as home rule, there was a great diversity of opinion in that country, and when, therefore, we were suggesting to the home authorities what they should do -- it might well be said that we were acting beyond our authority, perhaps impertinently.

"Surely a body that was prepared to give advice at such a time cannot be afraid to express sentiments which, I think I am safe in saying, are the sentiments of every man, woman and child in Canada except the last speaker."

His motion was agreed to, and the debate adjourned.

Bourassa's intervention in the Commons shocked Canadian Jews. The JEWISH TIMES wrote on March 23, 1906,

"A singular thing about the debate is that Mr. Bourassa's was the only voice raised in excuse for atrocities which have sent a shudder of horror throughout the civilized world.

"His speech was an echo of the slanders and falsehoods by which the police and officials of Russia have attempted to justify the massacres, and showed that he had largely taken his inspiration in other respects from the anti-Semitic vaporings of Goldwin Smith. With all sources for correct information open to him it is surprising that one who assumes to assert his leadership among his countrymen should display so much ignorance. He also displayed lamentable want of that human sympathy with which sufferers from persecution, outrage and murder are regarded by all generous and kindly people. He presumed to speak for his French Canadian fellow countrymen, but we cannot believe that any number of them entertained the sentiments he expressed. We prefer to accept Sir Wilfrid Laurier as a better and truer exponent of French Canadian feeling concerning the unspeakable horrors perpetrated against the Jews in Russia.

"We are grateful to Mr. MacDonnell for moving the resolution which, though it may never go any farther, served sufficiently to express the sentiments of the Canadian House of Commons in the debate it caused and in which condemnation of the atrocities was expressed along with sympathy for the sufferers."

The JEWISH TIMES reported that the Disraeli Club of politically-minded young Jews convened a public meeting of protest against the address of Henri Bourassa, and forceful speeches responded to his libel.

"The press gave but brief and not quite accurate reports while Bourassa's speech was published in extenso. It is almost certain that the ordinary reader will retain the attack on the Jews and the defence will leave but a very mild effect.

"The reader may not find this of particular interest, if he is familiar with the fate of our people among the nations of the world. But to satisfy those who seek out the unique and the novel we would note that 'this incident' is indeed something that is new. An anti-Semitic speech in the full sense of the term has not hitherto been heard in the Canadian parliament, and it is remarkable that there was not one among the more than two hundred députés who could, or who

considered it necessary, to respond to such clear untruths. This is indeed worthy of note in the most respected of records.

"Another meeting on this subject is being convened for March 25."
(JEWISH TIMES, Apr. 5, 1906)

In Toronto Rabbi S. Jacobs responded to Bourassa in the course of his Sabbath sermon. As reported by the JEWISH TIMES on May 18, 1908,

"The statements of the member for Labelle did not contain one grain of truth. The Jew had no more to do with and was no more responsible for the present disturbed state of Russia than the spleenful, bombastic methods of the member for Labelle have affected the eruption of Vesuvius...

"The Rabbi stated that the troubles which threatened the Government of Russia were due to the sins of the aristocracy and the plutocracy. The funds being raised to help victims of the present atrocities were being distributed through sources which commanded the respect even of the Czar and his Government. The statement that the Jews had enriched themselves by oppression and usury was an ignorant malicious and false statement. He quoted an authority to the effect that Jews in Russia worked from fifteen to twenty hours a day, living in a state of semi-starvation, while only between ten and fifteen thousand Jews in that country possessed any certain means of existence.

"The charge was not true that the Jews did not assimilate in the country in which they lived or that they made an unworthy use of their citizenship. Loyalty to country was more than a civic duty with the Jew; it was a religious duty, continued Rabbi Jacobs. He said that the member for Labelle had only to open his eyes to see how well Jews were acquitting themselves in the duties of citizenship. Men of Jewish race and creed were filling responsible positions in almost every field of effort.

"The truth of the matter is, said the Rabbi, the aspersions cast upon our race by the member for Labelle are the usual stock-in-trade, anti-Semitic utterances, which betray the workings of a mind warped by prejudice and envenomed by race hatred of the Jew. It was to be deplored that a member of Parliament should make statements devoid of truth, and give the color of justification to such deeds of cruelty and violence as had been perpetrated in Russia. The speaker concluded that the anti-Semitic utterances could not be talked down, nor written down, nor preached down, but they could be lived down. Each life should be a refutation of such charges."

As Montreal scholar Samuel Talpis wrote in the New York Hebrew HALEOM on the shocking incident in the Canadian House of Commons,

"We are indeed aware that the Hamans have not ceased with their customary complaints that 'there is one people which will not assimilate,' etc. But that a man can stand, one of the leaders of the French

nation here, and speak so coarsely, and that not one of the elected members of the Commons, not even one man, should arise to respond to this foolish man -- this is far beyond what had ever entered our mind, far more than we could ever have imagined; that at this time, the Jew should be envisaged in the image of Shylock, and that Goldwin Smith should be the only authority for the members of parliament in regard to Jews.

"We can only regret that Morrison Peters and hundreds of others who have examined the Jewish condition have not attained the same recognition of the readers of English as has this lone persecutor of Jewry who has for nearly fifty years been attacking our people.

"Goldwin Smith's writings on a variety of social questions have been a source of enlightenment for English literature in Canada, and to some extent in all English countries. We have never lacked such maligners, and we shall always have them."

Talpis (or Talpiot) was for many years one of the intellectual members of the Montreal Jewish immigrant society. He was the Canadian correspondent of such New York periodicals as the daily Yiddish TAGEBLATT, and contributor to the ADLER.

In 1940 he published a Yiddish volume GEKLIBENE SHRIFTEN, a collection of essays on Jewish themes, with a preface by Isaac Zvi Hershel Wolofsky and an introduction by Rabbi H. Abramowitz. (Montreal, KENER ADLER, 303 p.)

The Jewish community long remembered Bourassa's hospitality at a crucial time in Jewish world history, particularly as it stood in such sharp contrast with the warm hospitality of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As the JEWISH TIMES wrote election time,

"We supported the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the splendid majority by which it has been sustained at the polls proves that we were in accord with the majority throughout the Dominion. In all such contests the elements of discontent naturally side with the Opposition, while the contented as naturally support the powers that be.

"We Jews had no cause for discontent with the Liberal party. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues have on proper occasions shown their friendship for us, and it would be ungrateful were we not to respond to their good feeling.

"More particularly are we pleased with the result because of the strong rebuke administered by the electors in this province of Quebec to the anti-Semite Castor Conservative alliance, of which Mr. Henri Bourassa constituted himself the spokesman. In all cases and constituencies where that eloquent player on the racial and religious prejudices of his compatriots interfered his advice was rejected and his efforts unavailing.

"Our French Canadian fellow-citizens deserve our respectful congratulations on having rebuked, by an overwhelming vote, a form of demagoguery than which nothing could be more calculated to stir up racial and religious strife in a country where no class or section of the people has cause for grievance or complaint." (Oct. 30, 1908)

An interesting full page advertisement in the CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES featured with unusual boldness the contrast between Bourassa and Laurier in the federal election.

"Read this and see whom you can trust: Bourassa or Laurier. "The Unholy Alliance and Anti-Semitism."

"Lest the Jews of this country should have forgotten what occurred in the Ottawa House of Commons in March, 1906, when expressions of sympathy for our brethren in Russia shortly after the Kishinev massacres were made by members in the House with one solitary exception, and that, the utterance of Mr. Henri Bourassa, the following report which appeared in an issue of THE JEWISH TIMES at that time, will be of interest."

After citing Laurier and Bourassa's addresses on the Russian pogroms, the advertisement continued,

"The publication of the above is appropriate at this moment on account of the unholy alliance between the Conservatives and Nationalists, of which Mr. Bourassa is the staunch leader. The Conservative press neither deny nor justify the alliance, excepting that any measures, acts or alliances that will sweep Sir Wilfrid from office is just and fair. We Jews of this Dominion, whilst voting as our conscience dictates, cannot however lose sight of the fact that should, by any chance, the Conservatives come into power, Mr. Bourassa, who did not hesitate in 1906, and on many occasions since, to show venom and prejudice against our people, will have an opportunity of putting his preaching into practice if, for instance, he is called by Mr. Borden to take charge of the portfolio of the Interior, which department controls immigration into this country."

ECHOES OF BOURASSA

Bourassa's anti-Semitic explosion was to echo long and far. His speech was reprinted in LA CROIX of March 24 and on 31, 1906. LA VERITE, edited by Omer Héroux, son-in-law of its founder Tardivel, devoted a full page to Jean-Pierre Sauvageau's analysis of Bourassa's intervention. (Feb. 23, 1907)

"The motion of Mr. MacDonnell affirms with feline sweetness that no one approves these barbarous killings. He is right. Everyone disavows them: Catholics and Protestants, French Canadians and Anglo-Saxons.

"Mr. Macdonell admires the Jewish race. Hand on his heart Mr. MacDonnell exaggerates the generosity of the sons of Israel, as he speaks composed, with a trembling voice of the generosity of the sons of Israel. History contradicts his words.

"The popular explosions of which Jews at all times have been victims are easily explained. Christian nations losing hope of justice being done, have forced the implacable usurers to disgorge what they have taken; in a word, they have defended themselves against the abominable teachings of the Talmud whose hellish iniquities Veillot and Drumont have analyzed.

"Laurier and Borden were careful not to commit themselves on the heart of the issue. The former evades the issue by refusing to intervene in the domestic affairs of a foreign country. The latter is afraid he may be compromised and reserves judgment. He promises to declare himself later, hoping the matter will not arise. Bourassa faces the problem and attacks the false pity. He opposes the motion. If he had sought to preserve his chances of reaching the cabinet he would have remained reticent. But he does not care about that, and prefers the truth.

"His conduct is cleverer than appears... Since a mild philanthropy begins to deal with the fate of those who have provoked terrible reprisals, he will follow this case to its end. If they so wish, he will deal with the Jewish question, the troubling, ineluctible question which torments those who follow closely the intervention of providence in the lives of people."

He recalled that it is to Papineau that the Jews owe their civil and political emancipation... Please God they prove grateful and that the province of Quebec not be the first to regret it.

"In the middle ages the Jews were kept in restraint. It is possible, even probable, that there were abuses. But it has been proven

historically that the Jews abused their privileges; who can blame the kings for coming to the defence of the people?

"In Rome there appear to have been violent reactions against them. The popes granted them reasonable liberty but they took preventive means to keep the Jews from harming themselves and exploiting Christians...

"When the bank will be under the control of cosmopolitan Jewry, when the international press will become its humble servant, when the punishment of a Dreyfus -- guilty or innocent -- will raise universal clamour while outlawed Catholics are persecuted amid general silence, when freemasonry will become an infernal machine at the service of the Jew, when the noble land of our ancestors will deserve to be called Jewish France -- will oppressed freethinkers and nationalists dream of edicting laws inspired by medieval legislation?...

"These Russian Jews whom Mr. MacDonnell pities, these creators of disorder use monies raised for their relief to foment revolution.

"A Montreal Jew has dared to say that the member from Labelle only represented the wolves! Those who cleared our land are bears! O, the urbanity of the ghettos!"

"As if Bourassa had not simply sounded the alarm to make it clear that in Russia, as in other countries, at all times the animosity and hatred of the Jew does not arise from religious or national prejudice but because they do not assimilate into the population in whose midst they live. Only the Jews have never, for twenty centuries -- and how many more before Christ? -- identified with any other nation.

"When will Mr. MacDonnell state in their own interests his wish that they cease to be a band all unto themselves? The Normans have become English; why do the Hebrews dream of enslaving the peoples who welcome them?

"Mr. Bourassa has spoken vengeful words which it were well to ponder. An exceptional problem will not meet a reasonable solution as long as we insist stubbornly not to see it from a special point of view. In any case it is basically a case of legitimate self-defence...

"Bourassa did not initiate the debate, but since a philanthropic power seems to become concerned with the fate of men who have provoked by their errors some terrible reprisals, he would go to the end and treat the matter fully. This being their wish, he would approach the troublesome, ineluctable, eternal Jewish question which torments those who contemplate the acts of Providence in the life of peoples.

"This address represents Mr. Bourassa's oratorical temperament. Clearly he excels at setting forth the facts of a question in terms both brief and substantial. As a man of reason, he forced back his adversaries. As a practical man he proposes effective solutions. As a

man of courage in the face of the entire parliament he comes straight to the point. Mr. Bourassa has the rare talent of stating positions to which there is no response."

The outburst by the revered Bourassa encouraged the anti-Semites no end.

As late as December 1917 Bourassa was reported by ACTION CATHOLIQUE as saying, during the federal campaign, that some Jews in Russia had been exploiting the lower classes for centuries and deserved punishment for their crime. (Dec. 7, 1910)

When visiting Paris, Omer Héroux, editor of ACTION SOCIALE, told the journalist of the LIBRE PAROLE about it.

"I do not believe that any other race is as well organized as the Jews. So, during the disorders in Russia, they succeeded in organizing protest meetings and Mr. Laurier himself, our prime minister, felt it appropriate publicly to express his sympathy for the Jewish victims.

"A member from Toronto, Mr. MacDonnell, who has many Jews in his constituency, even asked the Canadian House of Commons to demonstrate its sympathy for the Jews publicly. But I believe that his plan failed. A French Canadian member, Mr. Henri Bourassa, injected words in the debate which were widely heard throughout the country.

"He invited his colleagues to inquire on the true conditions before signing such a document; whether the victims were all on one side and whether the Jews had not themselves provoked reprisals.

"This simple speech stirred a veritable tempest among the Jews. One quite well known Jew told a friend of mine, a doctor, 'If Bourassa ever stands in Montreal we would rather spend a million than let him win.'" (D. Rainville in Paris LA LIBRE PAROLE, Jan. 8, 1909; reprinted in Quebec LA VERITE, Jan. 30, 1909)

Bourassa's anti-Semitic speech long served the Jew haters of Quebec. In the fall of 1909 the son of J.-P. Tardivel wrote about it in LA VERITE which he inherited upon his father's death in 1905.

"When the Jews of St-Laurent constituency of Montreal read in the press that Mr. Bourassa might be a candidate in the coming municipal election they immediately called a protest meeting.

"Our Canadian Jews have not yet digested the vigorous address which Mr. Bourassa delivered in Ottawa on the Jewish question during the troubles in Russia. It is to be expected that they will always resent him, to say the least. In fact, Mr. Bourassa dealt with this burning question rather from the historical aspect than from the viewpoint of racial sentiment.

"A certain Mr. Emmanuel Levitt declared in a speech that Montreal Jews numbered 30,000, and that they should have a representative in City Hall.

"In the meantime they declared themselves as a group opposed to his candidacy in that ward.

"We can bet that these Jews are disposed to support the candidacy of Mr. Weir, and even more so that of Langlois." (Sept. 18, 1909)

(The Hon. Mr. Weir and G. Langlois, MLA, had spoken favourably of Montreal's Jewish citizenry.)

VERITE recalled the Bourassa diatribe in an item headed "Ames juives" in which he alluded to the anti-Semitic "magnificent novel by Abbé Caubé which has analysed the Jewish soul in so striking a manner." The work of this French priest was so gross that it drew the official disapproval of his ecclesiastical superiors.

On December 1, 1909 ETINCELLE of Ottawa carried an article on "The Jews of Canada" in which Pratt refers back to Papineau's act in emancipating the Jews civilly and politically. Since then the Jews had been at work turning Canada into another "France juive", an allusion to Edouard Drumont.

In Ottawa, Mr. S. Pratt recalled in the ETINCELLE Bourassa's words about "Jews becoming citizens only to take utmost advantage and to become rich, while contributing the least to the progress of the nation. It is perfectly well-known that they do not particularly seek out large properties to acquire but amass colossal fortunes by extorting money from poor workers."

Pratt concluded that the Jewish "rapacious, avaricious, larcenous race is transforming Canada into a second Jewish France, with its citizenry become enslaved by freethinkers and rationalists dedicated to enacting laws dictated by the Jews." (Reprinted in LA VERITE of Dec. 4, 1909)

The anti-Jewish press continued to watch with approval Russia's anti-Jewish massacres to the day when their respected Russia fell in ashes.

The approval of these Quebecers was fortified because they saw in the Slavic land what they perceived as the classic Catholic legislation in regard to Jews.

VERITE's 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 legislations 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." (VERITE, 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." (VERITE, July 10, 1910)

ON THE SIDE OF THE JEWS

In the same year of 1906 Bourassa played an important role in a parliamentary case involving the Canadian Jewish community -- on the Jewish side.

At issue was the matter of Sunday observance which, at that time, fell under federal jurisdiction. The Ottawa parliament had to regulate industry and trade -- indeed, life style -- in regard to observance of the Sabbath, the Lord's Day as it was known.

For observant Jews who could not work on Saturdays legislation forbidding work on Sunday meant the serious handicap of a five-day work week. Protestants organized their majority across the country for "Christian" legislation forbidding the Sunday work, in a campaign not devoid of anti-Semitic tones. Many Catholics, including high clergy, joined the Protestants.

But Henri Bourassa, backed by A. Lavergne, intensely Catholic and nationalistic, took another stand. He reminded his Quebec compatriots, who all too often desecrated the Lord's Day themselves, that by local tradition Catholics in rural areas made Sunday their traditional social and trading day; that the Protestant campaign was an attack on the folk traditions of the people. This not from love of Jews.

The parliamentary debate became a bitter conflict between the Jewish and the anglophone Protestant group which was itself tainted with hostility towards French Catholic Quebec. The Jews had no representation in parliament and the Protestant majority was overwhelming. Bourassa did not even have the entire Catholic contingent in the Commons with him.

But following the acrimonious debate in the Commons and after consulting Jewish spokesmen, Bourassa was able to secure an ingenious arrangement for Quebec whereby any provincial law to the contrary which was in effect at the time of the passage of the federal legislation would nevertheless remain binding. The provincial legislature hurriedly passed a law protecting Jewish observers of the Sabbath, and Montreal Jews were thus privileged. Only Quebec permitted Jewish men under certain conditions to work on Sundays, although the petition for such privileges had come from an all-Canadian delegation on behalf of Ontario as well as Quebec Jews. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 14)

Even as Bourassa fought his Quebec battle in Ottawa against the Ontario anglophones and such leading Quebecers as the men of the hierarchy, he met with little support from the spokesmen for radical nationalism. Certainly Omer Héroux showed little enthusiasm for the

Quebec clauses in the act which Bourassa won so valiantly. (LA VERITE, Feb. 23, 1907)

Remarkably, this effort of Bourassa and Armand Lavergne to defend the distinct character of Quebec society had no repercussion in the nationalist movement. It is seldom referred to in Bourassa biographies, and Jews who availed themselves of the law which Bourassa initiated were often prosecuted in the courts.

"The anti-Semitic press of Quebec did not follow the reasoning of Henri Bourassa in his campaign in the federal parliament against obligatory Sunday observance of the Ontario pattern, quite aside from the Jewish interest in the question. (Omer Héroux, in LA VERITE, July 21, 1906)

In spite of this law on the level of the Recorder Court Jews often found themselves held up for minor infractions. Bourassa never succeeded in explaining his principle to his fellow Quebecers. Increasingly, as the Bourassa-tragedy of his distancing from more extremist and less sophisticated wings of his own nationalistic movement developed, the unique Quebec Sunday observances were seen as a privilege for Jews rather than as a measure for the continuity of the provincial life style. By the mid 1930's the Shabbos issue, the harried Jewish housewife and her pre-festival kitchen arrangements became the theme of city council and bench debates. The episcopal Catholic SEMAINE RELIGIEUSE did nothing to cool the agitation with their Liges for Sunday observance, Protestant style. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 8)

Recorder Dupuis discharged Jewish bakers brought before him on charges of delivering bread on Sunday on the ground that, when the law was passed there had been no question of preventing Jewish bakers from doing so; he stated this having been a member of parliament at the time.

L'ETINCELLE, the weekly issued by the National Labor Unions at Quebec protested that this gave Jews, often not even naturalized, rights not enjoyed by Canadians. "Is it by chance that Jews have enough influence in our government to secure laws granting them exemption? It is up to Canadians to see it." (cited in ACTION SOCIALE, Jan. 27, 1910)

Jules Romain found a manifestation of the Jewish peril in some forty Jewish grocers who were fined by Recorder Semple for keeping their stores open. (Sept. 13, 1913)

Jewish plumbers, Sabbath observers, were arrested for working on Sunday, in the Talmud Torah in December 1910. In due course the recorder liberated them, recalling that the Bible permits Jews to labour six days in the week and to rest on the seventh.

After they were released the police captains arrested the workmen and brought them before Recorder Dupuis who asked the officers,

"Why do you always bring Jewish men before me, persons who are permitted to work on Sundays, being observers of the Sabbath? Why do you never arrest Catholics and Protestants who work both Saturdays and Sundays? This is a great injustice on your part." (ADLER, Dec. 20, 1910)

A Montrealer wrote to LE BIEN PUBLIQUE of Trois Rivières to attack Jews for working on Sunday. The editor sought to avoid legal action and printed only an excerpt.

"Is it necessary to provoke anti-Jewish disorders and anti-Semitic incidents in order to convince the officials of the city to stop the desecration of the Sunday? If such are necessary there are enough young people in all parts of the city who want nothing better to do. I would propose to the Jeunesse catholique to talk less and to act more vigorously on this matter."

The provincial government was considering changes in the Sunday Observance law early in 1911, and a delegation from the Citizens League met with the premier at some length on February 2, to indicate the harm changes in the regulations would imply for observers of the Sabbath. Sir Lomer Gouin was concerned with Christian employees in Jewish-owned factories. (ADLER, Feb. 3, 1911)

"Our good Christian 'friends' do not rest," wrote B.G.Sack, "but watch our movement day and night in our quarters, to ensure that we eat in due time and, above all, that we rest in time."

"Three years ago the recorder ruled that Jewish bakers must be left in peace on Sundays if they observe their Sabbath and that the guardians of order may not arrest those who deliver bread to Jewish customers on Sundays. He silenced the Christian hypocrites with the power of law in their hands who would force Jews to refrain from work two days each week. But this was too much for men who would wrap indecency with sanctity as they sought to impose a measure of Christianity upon the Jews. For if they were truly concerned with the divine injunction of a weekly day of rest they would not disturb those who observe a Sabbath."

"Now these religious humanitarians have reappeared armed with weapons of Christian militancy in one hand and of anti-Semitic murderers in the other. As we see them with their hate-filled pictures it seems to us that we have before us the skull bashers of Kishinev."

During the last months of agitation which led to the abrogation of the clause, on January 26, 1934, André Laurendeau wrote to H.M. Caiserman,

"In the course of our meeting Politiciens et Juifs in 1933 we reproached our lawmakers for passing a law which permits you to trade on Sundays. Does this anger you? Do you forget that we are in our own country and at least apparently masters of our legislation and of our destiny?"

The arrangement thus instituted in 1907 remained in effect for thirty years until the anti-Semitic wave of the Hitlerite years toppled the Taschereau Liberal government and replaced it with the new Duplessis party in the provincial capital. This government abrogated the 1907 legislation. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 8)

BOURASSA IN ASSEMBLY

In 1907 Bourassa left the federal legislature to enter the provincial assembly in 1908 where he remained until 1912.

We hear Bourassa again in the provincial legislature at the end of March 1909 in one of his meaner moments.

The assembly had approved its long-standing regular subsidies of \$187 to the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society and \$300 to the Baron de Hirsch Institute and Hebrew Benevolent Society of Montreal, formerly the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, together with a long list of québécois philanthropies in the province. The legislature had been approving its grant annually for over a decade to the charity fund of the Baron de Hirsch Institute. This agency was, they said now, importing immigrants and thus put it beyond the pale of Quebec generosity.

Bourassa and Armand Lavergne felt that the sum of \$70 allowed at the same time to the Petites Soeurs des Pauvres was insufficient. They argued their case by comparing this grant invidiously with the grant to the Baron de Hirsch Institute. This singling out of the Jewish charity was a procedure rarely resorted to by politicians even of lesser stature than Bourassa's.

The CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES commented bitterly,

"It is surprising to note the regularity with which some of our public men will avail themselves of every opportunity of showing their animosity towards Jews and anything Jewish. One would, however, imagine that even if the Jew, in their eyes, is 'non persona grata,' at least his philanthropic institutions are imbued with the highest motives, and thus deserving of commendable recognition.

"The Baron de Hirsch Institute, coming under the category of a charitable institution, has for many years received from the Provincial Government an annual grant, the whole sum never amounting to more than a few hundred dollars.

"At Friday's session of the House the matter of expenditure came up for discussion, and in it was included the usual grants to the institutions in question, including that of the Baron de Hirsch. No exception was taken to any of these save that of the premier one of the Jews, when Messrs. Bourassa and Lavergne, from force of habit, true to their colours, made objection to this grant on the ground that our Institute imported immigrants, which fact debarred it from such benefits.

"The attitude of Bourassa and Lavergne in opposing the annual grant to the Baron de Hirsch Institute is in line with the general conduct of the Nationalists who take the ground that the Province of Quebec is for French Canadians only. Mr. Bourassa is simply continuing his work begun in Ottawa, when two or three years ago he violently attacked the Jewish element in this country, in a speech when Mr. Claude MacDonnell, of Toronto, proposed a resolution of sympathy with the Jewish people in connection with the Odessa riots.

"Sir Lomer Gouin in the House last week said that 'he thanked God that he was not a Castor, and hoped that he would never be one, that this country was for Canadian people generally, and not particularly for Roman Catholics or French Canadians.

"Needless to say the Government voted down Bourassa and Lavergne's amendment, and the item for the Baron de Hirsch Institute passed in the regular way.

"It might also be remarked that Mr. Bourassa is in no way improving upon the tradition of his great ancestor, Louis-Joseph Papineau, to whom the Jews of Canada owe their emancipation, for it was in 1830 that Papineau introduced a measure in the House, granting the fullest measure of religious liberty to Jews. Bourassa may consider that he is progressing. If he is, it is like the lobster, backwards from the twentieth century through the nineteenth and into the eighteenth century." (March 20, 1909)

A few weeks later we find Bourassa again in a posture that does not cohere with his dignity and honesty.

Henri Bourassa was participating in the debate on the school bill on March 31. (ACTION SOCIALE, Apr. 21, 1909) He opposed the bill but regretted that our laws put Jewish children in a sad ("pénible") situation. This speech was not reported at the time in either LE SOLEIL or ACTION and was mentioned only by Héroux some weeks later. (ACTION, "Un Villain tour," Apr. 24, 1909)

There was no provincial HANSARD at this time, and the nearest to a record of the Quebec legislature is what we find in the press reports, not least in the columns of the ACTION SOCIALE. But the press reporters, for whatever reason, ignored these comments, even though they habitually reported Bourassa's remarks at some length.

LE SOLEIL of April 20, 1909 called upon Héroux to publish in ACTION "the speech which Bourassa made several days ago on the Jewish question."

ACTION SOCIALE pleaded ignorance of any such text by Bourassa and offered to print any such speech by Bourassa which LE SOLEIL could submit. (Apr. 21 and 24, 1909)

Bourassa himself was silent.

LE SOLEIL continued to press its demand, "In the course of the school debate on March 31, Mr. Bourassa spoke of the regrettable situation in which our education laws put Jewish children. But ACTION SOCIALE did not breathe a word about the statements of its fetish. Why?" LE SOLEIL asked.

To which Héroux replied again on April 24, 1909. An examination of the press reports made no reference to any comments by Bourassa.

In 1911 M.P. Nerwich, the new editor of the CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, reacted to a similar "discussion on the estimates in the Quebec Legislature, exception was taken by one of our anti-Semitic friends to the grant of \$300 to the Baron de Hirsch Institute. The Jews, said this worthy son of Canada, were a rich people, and if there were any poor Jews they would soon become rich. The Institution, he considered, did not need charity.

"Fortunately, his was but a voice in the wilderness. He found but little support, and on the following evening when figures were produced that the Institute's expenditure exceeded its revenue by a large sum and that 864 cases had been treated free, the grant was adopted. Another member, at the same sitting, opposed a grant to a certain Catholic institution, but this, likewise met with no success. It is thus seen that whilst there are numerous anti-Semites who represent us in Quebec, there exists little love between other denominations in the Province.

"This state of affairs is naturally to be regretted, but the remedy does not lie in our hands. The Jews have, at all times and in all places, desired to live amicably with their fellow-citizens, but no opportunity has ever been given them to assist in the levelling of all distinctions. On the school board we are not given a representative, and in the Legislature and municipal council we do not make strong efforts to be represented. To a great extent, we are entirely to blame for this. If our leading men would once and for all make up their minds to demand our rights and seek the suffrages of the electors, success would ultimately be our reward." (Feb. 2, 1911)

THREATENING TIMES

The prospects of Canadian Jewry during the year of the founding of the DEVOIR by Henri Bourassa seemed pessimistic in the view of journalists of the Montreal ADLER as they surveyed existing attitudes between Quebec groups. "These relations had never been so regrettable in the province; anti-Semitism has assumed all possible and impossible forms. We are seeing the dark spirit of centuries-old prejudice which we had believed for decades to be dead and mouldering. The falsehoods about the Talmud current in this province are not even paralleled in Russia or Roumania. Even official personalities have taken part in public demonstrations against Jews which were endorsed by our municipal authorities." (ADLER, Jan. 9, 1911)

"Every level of French Canadian society has been contaminated with anti-Semitism, from its highest aristocracy to the lowest ignorant masses. All share the image of the Jew, drawn in darkest tints; the most terrible tales are told and believed to demonstrate how terrifying and vile Jews are. No one questions these statements." (Ibid., Jan. 23, 1911)

At this time LA VERITE proposed a boycott of Jews. "Pogroms on one hand and boycott on the other; here is Quebec anti-Semitism in its full image.

"Of course, an anti-Semitic attack on a Jewish man cannot achieve the end sought by the anti-Semites, for we live in a land where we are protected by law in our person and property. But a boycott can very quickly attain their objective. LA VERITE's call to a pogrom presents the full image of Quebec anti-Semitism," noted B.G. Sack. (Ibid.)

A Montreal citizen Elzéar Boulay was shocked to read the anti-Semitic material which was appearing in the French language press, especially in LA VERITE and LA CROIX, and warned the Yiddish daily newspaper of the dangers to which the Jewish citizens were exposed. (Ibid., Nov. 13 and 27, 1910 and March 26, 1911)

Boulay explained to the readers of the Yiddish ADLER, in the translation of B.G. Sack, why he, "as a French Canadian born to Catholic parents, is conducting a public campaign in defence of Jews and is condemning the fanatic anti-Semites, most of them belonging to my race and to the faith into which I was educated.

"I write frequently in the ADLER because it respects freedom and because it permits me to express my feelings and my thinking, as French Canadian newspapers never do. Most of them are subject to the strict censorship of Catholic priests. A Frenchman in Canada must resort to the local English press or, better still, to the American press

or the journals of France, which are more hospitable to him than those of his own land.

"If we would wish to address ourselves openly on the Jewish question under such conditions to the Jews we would need to go to them literally from door to door.

"The only French paper in the province which is not partisan in regard to Jews is the Montreal weekly, LE PAYS. As to the others, as long as you praise the church and its representatives, their columns are free to you. But when you raise your voice in defence of the Jews you will be crudely suppressed.

"I defend the Jews because they, like myself, have suffered injustice, were forced to leave their home, are despised, persecuted, driven and humiliated because their beliefs are different and they think differently. I consider it my duty to defend all who suffer injustice, whatever their race or religion.

"When I was living in Quebec, an observant Catholic, I saw a gang of fanatics, wild with anger, attack several women of the Salvation Army, driving them from the streets in the name of Christ and His faith, as I later saw Jews persecuted in the name of the same Saviour.

"At the time I was deeply devoted to the Catholic faith, but fortunately my humanity had not been all crushed. My blood seethed within me and I concluded that a church that can so influence its adherents and which can shelter such fanatic gangs is not the religion of love but of heartlessness and tyranny.

"Since then I have been studying the problems that arise from racial and national differentiations. I have come to believe that mankind must strive to remove barriers between people and must work for the equal common good. I have studied and have been moved by the Jewish past, by its tragedy, martyrdom, by its loneliness. I seek to defend them because I am a French Canadian.

"This has cost me much, and has estranged me from many. But I have not lost morally but rather gained, as I worked for the good common to Jews and to French in their mutual respect." ("Jews and French," in ADLER, Nov. 7, 1911)

Boulay found it "shocking that the innocent Chinese in Montreal, too, are exposed to attacks by rock-throwing street gangs. They find it necessary to barricade themselves in their homes for their protection -- this in a city which claims to be the most civilized and Christian in the world, with a church on every corner.

"Not all French Canadians are anti-Semites; many are anxious to extend the hand of friendship in the defence of your justified claims. But you are doubtless aware to what such courageous French Canadians are exposed. They are labelled traitors.

"But we shall not break our pens; we shall continue to defend truth and the freedom which I claim for your brethren, and for all who appreciate the importance of the issue."

Boulay considered the justice system of Quebec very defective, with the police often prosecuting the victims of street violence. (Ibid., Dec. 14, 1911)

In this criticism Boulay was supported by B.G. Sack who wrote on "Liberty in Quebec" on December 19, 1911, when an association for free speech was being organized in the province in the face of suppression by the church. The Yiddish journalist indicated that this effort demonstrated the absence of enlightenment and freedom of speech in Quebec as a result of the influence of the church and of its spokesmen in this region now backward by a century.

As Rumilly reminds us, the church had become alarmed at the growing popularity of the theatre. In Montreal Mgr. Bruchési asked the press to deny them space. When the great Jewish actress of the French language, "the divine Sarah" Bernhardt, came to French Canada he issued an official warning.

Sarah Bernhardt incorporated the classic phenomenon of the liberated artist who was opposed by traditional morality. Her several visits to Quebec never failed to evoke attacks from the church, echoed in the conservative press but ignored by the lovers of art and of the theatre.

As early as 1880 the phrase "worthy Jewess" entered the vociferous debate (Ode by Frechette, LA MINERVE, Dec. 30, 1880)

In 1891 LA VERITE wrote that "The Jewish actress Sarah Bernhardt had just toured Canada. We regret to report that too many French Canadians, who had forgotten the demands of Christian dignity and simple propriety had come to see this woman who, if the worldly stupidity had not named 'Artist', would be qualified with quite another name which modesty forbids us to write."

Sack recalled that only a few years ago Sarah Bernhardt was stoned on the streets of Quebec, and that in Montreal her managers were forced to alter her repertoire to meet with the clergymen's definition of art.

Boulay asked, "Where outside Quebec are school buildings barred to civic health inspectors because these inspectors work under the direction of a freemason-doctor? It is not to be expected that the association for free speech will easily alter a condition welded into the life system of the province.

"To speak of the education in Quebec is to reveal it as the source of its darkness, the great shame of its public life.

"Whoever proposes the establishment of a public library arouses the militant ignorant in our society, and our city fathers feel obliged to reject such plans; this at a time when small American cities have such collections. There is room for saloons but no space for centres of enlightenment and intelligence. It is no wonder that Quebec is the object of scorn throughout the civilized world. A third of the illiterate in Canada reside in Quebec.

"Patriots call for honour to Quebec, but the province deserves less honour for being the most backward in the country. Where are the observatories, the botanical and the zoological gardens that a city like Montreal needs. A professor at McGill pointed out the city does not have a tradition of setting up monuments for its scholars and thinkers.

"Only a handful dare raise their voice against such a condition.

"Where else are newspapers initiated on the wish of the church and suspended when bishops are displeased at their contents?"

Boulay had prepared a pamphlet in response to the anti-Semites which he offered as a token of his friendship for any Jewish group which may wish to publish it.

Boulay repeatedly urged the Quebec Jewish community to follow the model of French Jewry and to combat the anti-Semitic influence of Action française. The least the Jews of Montreal could do would be to distribute pamphlets and books to respond to the Canadian anti-Jewish accusations.

"The section of the community that is better off may not suffer as much from the anti-Jewish agitators, but that is not sufficient reason for leaving the less privileged without protection from the Jew-baiters. For is it not true that the Jewish workers and their wives suffer most from the poison arrows of the insane anti-Semites? If there is a section of the community that most deserves and needs protection, it is the poor, the weak and the helpless.

"I know that I bring material ruin upon myself when I seek to interest my fellow citizens in my principles of justice and equality, in a humane labour to which I devote my life.

"I would convene representatives of various races and faiths to disseminate friendship among them for the triumph of these ideas. I would invite Jewish citizens who understand French to join the Alpha Omega Union in an exchange of ideas." (ADLER, Oct. 22, 1911)

Although he offered the community his services without recompense, and although the daily Yiddish ADLER gratefully published his lengthy articles, there is no evidence that any sector of Montreal Jewry followed up any of his suggestions.

Boulay's documentation spread such near-panic in the Montreal community that the Yiddish daily felt called upon on several occasions to tell its readers: in case of need "the English Canadian military would not defend the Catholic fomenters of pogroms but would shoot at them." (ADLER, Nov. 15, 1910)

The New York MORGEN JOURNAL noted Boulay's reports and agreed that fear is out of place in a New World society where equality reigns, where there is freedom of the press, a sound government and good police administration. (Reprinted in ADLER, Nov. 20, 1910)

Boulay ascribed the backward state of Quebec education to the conservative forces regnant in the province which have brought about the highest rate of illiteracy in Canada and have prevented the erection of a library worthy of the metropolis. The efforts of Godfroy Langlois and of his LE PAYS were bound to fail, he wrote in November 1911.

Boulay extended his interest in the Jewish cause beyond Quebec anti-Semitism to other Hebraic concerns such as the fate of Jews in Russia, the imposition of Christian religious instruction upon Jewish pupils in Protestant schools. (ADLER, Nov. 29, 1911) He saw this teaching of Christianity to Jewish children in the confessional schools as a reactionary act by Protestant anti-Semites, which can end only by the abolition of the religious division of the Quebec school structure. (Ibid., Nov. 23, 1911)

One of his warmest expressions of friendship appeared in the ADLER of November 28, 1911 in the form of a sketch, "A Jewish Settlement" on the new community of Rossland.

His name appeared on a list of the mourners for a prominent Montreal freemason.

VIOLENCE

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.

As we consider the violence to which Jews were subject early in the century it is important to note the social setting in which it took place.

For the first time in Canadian history we find Jewish residents in a social geography which is proletarian and more open to random violence than more favoured settings. Montreal Jews at this time are not all middle or upper middle-class, and it would be helpful to know the incidence of the same types of attacks on other residents of the same areas and on others of the same equally less protected citizens. It would also be helpful, if the information were available, to what extent other immigrants suffered the same social plague.

On the obverse side, we need to note the historical background of these recipients of attack and of the associations in their mind created by these experiences.

There is a record of Jews being beaten on Sanguinet St. (ADLER, Oct. 4, 1908)

The following summer a riot developed at the corner of De Montigny and St. Lawrence when several drunks attacked an old Jew. A crowd of 2,000 gathered. The police who arrived on the scene appeared to be friendly with the attackers and went to drink with them in a tavern.

Three Jews were arrested, but they were bailed out by Marcus Sperber and another lawyer, Millman. (ADLER, Aug. 23, 24 and 27, 1909)

On St. Lawrence near De Montigny Jewish men warded off attacks and, as the ADLER put it, "Essau feels the Hand of Jacob." (ADLER, Aug. 23) The police intervened to help their own brethren, always to cite the Jewish paper. The English-language dailies confirmed that the anti-Semitic riot was a consequence of French Canadian attacks on Jews who met with an Unorganized Self Defence. (Aug. 25) "Organized or Unorganized Self-Defence?" was the question discussed by the editor on August 27, the issue also carried a report of the court proceedings arising from the riot.

Among the Jewish participants in these street fights was newly immigrated Leizer Zuker who became for many years one of the outstanding leaders of the Canadian Jewish community -- Labour Zionist leader, founder of the Canadian Jewish Congress, unionist, head of the Jewish National Radical (later J.L. Peretz) Schools and of the Jewish Public Library, etc. His colleague of many years, L. Meltzer, recalls his role in such near-riots in his memoir in the L. ZUKER BOOK, (P. 57).

Socialist Mrs. White called on the ADLER to express support of the Jews; the report of the visit was headlined, "The Black Catholic Power." (ADLER, Aug. 25)

A. Cassoff, a native of Russia, who worked in a French Canadian environment, reported (Ibid., Feb. 5, 1909), that anti-Semitism in Montreal was worse than it was among the Russians.

It is also significant that we have at this stage very little documentation concerning such violence. The JEWISH TIMES, which began publication in 1897, was a strongly class publication and did not search out such news for its reports. Indeed one of its earliest stories advertizing to this phenomenon is dated September 7, 1906. From it we gather that a Hebrew Protective Association was being planned -- incidentally by the same group that was about to establish a Yiddish theatre. The JEWISH TIMES disapproved of all their intentions.

"In this community there are a few persons who busy themselves in giving what they represent as Jewish news to the daily press. They have a stereotyped way of stating that leading Jews are undertaking the formation of institutions distinctly Jewish.

"The latest of these announced were that a Jewish volunteer battalion, a Hebrew Protective Association and a Yiddish theatre were to be formed in Montreal. As a matter of fact, the project is not regarded favorably by those who are considered as representatives in our community. It is neither wise nor expedient for Jews to segregate themselves in the manner proposed, as all branches of the volunteer service are open to those who are qualified to serve either as officers or in the ranks, where they can show their patriotism or desire to take part in the defence of the country the same as other citizens. In all affairs affecting the general public, our people can take their part without separating themselves from their fellow-citizens.

"It is a sort of renewal of the Ghetto instinct to form special Jewish organizations of this kind and to assume a special badge. There may be men who desire to gratify their ambition in this way and assume a prominence to which their standing in the community by no means entitles them. We have the Jewish Lads Brigade, which is right enough, just as there are Highland Cadets, St. Louis Cadets and St. Patrick Cadets

"The right principle to be adopted by our people in this country is to join with their fellow-citizens in all movements, not distinctly Jewish, on the good old principle -- 'In things necessary let there be unity, in things not necessary, liberality; in all things, charity.'

"The foregoing remarks will also apply to the proposed Hebrew Protective Association and the Yiddish Theatre. The sooner our people get rid of the idea of separating themselves in these ways, the better it will be for them. Their desire should be to become British subjects and Canadians in all things, while remaining true to their religion and the support of their benevolent institutions."

A. Cassoff called on Montreal's young Jews to organize for the defence of the elderly and their women. "We are no longer in Russia, and there is no deprivation of freedom here.

"I feel we have as many of the same type of courageous heroes as they have in Odessa and elsewhere who risked their lives in defence of the Sifrei Torah.

"Why do we wait for the words of friendly Frenchmen to remind us that our people are in danger?

"Do we deserve the freedom which we enjoy here if we are not ready to defend it in the last corner of the world, for at present I see no place where we can be free outside America."

The writer recalled "the great battle two years ago on the corner of St. Lawrence and De Montigny when we defeated them. The number of attacks since then has been reduced largely because they spread the rumour that we have a militia four-thousand strong. This was printed at the time by the STAR and the HERALD.

"If they could accomplish this without organization, imagine what could be done if we did what they claimed we had done."

Not surprisingly, with the appearance of the ADLER in 1907 we begin to have daily press reports in the periodical which was the voice of the victims of this violence and the instrument which would organize the social and political resistance to this racist violence.

The ADLER reported that boys beat a Jewish child, Elie Quint, and an elderly Jewish man on Sanguinet St. (Oct. 4, 1908)

Dr. Stern, a Jewish dentist reported a month later that an Irish ruffian had attacked a Jew and knocked his teeth out.

A group of English-speaking rioted against Jews. One was arrested and fined \$2.00. (Ibid., Sept. 21, 1909)

A month later attacks on Jews took place on Main St., St. Norbert and St. Dominique streets. The police were called; they were not helpful. (Ibid., Nov. 1, 1909)

In Montreal, Jews complained in the press in April 1910 of improper treatment by the police -- the case of huckster Lazarus who claimed he had been dealt with too cavalierly by a police officer. The Quebec City ACTION SOCIALE reported that the chief of police conducted an inquiry on which he reported to the commissioner who found that the officer had simply done his duty in silencing the loud-mouthed Lazarus whose unnecessary outcries had attracted a large crowd. The commissioner advised Lazarus' friends to go to the courts if they believed that the city had been unjust to him.

"Once again the Jewish ringleaders have failed to convince the public that their fellow-nationals do not receive British fair play in Montreal." (Ibid., Apr. 20, 1910; CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 26, Pp.8-10)

Old Tarachnikov, a veteran of Odessa excesses before coming to Canada, was thrown off a moving street car in Montreal by the conductor and dragged for three January-cold blocks. "In Russia they have huge pogroms. Here we have small ones," he told the ADLER. (Jan. 19, 1910)

Mr. Solomon, residing on St. Urbain St., was attacked by a Russian armed with a knife. (ACTION SOCIALE, July 30, 1910)

Two Jews were beaten by two men who are believed to be detectives. One of the Jewish men, Katzman, went to the police station to complain, accompanied by a policeman, they were arrested. (Ibid.)

Fifteen-year-old Sam Nudelman of 83 St. Dominique St. was attacked on the street by a French Canadian youth and required medical attention. A young Scotsman intervened and brought the case to the attention of two policemen but they refused to act.

The father brought the case before a judge, and the Catholic youth pleaded guilty, but the policemen explained that they could not arrest the young man not having themselves witnessed the attack. He was sentenced to pay the costs. (ADLER, July 8, 1910)

Frank Ecksler was badly beaten by a street car motorman and conductor who wanted to make him pay his fare twice. (ADLER, Feb. 3, 1910)

Several cases of violence against Jews occurred on February 2, 1910; one on the part of a motorman and two by detectives after a Jewish resident complained about noise from a bawdy house above his flat. (ADLER, Feb. 3, 1910)

Sam Herscovitch, 30, was beaten by a street car conductor and motorman on March 29, 1911 on St. Denis St. Unable to crowd into

the main body of the car he clung on the steps, but managed to pay his fare. When he attempted to get off at his station a few blocks further, the conductor refused to let him descend. The motorman joined the conductor in beating the Jewish passenger severely. The other passengers supported Herscovitch. (ADLER, March 30, 1911)

M. Fried of Lyonnais St. reported that a conductor on a McGill St. streetcar forced him to descend from a car while it was still in motion, accompanying his threats with curses and sheeny insults. (ADLER, July 19, 1912)

"The verbal and physical attacks on Jews in this province are so frequent," wrote the ADLER on July 11, 1910, "that it is no longer possible to report on every act of violence by street arabs.

"We sometimes console ourselves by noting that the French may be hostile towards Jews, but that the government, in the final analysis, is friendly. However, we cannot speak of the government as being different.

"In the first place, we ask, who is the government? If we refer to those who sit in Ottawa, we must not forget that they consist of Liberals and Conservatives, and that there are numerous anti-Semites among both parties. If we refer to immigration officials we must conclude that the government is generally hostile.

"In matters of justice, we must conclude that when a government is friendly to a group of people, that group will necessarily receive justice in the courts. But it is doubtful whether Jews receive such justice.

"Several months ago a Quebec court was dealing with the case of a Jew suing a Christian woman to collect a debt. The lawyer for the defendant argued that since the claimant was only a Jew and conducts a Jewish business, it would be only just to dismiss the case -- which the judge proceeded to do.

"Last week an old Jewish man was attacked by a youth with a rock. The case was brought before a judge who happened to know the old man personally. A friend of the accused appeared to testify that it was a case of mistaken identity. The case was dismissed and the Jew had to pay court costs.

"In another case a Jewish newsboy was attacked, and two policemen refused to arrest the Frenchman. A private citizen seized the offender who pleaded guilty in court. He was ordered to pay costs.

"Incidents of violence against Jews occurred frequently on the streets of Montreal and when policemen appeared on the scene it was not always to defend the Hebrews.

"Jewish taxpayers pay the policemen, yet receive no protection, and some judges seem to think that Jews are not human."

M. Kahanovitch wrote to the ADLER on November 10, 1910 about discrimination in rentals even in the east end. He suggested forming "a Jewish club of representatives of all societies, and including Rev. de Sola, Rabbi N. Gordon, Rabbi H. Cohen and Rabbi S. Glazer" to concern themselves with this condition.

"If they would propose a candidate for office, he would certainly be elected and would be a source of pride to the Jews of Montreal and all of Quebec."

The newspaper the following day discussed the anti-Semitic conduct of the street car conductors who discriminate against Jews and attack them very violently. It called upon the street car company to issue regulations which would forbid such discrimination. Failing such corrective actions it called for demonstrations against the company and a boycott -- in anticipation of Negro militant action in the American south.

Another Jewish man entered a hotel lobby to buy a cigar. One of the employed motioned to two men standing by, and these two French Canadians beat the Jew so severely that he was taken to the hospital where the doctors operated on him and were unsure he would survive. The assailants were arrested. One was released; the other sentenced to two months imprisonment. The Jewish victim did not have any money to be represented by a lawyer at the appearance.

"The usual sentence for such offences is three years imprisonment, but that is too much for attacking a Jew," the ADLER commented on Jan. 28, 1910.

Editorially the newspaper asked, "Where are the national Jewish institutions which are supposed to defend our people, and are so silent" (Jan. 30, 1910)

This usage of the term "National" is very significant, and doubly so. It is in no sense a challenge to Canadian sovereignty but echoed the renewed Jewish group awareness which emphasizes the Zionist ideal of sovereign nationalism for the Jewish people centering on Palestinian territory; Uganda was proposed as a surrogate, and the territorialist movement sought other substitutes. More generally the Jews of the age, other than the Zionists, began to think of Jewish programs and activities on an as-if national basis of organization and authority; this expressed itself in schooling, self-defence, vocationalism, health organizations, etc.

(French Canadians used the term "National" for their sense of group identity in such institutions as La Société St-Jean Baptiste and elsewhere.)

"One of Our Own" described anti-Semitism in a Montreal court in the ADLER of October 16, 1912.

"Jake Bram, Reuben Trigen and Abe Stoken were working in the street cleaning department of the Corporation. George Brott, their foreman, did not like their work and was drunk. He beat them severely. The three Jewish workers engaged lawyer S.W. Jacobs to take their case to court. The trial took place in the Westmount police court. The foreman had engaged lawyer MacClellan who countered that the Jewish men had attempted to stab him.

"Jacobs denied the accusation pointing out that no weapons were produced and that there were no marks on the foreman, whereas the Jewish men bore signs of his attack on them. The judge accepted Jacobs' version and sentenced the foreman to a fine or a prison sentence.

"MacClellan became angry and cried out, 'The Jews are a low race and should be driven from the country.'

"Jacobs responded warmly with a description of the anti-Semitic type which MacClellan represented. The latter sought to evade Jacobs' comments.

"The Westmount chief of police and others present in the court congratulated Jacobs, and the judge nodded his approval. The Jews were liberated of the charges against them, but they lost their jobs."

Hyman Glatstein of 715 St. Dominique St., a peddler with five years experience in Montreal, felt that the ADLER editorial was misleading when it saw a distinction between Russian anti-Semitism and Montreal's.

"Attacks are frequent; the police do not protect the victims, judges impose ridiculous punishments on attackers, the Canadian military will not defend Jews in Montreal, many of them being themselves French Canadians.

"The nearest to a solution -- an unlikely one -- would be formation of a Jewish national political body. In the meantime the ADLER should call for a Jewish self-defence group." (ADLER, Nov. 6, 1910)

On May 5, 1910 Elchanan Galesman wrote the ADLER to warn against the anti-Jewish campaign which was being promoted in the Catholic weekly in Rivière du Loup where he was living.

"I find it difficult to describe the persecution and insults which Jewish country peddlers suffer. The priests in all churches urge their parishioners not to buy from these itinerant merchants and not to offer them shelter for the night, because Jews and freemasons are the foremost enemies of the church."

The Yiddish ADLER was watching the situation with great seriousness. It reported incidents on street cars in its issues of Dec. 22, 1909, Jan. 19 and Feb. 3, 1910.

The editor (N.V.N.) thought that Jewish-French Canadian relations called for close examination.

"Have any Christians been attacked on the street cars?" the daily newspaper asked. "In some countries we have no rights; but in Canada, as we pay our way, we can fight for our rights.

"The Jews of Montreal should ensure that Jews cannot be assaulted with impunity. If that should fail we can declare a boycott." (Feb. 4, 1910)

Later, B.G. Sack, in the Jewish ADLER of Aug. 8, 1912, wrote under the signature of Ben Yetmini about the anti-Semitism within the police force which he relates to the current corruption and inefficiency of the department. He states that it is very common for the police not to intervene when Jewish people are attacked on the street or in ice cream parlours. "When they do enter the picture, which is rarely, and when they do make an arrest, the detained person is very frequently released the same day. When Jews are attacked or insulted the police take no notice. After all, it concerns only a Jew! If it were not for the blue uniform which they are wearing they very likely would give the Isaacs a sample of their fists."

The ADLER agreed that, regardless of their small circulation, the anti-Semitic periodicals could not be ignored. "We cannot dismiss the influence of these pogrom sheets, or permit them to continue their barking as harmless.

"They are particularly dangerous since the air of Quebec is impregnated with anti-Semitism; it is not as if popular attitudes toward us were similar to American attitudes toward Jews. This is not the situation. Anti-Semitism grows together with the Jewish population and with Jewish progress on the socio-economic ladder. The province, and especially Quebec City, is a centre of Catholicism, and its priests disseminate hatred of Jews.

"In such an atmosphere, where anti-Semitism pervades the environment, the stupid, Jew-baiting sheets acquire a different force. We need not accept the panic felt by many Jews in Quebec City. These Jews should remember that, after all, Canada is a part of liberal England, and that the government here will not permit pogroms. They would do better to seek ways of destroying these sheets and to teach a lesson to Jew-baiters who dare disseminate such hatred.

"On the other hand we cannot justify those who are indifferent to the challenge. We must find the legal means to achieve our end. Their pogrom agitation in effect calls for riots against a section of the population.

"The matter should be put in the hands of the Baron de Hirsch Institute.

"We in Canada suffer from diabolical anti-Semitism. What else can we call it when old Jewish men are thrown from street cars, when we are cursed, when they refuse to rent us houses, when they preach against us in the churches, when organizations are set up against us, when we are politically ignored, when we are driven out of villages?" the ADLER wrote on February 16 and April 17, 1910.

"On the other hand, Canada sees its Jews as a blessing which expands trade and builds the country. Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself has invited Russian Jews to settle here. The English-speaking display no particular antagonism to us. Therefore only French Canadians are involved in anti-Semitism. But the simple people cannot be blamed; they believe what they hear. When ACTION SOCIALE, LA VERITE, L'ETINCELLE, LE NATIONALISTE, LA CROIX, LE DEVOIR, have Jew-baiting as their program, we can expect no favourable atmosphere, even when we also have friends like Godfroy Langlois.

"Anti-Semitism is growing; it is much more widely spread than it was five years ago."

The JEWISH CHRONICLE of London, England reported that rowdies on August 21, 1909 attacked an old Jew on the street in Montreal. Some Jews came to his rescue. A regular riot occurred in which the police sided with the French Canadians. (Sept. 10, 1909, P. 13)

Montreal street cars were particularly dangerous for Jewish passengers, the conductors having the authority to beat Jewish citizens in the frequent disputes about fares. They enjoyed this privilege to demonstrate "the Christian fist," as the ADLER phrased it.

Public transportation was an important phase of Jewish life in Montreal; their journalism covered it with feeling.

Conrad Bercovici, one of the best writers in the ADLER, described the street car early in the morning, as it approached Duluth St. "It was filling up. I jump on the car. The conductor wishes everyone a good morning, but not the Jews who climb on. I always notice this; and he talks rudely to the Italians." (Nov. 15, 1912)

The ADLER's Cultus described the Main St. electric cars, "packed like herring in a barrel, the men clinging in front and in the rear like flies on sticky paper, with all their experience in density and concentration. The English are proud and push right and left with their elbows. They think Jews are appropriating their places. A Frenchman mumbles something. The conductor is angry, red-faced like a lobster. A Jewish woman, fresh off the boat, stands fearfully, certain that the conductor is angry only at her, and is afraid that she

is passing her stop; she does not know the name of her street but she is looking for certain marks.

"A Jew wants to descend at the next stop, laden with many parcels of all sizes. The conductor is trying to push him off without stopping the car. The man has one foot out, but the car rushes, almost spitefully, to Mile End. He falls down, and his parcels scatter. The conductor is laughing at the trick he had played on the Jew. The passengers, Jews and Christians, witnesses, are silent. There are no protests although all saw that the conductor had made the Jew fall down.

"Montrealers are a strange people. They let all and everything fall. Each of them thinks only of himself.

"In the centre of the car an elderly woman is standing, barely balanced on her feet. Healthy boys are sitting all about, but no one thinks of giving her his seat. One did rise but it was to give his place to a blooming young girl with an outsized hat and smiling eyes.

"Near the entrance a clean-shaven Jew but with a tiny pointed beard is sitting; probably an American. He is holding a copy of the ADLER covered with an English newspaper. He looks at the headlines puzzled; concerned whether the others see him glancing at the strange type in the Yiddish paper." (ADLER, Oct. 17, 1912)

Two street cars collided at the corner of St. Lawrence and Ontario Streets, opposite the ADLER building on November 7, 1912, with 17 injured, 13 of them Jewish. Some of those hurt were brought into the offices of the newspaper where their blood was washed off.

"This was not an unavoidable accident if the company had not been neglectful. The brakes of one of the cars were not functioning at all; the motorman had attempted to stop, but could not.

"The company would rather lose several damage cases than supply all necessary brake installations. A glance at the local cars leads to the conclusion that they were purchased in American junk yards. Apparently the crippling of several working men and women is not sufficient for proper action.

"Nor is this the proper occasion to deal with the rough treatment which the company employees mete out to their passengers, especially the Jewish. But we may note that the conductors are not selected from the first class of citizens. When a Jewish passenger falls from a moving car, the motorman disregards the warning signal as a joke." The ADLER wrote. (Nov. 8, 1912)

Dr. Wortsman, the editor of the ADLER "could find no adequate words to express his anger at the local street car company for its treatment of all of its passengers. "It also needs to be said that the inhabitants of the city deserve that so many lives be lost as a result of their

negligence which is totally criminal and for their failure to protest against the company. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that Montreal is sacrificing more lives to the street car company than any other city on either side of the ocean. Especially in rush hours, it fails to send even half of the cars needed and loads them three times the normal capacity. The cars are fully loaded, yet they stop to take on dozens of additional passengers. The motormen pay no attention to the human condition and order the passengers to squeeze even more to make room and are even happy that dozens remain on the steps where it requires great art to hold on while the cars are in motion." (July 6, 1912)

An editorial in the ADLER of November 23, 1908 complained that street car conductors were behaving discourteously to Jews with beards.

Within a month, on February 1, 1910, this newspaper reported three cases: that of elderly Chaim Sapoznikov who was thrown out of a street car and was dragged for two blocks, barely escaping with his life; Meir Freedman's transfer did not meet with the conductor's scrutiny and he was beaten; when a Christian lady offered to pay his nickel fare the conductor refused "to accept her money for a sheeney."

The ADLER noted that such violence was not heard of against Christian passengers. Citizens who are aware of later American experience in the southern states will be interested in the solution proposed by the Montreal daily on February 4, 1910: A Jewish boycott of this public transportation.

Attacks on Jews on the housing front extended throughout the country. Priests preached such discrimination from the pulpits.

The Rev. Auclair of Paroisse St-Jean-Baptiste of Montreal counted 283 Jewish families in his parish out of a total of 4,000. (ACTION SOCIALE reprinted in LA VERITE, Jan. 1, 1910)

A few months later these anti-Jewish papers counted 15,000 Jews in St. Louis and 8,000 in St. Lawrence wards. (LA VERITE, May 28, 1910)

When Jewish merchants rather insistently called passersby into their stores, incidentally not contrary to any law or by-law, Canadians saw this as proof of Jewish abuse of the economic marketplace and concluded that the only resolution of the Jewish problem is to prevent the invasion of a city or of a country by Jewry.

"One would need to be very naif to see this as a minor peccadillo. This practice reveals the grave danger implicit in their very mentality, their conscience which leads them to act on the margin of the law to the detriment of their competitors." (Oct. 21, 1911)

By the end of 1912 the number of Jews in Montreal had grown so that Lumen foresaw the city being renamed Judéopolis within the century. (LA VERITE Jan. 25, 1913)

It reprinted from ACTION SOCIALE a Montreal despatch about a Jewish second-hand dealer who displayed a statue of St. Joseph indecently. He was warned by a group of students who threatened to demolish his store if he continued in this manner. (Nov. 1, 1913)

This conception of the Jews as participants in an evil conspiracy, in the event the masonic plot, "inspired" such men as Abbé Belanger, curé of the St-Louis de France Parish in Quebec City. It sounded the alarm which continued to mobilize Quebec City anti-Semites for a third of a century -- until they set fire to the synagogue building. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no.26, Pp.13-17; JEWISH CHRONICLE, Feb. 10, 1910)

Tardivel read in ACTION SOCIALE that "a large French Canadian bakery on Main Street, among the best known in eastern Montreal, was crowded out by the Jews and sold to them -- for cash.

"Last May a large novelty store on St. Lawrence Blvd. moved to make room for three Jewish shops.

"There is no fear that our large newspapers will raise an alarm or indeed the least resentment at seeing the race without a fatherland grab our districts and our money; no, for the Jewish advertisers being as numerous as are the French or English Canadians, the newspapers will not embarrass the kike gentlemen.

"On the contrary, they will even condemn the spirit of intolerance and fanaticism when they see anyone courageous enough to protest against the Jewish invaders." (May 28, 1910)

This negative attitude towards Jews, which has roots older than Canada we are reminded, took graphic form in traditional form mocking dialects, jargons and cartoons.

LE MONDE ILLUSTRE was probably not the first in Canada to present caricature cartoons of knavish Jewish storekeepers and of other Hebrews unfamiliar with the uses of the bathtub. (Jan. 18 and Feb. 15, 1902)

The humorous weekly LE CANARD carried a Dickens-like short story, "Le Juif de la rue Craig" with a Jewish store as a setting. (Jan. 24, 1909) It also noted that only a Jewish storekeeper ("un Youpin", the French equivalent of the Russian "Jid") opposed early closing of stores. (Aug. 8, 1909) Significantly, it was this author, Frère Scoope, who "unveiled" the secrets of a Canadian freemasonic rite.

Vivid testimony to this contempt for the visible Jew appears in the series of cartoons, MONTREAL JUIF, DESINS GAIS, prepared by

J. Charlebois (Montreal, Imprimerie Bilodeau, 1912) -- another example of gallows humour as a preparation for gallows and skulls. Year later when he died in the fall of 1925 at the age of sixty-three, the anti-Semites mourned him as the portraitist of the "Youpins" during the Jewish invasion when the gates of Canada were opened by the liberal ministry of immigration, as LE PATRIOTE recalled on Nov. 7, 1935.

The Quebec City CHRONICLE and some other English-language organs of press expression objected to newspapers caricaturing Jews.

Justin in LA VERITE agreed with this position but asked why the CHRONICLE does not protest when representatives of the pope are caricatured. (Oct. 11, 1913)

In this vein the Montreal STAR carried an advertisement from a clothing store promising "No Yiddish tricks." At least the STAR apologized. (JEWISH CHRONICLE, Aug. 20, 1909)

In the fall of 1908 the manager of the Marotte auctioneers permitted anti-Semitic comments. P. Vineberg who was present protested, and twenty Jewish men walked out of the auction room. (ADLER, Sept. 18, 1908)

LA VERITE watched the growing Jewish enrollment in Protestant schools and forecast a confrontation on the issue of Christian instruction in these schools. (Nov. 18, 1911, March 22, 1912)

Curé Piché of St-Georges parish in Montreal wrote in his ACTION OUVRIERE, "I again call frankly and openly upon my parishioners not to rent or sell their properties to Jews. I will not enter into any discussion on this subject with anyone." (LA VERITE, Dec. 16, 1911)

The St. Louis de France parish leaders became infuriated when they noted a diminution of 29 families with 241 souls during the year. Curé Bélanger on his annual visits to parishioners found strangers, clearly not Catholics, who had invaded their homes. He feared that the Catholics would soon be expelled from the new homes they had found, and eventually they would have to leave Canada, for new exiles, as a result of the Jewish migration. (ADLER, Nov. 9, 1910)

The energetic cleric began an anti-Jewish agitation which eventually came to the attention of the court.

It is in this context that Isaiah Craig, Catholic landlord, sought to cancel his lease with Frederick Enges, his tenant, because the latter rented part of his quarters to a Jewish girl. (ADLER, Feb. 10, 1910 and the New York YIDDISHE TAGEBLATT, Feb. 14, 1910)

The property owner held that such subletting would be valid only to sub-tenants acceptable to the owner.

The Baron de Hirsch Legislative Committee discussed the case of Abbé Bélanger of the St-Louis de France Parish. "It was decided to take what steps as may be found necessary for the cessation of this persecution."

This case appeared before Justice Guérin who applied the harshest terms to the applicant. He referred to such proceedings as reminiscent of the inquisition. 'No person can be refused quarters merely because he is a Jew,' he ruled. (ADLER, Apr. 17, 1910)

At the trial Abbé Belanger, curé of St-Louis de France parish, testified that he approved the organization of his members into a syndicate to prevent Jews from owning property in their district. He said that a number of residents were preparing to leave the parish because of the coming of Jewish residents.

"It is a shame that Canadians should make such requests," he said. "Should the 30,000 Jews of Montreal be confined in a ghetto?" he asked.

After the hearings the curé told the GAZETTE, "I did not say that we should hate the Jews; only to organize to defend ourselves as they are organized against us."

LE PAYS, edited by Godfroy Langlois, M.P.P. for the St-Louis division, defended the Jews in the case.

Protestant Archdeacon Norman condemned the anti-Semitism which was in evidence during the incident.

After the conclusion of the case Alphonse Valiquette, warden of the church, sold his property at 34-36 St-Louis Square to Mr. Talpis of 222 Albino Street. (ADLER, Feb. 13, 1910)

This was not an isolated case. The commentator in the CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES had written on February 19, 1909,

"The managers of certain apartment houses in this city have refused accommodation to prospective Jewish tenants, and have furthermore requested those Jewish families at present residing in their various apartments to vacate.

"Such affairs are by no means new; together with the discrimination constantly shown in the matter of hotel accommodation, incidents are continually cropping up in various sections of this country, as well as in the United States.

"Two views may be considered in reference to this subject: The exclusion of the Jew depends upon a prejudice that is inculcated by a biased education, a state in which the prejudice against the Jew is preached, and declaimed from both Pulpit and Press. The prejudice is founded on the rankest ignorance.

"Invariably where apartment houses have excluded Jews from tenantry, they have done so out of pure ignorance of the natural disposition and habits of the Jews. No sooner had they ascertained these as being well-founded attributes of the Jew, than they admitted him for residence.

"In the United States, it frequently happens after so offensive an announcement has been made by an apartment house, that the manager ultimately loses in various ways, made to suffer socially, financially and otherwise, that he is forced to conduct the management on more rational lines. In many instances, it is into the hands of Jews that the property finally falls. A similar fate will surely befall our local managers of apartment houses, as can be proved by statistics.

"The sooner they learn that the Jew is one of the best tenants that can possibly be desired, the sooner will this objectionable exclusion cease."

The fashionable Linton Apartments were notorious for their exclusion of Jewish tenants, and it became a community triumph when a group of businessmen -- M. Vineberg, J.H. Jacobs, S.W. Jacobs, advocate Margulies and David Friedman -- purchased it from its anti-Semitic owners. (ADLER, Apr. 14, 1910)

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

In 1908 a Jewish Protective League was formed for patrol and self defence which was active in August 1909.

"The Jewish Independent Citizens' League wrote to the Board of Commissioners about conditions in St. Louis Ward. The letter was signed by many residents of the city who have suffered from the indifference of the police in the face of gangs who terrorize the area. This police attitude encourages attacks on Jews. L.G. Senecal, secretary of the board, promised to call the chief of police for an explanation."

Three Jewish men were arrested after a riot but were freed by Recorder Weir. (ADLER, Aug. 24 and 27, 1909)

The ADLER reported on November 15, 1910 that "Many come to our office to complain that they are attacked on the street, windows in their homes are broken, their stores are robbed. They receive no protection because policemen cannot easily be found, and when they do appear they do not treat complaints seriously; they refuse to come to the defence of Jews who are insulted or attacked."

On January 1, 1909 the Baron de Hirsch Institute, under the leadership of S.W. Jacobs and Lyon Cohen began to deal systematically with Jewish social problems and with the increasingly dangerous anti-Semitic activity and propaganda, not least from Quebec City.

The ADLER resented the assumption of the Institute to act on these matters since it did not have a sufficiently broad mandate. "It is another example of any person who wishes to do so pretending to speak for all of our people."

Referring to the Bingham affair in the United States, the newspaper recommended the formation of a committee representing all synagogues and lodges in all Canadian centres.

In February 1909 the Institute discussed the "manner in which the legislative interests of our people in this city can best be looked after. The following were present: Messrs. Maxwell Goldstein, K.C., Lyon Cohen, Harris Vineberg, Horace Joseph, D.S. Friedman, Clarence I. de Sola, John Michaels, S.W. Jacobs, K.C., B. Goldstein, Louis Holstein, J. Levinson, L.H. Jacobs, Isaac Friedman, B. Vineberg, Rabbi Meldoa de Sola, Rabbi Abramowitz and Rabbi Nathan Gordon. Mr. Landau, editor of the EAGLE, was also present.

"Mr. Goldstein explained that a committee of thirty-five representative men had been appointed by the Baron de Hirsch Institute, for the purpose of watching any legislation in which we may be interested,

and if necessary, to point out to the authorities our views on the subject. 'It is for this meeting' he said, 'to decide (1) whether such a committee is necessary; (2) whether it should be attached to the Baron de Hirsch Institute; (3) what is to be done to make it thoroughly representative of Montreal Jewry. For the present,' he continued, 'this is a provisional committee,' but he considered that this meeting should take steps to have an election at which every section of the community would be represented.'

(The far-reaching implications of the formation of the Legislative Committee were noted by all who attended; in a sense they all foresaw the Canadian Jewish Congress in formation within the decade and took positions early.)

"Mr. Landau pointed out the objections to any committee acting for the Jewish people here, which would not have the consent of all the organizations.

"Mr. Harris Vineberg was strongly of the opinion that the Committee should be a part of the Baron de Hirsch as otherwise he prophesied short life for it.

"The question then arose as to what shape the Committee should take.

"Dr. Abramowitz was in favour of a separate existence for this Committee, and thought that all the Jewish organizations in this city be asked to send delegates to a meeting to decide this matter.

"Mr. Lyon Cohen was averse to the Committee being a separate unit from the Baron de Hirsch.

"After many resolutions it was resolved that the Committee in its temporary character assume duties, and at the same time issue invitations to duly recognized organized bodies for the purpose of meeting the present Committee at a Conference to be arranged.

"It was also decided to interview the Minister of Justice with regard to having salaried interpreters in the courts, instead of the system in vogue of paying them for each case they act in. Also to see the city authorities on prohibiting girls under sixteen of selling papers on the streets." (CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES)

The ADLER reported editorially on February 4, 1909 on the intentions of the Baron de Hirsch Institute to form a Board of Jewish Deputies in Canada on a national basis.

A conference such as the newspaper proposed did take place in March, and the ADLER called it a success. (Mar. 16, 1909)

An editorial recommended that the first issue to be taken up by the Board of Deputies should be the school question.

"We are treated well by the tolerant Protestant Board, but there are outstanding issues: the Protestants state that they are short of money and that the presence of the Jewish children spoil the Protestant children; the Jews oppose the teaching of the New Testament, and they support the Finnie measures for improved education."

The following month the ADLER asked "What about the Board of Deputies? Nothing is happening about the convening of a conference. Is it because the Baron de Hirsch Institute is concerned with the relations between such a Board and the institute?" (Mar. 28, 1909)

When Montreal assessors, in excessive zeal, made it difficult for many citizens who bore names not of Anglo-Saxon origin to remain on electoral lists, the Legislative Committee took the matter up with the mayor. (CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, Feb. 3 and Mar. 11, 1910)

Judging by the number, it would appear as if, without discrimination every Jewish name was taken from the roll and objected to. "There are quite a number of our co-religionists who have registered, but, for some reason or other, their names do not appear on the voters' roll.

"Every Jew, fully qualified, and to whom exception has been taken, should make it a point of appearing before the Board of Revisers at the appointed time and to demand his rights. The matter is of so great importance that it would be well for the Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch to take it up."

Early in 1909 the committee considered that the Juvenile Offenders Act of 1908 needed amendment so that a Jewish offender should be represented by one of his own faith, a privilege allowed to offenders of other denominations. But one problem of Jewish juvenile delinquents dragged on for a long time. Nearly two years later Maxwell Goldstein still had occasion to write to the Hon. Mr. Aylesworth about the Act of 1908,

"The reasons you gave for not proposing the amendments suggested to the above Act, on behalf of the Jewish community during the last two Sessions, were in each case to the effect that the approach of prorogation rendered it impossible.

"In order that there be no reason for repetition of this objection, I have been instructed by our Committee to write you on this, the second day of the present Session, to know whether the Government really intends to take up and pass these amendments this Session, -- or, if not, to advise us now, so that we may be able to report to the members of our community." (Ibid., Nov. 19, 25, 1910; CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, Nov. 25, 1910)

On April 2, 1909 the ADLER's B.J. Goldstein reported on an intervention by the Legislative Committee at City Hall to prevent girls from selling papers on the street. In this connection he wrote, "it is

important to have a Jewish presence at the juvenile court and to have professional interpreters in the courts.

The JEWISH TIMES commented, "the By-law which has been promulgated this week, by the City Council of Montreal, prohibiting boys under fourteen and girls under twenty-one years of age from selling newspapers on the streets, is a move which can have nothing but a good effect upon those to whom it is applicable. The Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute has for many months past been working in this direction, and it is through their persistent efforts and at their direct instigation that such a measure has become law.

"It must be recognized by all that the effects of young boys and girls lounging about the streets, till all hours of the night, with all its incumbent dangers, is most detrimental, and may possibly lead to dire results. As a large number of such are Jewish children, the Legislative Committee rightly considered that this matter was in their sphere of activities, and took it up, with the result as above stated. The committee fully realized that their action, if successful, would lead to hardships in many cases; but that was no reason for their shirking their duty. If those dependent upon the earnings of their children be deprived of the few coppers, it is the duty of the community to make up for it, instead of leaving them open to so many dangers." (Dec. 3, 1909)

Other matters on the agenda of the Legislative Committee were regulating the cases of ministers at times failing to report marriages which they perform, and such as anti-Jewish periodicals as LE BIEN PUBLIQUE of Trois-Rivières. (Ibid., Jan. 18, 1910)

The Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute agreed to assist in meeting the legal costs of Mr. Lazarus who had instituted proceedings against Constable Leroux after the officer had viciously attacked him. Lazarus and his brother had surprised two burglars robbing his St. Norbert St. store. He called a policeman, Officer Leroux, to arrest the criminal, but the officer refused to apprehend the recreant. When Lazarus insisted, the policeman beat Lazarus very severely. Lazarus was bed-ridden for a week after this experience.

Reuben Balesman reported in DER VEG from La Macaza (Dec. 24, 1915) that the children of the several dozen Jewish families who were attending the Catholic school were regularly called 'dirty Jews' and 'Christ-killers'. The parish priest was gentle with them, seeking to convert them.

The ADLER stormed against Quebec justice in the Iger case in St. Scholastique where a Jewish man was beaten murderously; of the two who were accused, one was acquitted by the local jury and the other sentenced to two months in prison. Mr. Iger was penniless and was not able to engage a lawyer, so the crown attorney acted for him. (Jan. 30, 1910)

Bitter memories of these conditions linger long. The secretary of the Jewish Protection Committee recalled in 1965 that 55 years earlier, when he studied at Aberdeen School on St. Denis Street, "the Mont St. Louis Cadets on Sherbrooke St. would daily throw bricks and stones at the Jewish pupils of his school. The police were standing idly by and did not protect the Jewish children." (Canadian Jewish Congress National Archives, DA 4, 276, JPRC, Feb. 1965)

Abraham Blumenthal, president of the Independent Citizens League brought the case before the municipal Board of Control. The mayor ordered Police Chief Comeau to carry out a strict inquiry into the case. (ADLER, Apr. 10 and 17, 1910)

Describing affairs in Montreal's City Hall in the ADLER of July 2, 1911, B.G. Sack wrote,

"Many of us know that Montreal is a nest of anti-Semitism and bitter hatred, as anyone can attest after walking several blocks and reading 'No Jews wanted,' 'Jews need not apply' on 'To Let' signs.

"It becomes clear when we see car conductors cynically mock Jewish passengers and even throw them off the street cars.

"You see it in public places where Jews meet Christians: on the streets, in parks and other public places, or in City Hall.

"Anti-Semitism is rife in regions where society is corrupted by racial differentiations and where questions of foreign and of privileged nationalities do not cease from the public agenda. In no country and in no place are these social differences as widespread and as sharp as in Montreal."

The Montreal community was aware of the national implication of the problems it was facing. When the Sunday observance issue arose in 1906 the Baron de Hirsch Institute mobilized the spokesmen of Ontario Jews to take up the issue in Ottawa.

Similar incidents were also not uncommon on the streets of Toronto. (ADLER, July 9, 1911)

On June 19, 1911 the Toronto police attacked a Jewish open-air meeting which had gathered to respond to Christian missionaries who had been preaching provocatively in the Jewish ghetto. The riot that developed lasted four hours. (ADLER, June 20, 1911)

The ADLER noted that racism is also rife in other Canadian provinces. It noted that a Socialist M.L.A. Hawthornwhyte proposed in the B.C. legislature that children of Asiatic and other races be excluded from the public schools but be segregated in special educational institutions. (Feb. 21, 1910)

This violence which the Jewish immigrants met in Quebec -- but not only in Quebec -- had repercussions on the political level.

At first the newcomers sought recourse from sympathetic public figures; in all fairness, not only politicians who found in the Jewish ghettos concentrations of potential voters in the municipal wards where they were candidates, but at times advanced statesmen who found there groups of socially like-minded new citizens whose interests they could defend in legislature or city council. Hence at the earliest stage of ward politics the Jewish districts of Montreal and other large cities played a particular role. The story of Godfroy Langlois is a classic in this Quebec legislative history.

But the immigrant community could not be forever content with spokesmen who were ever so sympathetic outsiders, even men who were profoundly involved in the Jewish cause. Furthermore the prize of a political seat in government could not always be given away to a friendly Christian. There were candidates at home, and a complex machinery of societies, unions, activists, ward heelers, eminences, lawyers, etc. and a Yiddish newspaper to give them voice. The idealistic parties condescended at times to operate on the lower municipal level; the earlier career of H.M. Caiserman is a remarkable case in point.

Later, the established community, in the persons of Peter Bercovitch and S.W. Jacobs, entered the provincial and federal arenas with distinction. But before that the immigrant society, sparked by H. Wolofsky, the brilliant publisher of the ADLER, had awakened the political conscience of its readers and their organizations, and Louis Rubenstein and Abraham Blumenthal came to sit as aldermen on the city council. The latter in particular made himself the counsel of the Jewish victims of police injustice. (ADLER, Sept. 6, 1912)

A major attack on Jewish freedoms in the form of the limitations of Kashrut arose in Eastern Canada in 1911. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 37)

Because Halifax is so distant from the centres of Canadian Jewry a very important anti-Semitic case in that city, classic in its form, received very little attention and has since been virtually lost to memory.

Rabbi Abraham Levitt of Halifax appeared before the Stipendiary Magistrate's Court on summons taken out at the instance of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for unnecessarily ill-treating a heifer and causing it unnecessary suffering and pain, while being slaughtered.

The information was laid by Inspector Williamson of the S.P.C.A., a young Scotsman. He told the court he went to Shortell's slaughter house on March 19th and saw the rabbi kill a heifer. The animal was taken into the slaughter house with a rope fastened round its horns,

and passed through a ring bolt in the floor, and then the animal's head was drawn close to the ground. A rope was also attached to the animal's right hind leg, passed over a hook suspended from a block and tackle, and then the end was fastened on to a windlass. The windlass was set in motion and as the hind leg was hoisted from the floor, the animal fell over on its back. The rope over the horns was then undone, and the head released from the ring-bolt, turned with the muzzle of the nose up. Then the rabbi stepped up and cut the animal's throat.

"Expert evidence as to the animal's suffering was given by the Veterinary surgeon Gough, who also saw the animal killed.

"Answering Mr. Murray for the prosecution, he said the method of first stunning an animal and then cutting the throat was, in his opinion, the most humane method of slaughter, and for the reason that death would be brought about in one-fifth the time than if there had not been any stunning, and also that when insensible the animal was unconscious of the pain caused by the knife.

"Further questionings elicited from the doctor that he was positive the animal suffered pain, and this caused Mr. O'Hearn to remark, 'Well, a man who will swear that he knows an animal is in pain belongs to a psychological species that is rare. After all, what you are giving is an opinion!'

"The stipendiary: 'It is more than that, it is a fact, because he says he has experimented. It is a scientific knowledge.'

"Mr. O'Hearn: 'You undertake to state as a fact of your own personal knowledge that the animal was in pain?'

"Dr. Gough: 'Yes, I would say that, in my opinion the animal was suffering.'

"'Is it an opinion or is it a fact?' asked Mr. O'Hearn.

"'It is a knowledge of what structures have been severed, and what have not, and the effect. It is an expert opinion.'

"In further reply, Dr. Gough said a more humane way to slaughter oxen was to shoot them. Whenever he had hogs to kill he always shot them. In addition to the attempts to bellow that he noticed, he watched the heifer's eye, and that indicated that the animal was in pain three or four minutes." (CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, Apr. 11, 1913)

S.W. Jacobs devoted much attention to it even though it challenged him at the very weeks of the Plamondon case.

"The Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute is calling a special meeting for the purpose of discussing and taking necessary

steps to give all assistance to the Halifax community in their present situation, caused by the 'conviction' of the Halifax Shechitah trial.

"Jacobs considered it a most important case, but was rather optimistic about it, saying that a right which had been ours for three thousand years was not going to be denied us in this free Dominion. He was communicating with the Halifax solicitor to send him full detailed particulars of this case."

"If necessary," said Mr. Jacobs, "I will be only too ready to go to Halifax and fight this case."

The HALIFAX HERALD reported that "since Stipendiary Fielding gave his decision fining the Jewish shochet in Halifax \$8 and costs for slaughtering animals according to the Jewish method by bleeding them to death, an unusual amount of interest has been raised.

"The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty is now starting a campaign in Nova Scotia to see that butchers stun all animals large or small, before killing them with the knife. This method, according to the law, is the more humane and must be followed. A similar campaign is about to be started in New Brunswick too.

"While the case against the Jewish rabbi was the first slaughtering case the society has taken to court they have information that a number of butchers in the province do not stun small animals when slaughtering them. They are now out against these men.

"Mr. Robert Murray who prosecuted in the Jewish rabbi case, told the HERALD that the question had been asked whether it was not a technical view that animals suffer a few minutes longer by the Jewish method than by the ordinary way.

"The position we take," said Mr. Murray, "is that the stunning method is instantaneous and there is no suffering. The Jewish method of slaughter has been discussed a great deal in England and different parts of America, but no cases have yet been brought under the statute. I feel that in some American cities it would be difficult to secure a conviction, but Halifax is particularly fortunate in having a fearless magistrate, who will deal with such cases."

"The ordinary method now, of stunning an animal and then cutting its throat, was the most painless way, said Mr. Murray, and all slaughterers of animals would have to adopt that way. If some new method is invented which is even quicker than the present ordinary way that will have to be adopted.

"The society will not only enforce the principle laid down against the Jewish method of slaughter, but they will proceed against any other butchers who will not stun both large and small animals," declared Mr. Murray. "It was demonstrated at the trial that stunning was successfully carried out in the cases of small animals -- pigs and sheep --

and that this practice is in operation in the slaughter houses of Halifax.

"The old method of sticking the pigs and sheep and leaving them to bleed to death will have to be abolished or the offenders will be prosecuted with the same rigor and to the same extent as the Jewish butchers."

"Proceeding to show the mass of condemnation of the method of slaughtering without stunning, Mr. Murray said that in England some time ago a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate slaughter house methods. All the witnesses called were unanimous in condemning the system of slaughtering without stunning. One witness describing the operation said, 'The poor things groan and make a terrible noise, enough to break your heart.'"

LE DEVOIR

This was the Montreal Jewish background of the new chapter in Canadian history which opened in the fall of 1910 when Henri Bourassa established the Montreal great daily *bonne presse* LE DEVOIR, the parallel of ACTION SOCIALE CATHOLIQUE.

He invited Omer Héroux to leave the Quebec City daily and become news editor of the Montreal newspaper. He thus opened his own long phase of Montreal anti-Semitism. (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, Sect. 1, Pp. 47-49)

LE DEVOIR was a great event in Canadian history, transcending the journalistic. For decades this important daily was one of the channels by which all types of anti-Jewish views reached a most influential French-Canadian audience.

This daily was more than a newspaper. It was founded not in the interests of profit but as a public service, as a social and political guide for the élite of French Canada. It was truly independent, even of the institutions of the élite and of its acknowledged leaders. Established by one man, the director did not control the journalists whom he had named. The freedom he accorded them eventually permitted them to succeed him; even if not to oust him.

Although in external form one of the French-language daily newspapers of the metropolis, it was immediately perceived upon its first appearance a totally different type of institution, more nearly approximating the church or one of the state organisms than one of daily newspapers. It was different in editing, format, motivation, and morale and therefore in circulation which was never within the range of LA PRESSE and LA PATRIE. The raw material of LE DEVOIR was always opinion rather than crude information, but the concept of moral duty constantly underlay the intent of its information. From its first day it was always thus examined by all concerned with the people of Quebec. It numbered excellent journalists, profoundly religious collaborators, stylists and men of courage among those who directed it.

In addition to the contributions of its staff LE DEVOIR was always enriched by a tradition of literate correspondence to the editor. Even when they were spontaneous and not the implementation of organizational decision, they usually mirrored editorial policy and, in turn, influenced and confirmed these readers' views as a further instrument of the newspaper's role.

Especially after Bourassa left, it became an anti-Semitic agitator, and an originator and disseminator of contempt.

"Anti-Semitism was constant in the DEVOIR," Bélanger notes, "its larvae imbedded in its columns even if at times masked by a measure of discretion. Sometimes it is half hidden in a phrase such as 'a startlingly ethnic element constantly in quest of the Promised Land across the centuries.'"

Groulx recalled, "The founding of LE DEVOIR assumed the proportions of a historic event for us. Bourassa had breached the ranks of the political partisans. He would make a similar breach in the servile press. French Canada possessed independent journals who had placed the interests of nationalism and church above all else, such as Tardivel's LA VERITE and L'ACTION SOCIALE CATHOLIQUE, both in Quebec City. But Tardivel had died, and L'ACTION was reserved by its status as the official publication of the archdiocese of Quebec. LE DEVOIR proclaimed itself totally independent, of Catholic inspiration, a laymen's newspaper, free in scope in all areas. It would have as its director the incorruptible Bourassa, then at the height of his fame.

"Supported at its side by the provincial weeklies, all strongly nationalistic, and supporting them with his unquestioned authority, what a vehicle it would be to carry to the furthest end of the province the sweep of regeneration which inspired us to passion!

"In that age when the orator, the public speaker, the journalist was followed, was admired, more widely read, most applauded, LE DEVOIR became more than a newspaper; it became the first of the most efficient national institutions of French Canada. Until 1922 Bourassa wrote its most resounding editorials. He attracted the admiring allegiance of all Canadian nationalists, the most eloquent and most powerful that his race had ever produced.

"I happened to be with my family at Vaudreuil on January 10, 1910, at my sister's wedding. The family festivities did not prevent us from sending someone to the village post office to find a copy. With what joy I pounced upon this newborn paper of French inspiration, with its editorials on the front page exuding what is sane, strong and virile on a new earth.

"LE DEVOIR put Bourassa closer to us. We would live with him every day, follow him in his constant reflexes on the events and movements of the actors in the human comedy, hear closely the pulsations of the brain and the conscience of this man." (MES MEMOIRES, vol. 2, Pp. 195-97, 205-206)

Its circulation history indicates that its readership had been awaiting it; its first year's figure of 12,000 continued virtually unchanged for thirty years. It did not double for half a century. (1910, 12,000; 1920, 14,000; 1930, 14,000; 1940, 20,000; 1960, 41,000; 1965, 47,000; 1974, 37,000) (LA PRESSE QUEBECOISE)

Until the end of World War II its journalists tended to be more openly anti-Semitic along all fronts of attack upon Jews: achat chez nous,

pro-Hitlerism, anti-immigration, Jews as conspirators against French-Canadian interests, opposition to anti-hate legislation, highlighting press reports of Jewish criminality and of illegal political practices in "Jewish" constituencies, etc.

Omer Héroux, the classic spokesman for Quebec anti-Semitism, for decades had clarioned this hatred almost daily through LA VERITE and ACTION SOCIALE CATHOLIQUE before he was invited by Bourassa to speak the same language in Montreal. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, no. 35, Pp. 2, 9-32; CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, section 10) In the course of the painful years Omer Héroux became one of the major spokesmen of extremist Quebec nationalism and the devoted, high-minded publicist of Abbé L. Groulx.

Héroux' associate in the transfer from ACTION SOCIALE to Bourassa's LE DEVOIR was Georges Pelletier, become editor of the Montreal paper; specialist on immigration he came to lead the provincial campaign for three decades against immigration of Jews into Canada.

An entire class of literate men read it from the first column to the last of each issue with respect and careful consideration, cited the least of its contributors, and were guided by its judgments.

Bourassa entered Montreal journalism to bring a mass of anti-Semitic propaganda at the moment of the city's nadir of Jew hatred accompanied with violence.

Among the primitive instruments of anti-Semitic instruction, copied from the technology of the Quebec City episcopal ACTION SOCIALE CATHOLIQUE, was the daily criminal and police blotter listing Jewish offenders, labelled in their case, by their faith. From the first days of LE DEVOIR advocate S.W. Jacobs objected to the august Bourassa against this improper journalistic practice.

The anti-Jewish program entered deeply into the nationalistic thinking and teachings of some of the most influential and serious intellectual, political and religious leaders of French Canada -- men who, in some other regards, could rank among the distinguished and high-minded guides of their generations of French-speaking Canadians.

Bourassa continued in his anti-Semitism for many years, (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, sect. 1, 3) creating a baleful heritage for Quebec Jewry, injury to Quebec nationalism and eventually a grave spot on his record.

Although not as constantly hate-filled as ACTION CATHOLIQUE, Bourassa rejoiced in Abbé Edouard Lavergne's SUR LES REMPARTS and devoted two articles to this anti-Jewish program of action.

In 1910, as it was to do again a quarter of a century later, the DEVOIR alarmed its readers with a report from Winnipeg that a semi-philanthropic group of Jewish bankers and merchants in France,

England and Russia were planning to settle 200,000 Jews in Alberta, northwest of Edmonton. (LA VERITE, Sept. 3, 1910) Later Maurice Duplessis may have based his own similar canard for his own infamous Dorchester "revelations" on this fiction.

In that first year of Montreal's LE DEVOIR its Georges Pelletier accused the Jews of seeking to establish a kingdom of their own in the west, hoping soon to push the French Canadians out.

S.W. Jacobs, K.C., officer of the Jewish Colonization Association, wrote to the Montreal daily to expose the falsehood of the report and the racism of the journalist who, in the course of time, was fated to succeed Bourassa as director of LE DEVOIR.

"It is sad that a mere false rumour could lead Mr. Pelletier to write so lengthy an article in your newspaper when he could have used the space for more realistic purposes.

"However, since the matter of Jewish farm settlement in the west has been raised, it might be noted that in recent years a certain type of French language periodical has been publishing insults against the Jews of this province for confining their economic activities to peddling and other similar activities.

"On such occasions this press resorted to indecent language which is distant from showing friendship to fellow-citizens of various races. One of their major accusations is that they do not disperse across the dominion or engage in farming. Instead, they claim, Jews concentrate in the cities and monopolize certain trades.

"If many Jews seek to establish an important farm colony in Alberta, I can see no reason for dissatisfaction!

"Russia and Rumania are the only countries where a citizen's religion is attacked freely. If Mr. Pelletier's convictions are in agreement with the Russian and Rumanian bureaucrats, it seems he should not spend another day in Canada where no one will agree with his notions and should move to either of these lands where he will be able to assist the government in its plans.

"Reciprocally, in mutual aid, Russia will send Jews to settle in Canada; the presence of such as Mr. Pelletier will compensate Russia for its great loss."

Mr. Pelletier replied that he had not intended to attack any religion but only to regret that some nationalities tend to settle closely in certain areas. (ADLER, Nov. 10, 1910)

A nadir in the anti-Semitic biography of Bourassa was marked in October 1910 when he addressed the inflammatory mass meeting convened by Archbishop Bruchesi against Ernesto Nathan, mayor of Rome.

The church in Quebec organized a series of public meetings across the province in defence of the papal honour, emphasizing the Jewish origin of the mayor of Rome.

Bourassa referred to the words of the Italian mayor as a variation of the 2,000-year long battle of the enemies of the Christian religion.

M.G. Brown calls this assembly "a stunning performance the likes of which had not previously been seen in North America." (JEWISH FOUNDATIONS IN CANADA; THE JEWS, THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH, TO 1914. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1976. P. 279)

In the absence of the Protestant representatives from the meeting, the Catholic members of city council passed a resolution condemning the Jewish mayor of Rome for insulting the pope.

The mayor of Rome, Ernesto Nathan denied that he had criticized faithful Catholics or had attacked religion in any of his statements.

"The archbishop of Montreal, assisted by well-known personalities who lead the political organization of the church, had convened observant Catholics to accuse me of sacrilege and of offending the Lord, the earthly Jesus and the sacred pope.

"Some of your city councillors expressed an interest in the exact nature of these sacrileges. I am therefore sending herewith a copy of my speech. This will indicate the injustice of the assertion that I have insulted religion or its divine representative. As a man who respects religion in all its forms I cannot be guilty of sacrilege.

"I have criticized only a political organization which, in the name of religion, had instituted war against my country, seeking to destroy the unity of the Italian people, to suppress liberty of conscience, freedom of thought, modern science and world progress.

"Persons who occupy functions indubitably are permitted to criticize such a hostile attitude and to demonstrate how different the previous rules of the papacy over Rome were from the government." (ADLER, Nov. 9, 1910)

The international convention of American and Canadian Poale Zion in Montreal in October 1910 discussed the anti-Nathan demonstration in which Mayor Guérin participated and condemned the illegal expressions of the municipal government. (Ibid, Oct. 26, 1910)

The ADLER of October 23, 1910 responded to the criticism to the New York WARHEIT which had expected the Jewish community to react strongly against the city council in the Nathan case. It admitted that Montreal Jewry was too poorly organized to express itself on such matters; the radicals do not work together with the religious community; the orthodox can barely unite to control kashruth or to

choose a chazan; men of distinction and prominence are distant from the masses of the immigrant community and do not know their interests and perceptions.

Nevertheless the ADLER defended the rights of Jewish citizens who hold important positions of public trust in any country to express their opinions in the interests of the state regardless of their Jewish origin. This freedom -- indeed, their obligation -- is inherent in their freedom to hold office. (Nov. 16, 1910)

Henri Bourassa contributed to Drumont's Paris' LA LIBRE PAROLE on Canadian political affairs. (Reported from London in the Montreal STAR; reprinted in ACTION SOCIALE CATHOLIQUE of Dec. 15, 1910)

The year of Bourassa's founding of LE DEVOIR witnessed the Eucharistic Congress in which he played a dramatic role. Spectacularly he took advantage of the presence of many church dignitaries to reaffirm the importance of the French language as a vehicle for the dissemination of the faith.

LE DEVOIR on the occasion criticized Clarence I. de Sola, president of the Zionist Federation, who was also Belgian consul in Montreal: he had not flown the festive flag over the consulate during the Eucharistic Congress. De Sola instituted action for libel, and the paper published a complete and unreserved apology; the consulate was a tenant in a very big building; the newspaper had been wrongly informed.

Henri Bazire, contributor to the notorious Parisian LA LIBRE PAROLE, reached Canadian readers by being reprinted in the DEVOIR. (LA VERITE rejoiced on May 27, 1911)

Hyman P. Nerwich, who had recently acquired the CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, warned the Jewish community against "The French Press and the Jews" on March 17, 1911,

"It is regrettable that so few Jews read the local French papers. Whilst they may not see therein anything of specific interest to them, yet they would know that certain of its sections are continually maligning, slandering and openly abusing them.

"LE DEVOIR, Bourassa's paper, especially has of late started a campaign of anti-Semitism which will, unless stopped, do us much injury in the eyes of our French neighbours. Hardly a day passes without some insinuation, attack or hostility being given vent to. More especially is this the case since Bourassa has returned from his trip to France, where he undoubtedly gained a few points on anti-Semitism from LA LIBRE PAROLE, the only paper that saw fit to give space to the nationalist leader while he was in Paris.

"LE DEVOIR publishes a column daily from its correspondent in France. He says that the people of France have at last arisen to the danger of Jewish encroachments, and so forth, and so on! In another

issue, it reported the conviction for adulterating butter of two men with undoubted Jewish names. 'Is it necessary to say that they are Jews?' he remarks. In the same issue it reported a similar offence against a man with a French name, but no comment was made on this.

"Something should be done by our co-religionists to defend themselves against these slanderous attacks. The readers of such papers as LE DEVOIR, who seldom come into contact with our people, are given an altogether unfavourable impression.

"Such papers as LE CANADA, who are favourable toward us, should be used to counteract this ill-feeling, unless this can best be done by a number of our leading co-religionists who might use their influence and have all such statements of a derogatory character challenged.

"The Legislation Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute should take the matter in hand and a sub-committee be appointed to read the French papers and where necessary to take steps and prevent a recurrence, or at least make a rebuttal."

This anti-Jewish policy, milder than that of the Quebec City periodicals, continued in the DEVOIR until another great Canadian André Laurendeau reversed his earlier anti-Jewish stand and became an ardent champion of fairness for the Jews. But that was not until the end of the second of the world wars. Before that the files of that daily, under the editorship of Georges Pelletier particularly, make most painful reading.

A Jewish paper in the United States, the TAGEBLATT, complained in July, 1911 that the province was virtually alone in North America with an established church and a legal system not in harmony with American principles of the freedom recognized on the continent. This concession accorded French Canadians by the document of capitulation constitutes a state within a state in the Dominion.

"This emerges clearly in the controversy on education and on religious differences on school questions, and creates a situation manifestly incompatible with national unity and consolidation.

"It subjects patriotism to another allegiance and leads Canada to a renewal of the curse which has desolated Ireland for centuries.

"Jews, together with the Protestant English seek national unity in which all free citizens will enjoy equal political rights, freedom of conscience and worship in which no sect will be able to inscribe its prejudices into law -- the constitutional status enjoyed by Americans. If this American law were promulgated in Canada, it would make for much happiness.

"In any case all of us who are not Roman Catholic French Canadians can mitigate the sad state in which we find ourselves by uniting into

one Canadian English nationality, in public schools where children will grow up together with understanding and mutual respect."

LA VERITE was surprised to read this bold statement published in the English language,

"We can imagine that they write about us in Hebrew." (July 29, 1911)

Pierre Bayard responded to the Jewish authors, "The Jew reproaches us for being a state within a state because we are privileged to have an established church which is legally recognized by the state. But the Jews forget that wherever they have a colony they enjoy freedom of worship and that they themselves constitute a state within a state. They preserve their own government, and it would be an error to say that they have no worship. They enjoy their own secret government which rules all the Jews of the world. Spread over the globe they preserve faithfully their worship and their traditions. In spite of appearances they remain a people with a hidden force which will enable them soon to enslave all peoples under their domination. It is this people leads freemasonry... At present the Jews are the masters of the French nation and are about to dominate Canada as they are controlling France. We will become aware of this when the French will be, when it is too late to act.

"Now who is responsible for this? Sir Wilfrid Laurier, this great Canadian who has flooded Montreal with Jews. He had opened his arms to them when Russia drove them out to prevent the Slav peoples from falling victim to the Jewish conspiracies.

"You will soon see the part they will play in politics..."

It required many decades for this conflictual situation to be appeased and for the Jewish MLA's Dr. Victor Goldbloom and Herbert Marx and Premiers Robert Bourassa and René Lévesque to have concourse of another tenor in the National Assembly. (CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES no. 33)

Bourassa and his associates did not hide their antagonism towards Jews.

In an address on the objectives of the Nationalist Party delivered on April 9, 1911 before the club in the Sailors' Institute, Bourassa attacked the Jewish immigrants from Poland, Lithuania and Galicia.

"We have enough people in Canada who want to settle the west, and we need not import undesirables from Europe. There are many Frenchmen and English in this country who wish to establish themselves on farms; preference should be given to them rather than to Jews. If we offer the same encouragement to Christians which we offer to these undesirable immigrants, our country will be stronger and happier.

"I know that I have a poor reputation in certain circles, but I care not for this. If I am hated by some, I am beloved by others. My view is that Canada need not follow the ways of England or of the United States. It must conduct an independent policy such as suits it. I stand for the formation of a powerful national feeling in our country." (ADLER, Apr. 11, 1911)

A commercial dairy advertised in LE DEVOIR, "Instead of importing immigrants at great cost, immigrants whose habits and mentality are strange to us, would it not be better to save the lives of our babies who die each year. They are the natural heirs of our soil and of our patrimony." (Jan. 14, 1930)

An effort to win Bourassa to an understanding of the Jewish community was made in December 1911 by some of the leaders of the Montefiore Club, with no more than mixed results.

Some of the leading members, such as S.W. Jacobs and Mortimer Davis had opposed the invitation and were rumoured to consider resigning.

The immigrant community felt that the strategy was false. "Would it not have been wiser, instead of introducing him to the gentlemen of the Jewish society, to take him to the shops where thousands of workers sweat twelve hours a day; to the saloons where Catholic and Protestant workers drink away their sparse wages -- with not a Jew in sight; to the Jewish homes where live the families devoted to ancient traditions?" (ADLER, Dec. 27, 1911)

Bourassa accepted the invitation. He loved the Jews in Montreal, but he opposed the admission of others, he told them.

An exchange of letters between S.W. Jacobs and Henri Bourassa, bearing on the attitude of his paper towards the Jewish population took place at the end of September, 1912. The CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES noted that "Mr. Jacobs stated his complaints and marshalled his facts with clearness and conciseness. Mr. Bourassa, in his reply, was rather personal, but nevertheless made some attempt to vindicate himself by shifting the blame, which he admitted his paper had deserved, from his own shoulders to the narrower ones of a new member of the staff. On the whole there was a considerable amount of personal animus introduced into the matter by both sides." (CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, Oct. 2, 1912)

IN THE EXTREMIST DIRECTION

Very early Bourassa began to feel -- and to admit -- that his LE DEVOIR was slipping out of his control.

In 1912 Bourassa disavowed, in a letter to S.W. Jacobs, articles with anti-Jewish tones that had slipped into his LE DEVOIR without his prior knowledge. He reiterated this in a 1917 letter to Louis Fitch.

Two vast profound movements were on the way in Quebec during the 1920's, reflected in the journals of the province, in the annals of LE DEVOIR and in the biographies of two of its leading nationalists: Henri Bourassa and Chanoine Lionel Groulx.

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

There is the classic logical danger of the post hoc ergo propter hoc in setting the chronology of Groulx' Montreal biography. But it may be useful to note in this context that at least since 1913 Groulx had been the guiding spirit of a series of radical organizations inspired by French rightist Charles Maurras; his ACTION FRANCAISE was living in a nightmare world of the insane in which a "literature" supposedly written by Jews exposed or confessed a Jewish conspiracy. (A dozen years later some ignoramus in Montreal compiled a pamphlet of these 'citations' and circulated it from Quebec all over the world under the title of THE KEY TO THE MYSTERY.)

Anatole Vanier, general secretary of the Ligue des droits du française wrote a number of anti-Semitic articles in ACTION NATIONALE over the years.

In July 1924 the precursor of ACTION NATIONALE, in its nightmares of the anti-Semitic devil-myth, saw "numerous Jewish members in the House of Commons, in the provincial legislature and in the city council." Its A.V. saw Jewish postmen in a Montreal branch speaking Hebrew and doing their work on Canadian mail as if in a Jewish land. (ACTION FRANCAISE, vol. 12, P. 59)

In October 1925 ACTION FRANCAISE editorialized with mere statistics. Under the heading of "The Jewish Question" the editor said, "to understand its importance, some statistics will suffice". Followed the Jewish population figures for each province in the years 1901, 1911 and 1921, and the number of Jewish immigrants in 1851, 1861, etc. to 1921. The implied conclusion: too many. (Vol. 14, P.260)

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

Very much more serious in its implications was a pseudonymous article in ACTION FRANCAISE of January 1927 (Vol. 17, Pp. 25-27) in connection with the "Judeo-American cinema". It is significant that the reaction of this sector of Quebec society against Hollywood was so strong that it evoked the harshest comments and threats. "It was the more timely because of a terrible catastrophe which had occurred in a Montreal movie house, the Laurier Palace, and cost the lives of some 70 children." (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES. Section 1, Pp. 25-26; Groulx. MEDITATION PATRIOTIQUE; CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, new series no. 8, Pp. 5A-6A)

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

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

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

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

A year later LE DEVOIR discovered another secret Jewish conspiracy: the published annual report for 1935 of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society. (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, Section 10, P. 478) It projected 4,000,000 Jews in Quebec by the year 2100. (Oct. 19, 1933)

When Jewish immigration into Canada declined in 1933, LE DEVOIR would "not be lulled into a dangerous tranquility" as it summarized Jewish efforts to save European Jews.

"It is not anti-Semitism to oppose Jewish immigration... The Jewish shopkeeper on St. Lawrence Blvd. does nothing to increase our national resources." (Aug. 1938)

"They are people whom Canada has scarcely any interest to admit." (May 12, 15 and 21, 1936) "Of what value is this assisted immigration of urban elements with questionable advanced social tendencies?" (June 2, 1933)

LE DEVOIR editorially opposed the pro-immigration petition of the League against Fascism and Anti-Semitism in June 1938, and Minister Crerar cited the leftist petition as a further reason to keep the doors shut. (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, section 11, P. 557)

Even in Groulx' camp the unanimity was not perfect. Father Philippe Alexandre Dupré (1887-1958) was professor at Collège Ste. Marie of Montreal, later at the Collège d'Edmonton, editor of RELATIONS and MA PAROISSE. (see CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, Section 1, P. 67, and CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, New Series, no. 3, P. 124)

In Abbé Groulx' ACTION FRANÇAISE of 1922 Abbé Dupré set forth a program of action which was remarkably close to that which a new generation of Québécois implemented during the following 55 years.

In his article on "French Canada and the Strangers" in vol. 7 (Pp. 194-209) Father Dupré, writing under the non-de-plume of Joseph Bouchard, attempted to avoid xenophobia and anti-Semitism as he surveyed the future policy of French Canadian nationalism, directed at insuring the French language and the survival and the fullest rights of the people of the province of Quebec.

In this article he states that a carefully planned and consistent policy of nationalistic action would solve the problems of the non-French Canadians in the province by its own action.

"Let us not be preoccupied with the Jews, whose importance and competence we do not need to exaggerate provided we do not set about to enrich them ourselves. In any case they will not be the last to put themselves on the side of the French: they always know how to situate themselves in relation to the winds that blow."

The Vatican condemned the Action française movement in France, seeing, as early as 1926, that its nationalistic extremes, in Catholic terminology, were leading to an abyss dangerous to the church as well as other social institutions and to many moral principles. (Ibid., P.27)

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

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

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

The Abbé was not too distant from Arcand-Ménard who later argued, in a controversy with J.-F. Pouliot, M.P., that, in the views of a Catholic, freedom of religious worship is a false principle and that only the Catholic faith is the true faith, and only this faith should be permitted. Ménard was able to call upon the ever useful Mgr. L.-A. Pâquet in his support.

The extremism of the Groulxist school was exemplified by LA NATION when its P.B. approved that Jeanne d'Arc replace St. Jean Baptiste as the patron saint of French Canada, "for French Canadians can hardly explain the queer choice that had been made of John the Baptist whom, in their secret heart, they dislike because of his lamb, and because he is a Jew.

"Jeanne d'Arc is, first of all, a saint of our race who, secondarily, had the extraordinary merit of living at a time when heaven was not afraid of being nationalist and kicking the English out of France."

It took Claude Hurtubise to respond to the men of the school of Groulx. His instrument was the remarkable Quebec review, LA RELEVÉ of which Hurtubise was one of the pillars.

The group of profound Catholic observer-patriots who edited the philosophic-theologic-mystic journal saw the western world as a civilization mortally wounded. (Series 2, no. 3, Nov. 1935), "without a soul, in its present form. We note again that the world has entered into a decisive revolutionary period." They urged their Quebec compatriots to sainthood and to the incarnation of the truth. ("Preliminary to a Manifesto for the Fatherland" in series 3, no. 1, Sept. 1936. See also A.-J. Bélanger. L'APOLITISME DES IDEOLOGIES QUEBECOISES, LE GRAND TOURNANT DE 1934-36. Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974. Pp. 161-71)

In the Cahier 3 of Section 4 and in issue 3 of 1934 of LA RELEVÉ layman Hurtubise responded at length to Groulx' disciple ("Saint Jean-Baptiste et le nationalisme," Pp. 69-74),

"Today more than ever religion is again compromised in politics, 'used' by it so that we may not go elsewhere in search of a patron protector for nationalist movements dragged by force into the political arena. Governments and parties have the power and the duty to call upon the patrons whom the church has designated to their countries; they must search in these patrons the examples of strength or courage, but not use them as political arguments.

"Above all I would wish to liberate religion from the temporal where it is engaged by its very work; I would conserve its freedom, its transcendence and its dependence upon the Divine.

"At the present they tend too much to isolate themselves ferociously, concentrating on their own virtues and faults, rejecting all that comes from outside, seeking to find all elements of culture and civilization

within their own borders. This is to deny the universalism of man, for the person needs the support of all peoples and of all people.

"The eminently noble aim of developing our people to the highest point cannot be realized by evil means; such rapid methods only apparently produce results and aggravate the problem.

"The anti-Semitism that we find here is an unheard of declaration to say the least, and to be taken for a joke... St. Joseph, declared the patron saint of all Canada from its very beginning by Urbain VIII, was another Jew." (CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, section 11, Pp. 595-96, and section 9, P. 383)

Abbé Groulx never missed an occasion to criticize this "idiotic formula" of Catholic Action which is the cause of "our deep troubles." (Gaboury, Pp. 24-26)

Groulx was nevertheless hailed by his Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve. "I have come here this evening to manifest the friendship I bear for Abbé Groulx, to bring him my feelings of appreciation, at the risk of scandalizing the weak. M. l'Abbé Groulx is one of the masters of the hour; he is one of those to whom our race owes most." (Un Auditeur, in ACTION NATIONALE, vol. 9, no. 5, May 1937, Pp. 269-72; CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, Section 1, Pp. 30-31)

Groulx has bequeathed us a rare revelation of this distorting use of language to convey the opposite of the meaning of the words, and yet to communicate intention with the clarity and power of incendiary eloquence. It comes from one of the masters of language in French Canada, even though the very visible Abbé Lionel Groulx chose to cover his face for the occasion with the nom de plume of Jacques Brassier.

In an article early in the anti-Semitic campaign in Quebec he demonstrated how one can preach the driving out of the Jews from the province, starving them and perpetrating other of the evils that were Poland's and Germany's first steps to world war and to holocaust furnaces -- and yet without being anti-Semitic; indeed, while condemning anti-Semitism, while remaining Christian (even priestly), while being positive, wise, and without calling for anti-Jewish legislation, and even while pretending to oppose violence:

"It is not only that anti-Semitism is not a Christian solution: it is negative and foolish. To solve the Jewish problem it would suffice for French Canadians to recover their common sense. No need of extraordinary legislative procedures; no need of violence in any form. We need not even issue the mot d'ordre, 'Do not buy from the Jews,' We need only say to French Canadian customers, 'Do what everybody is doing. Buy from your own people.' Yes, that is about all we need to be saying. And, if by a miracle, our slogan was understood and followed, within six months, within a year, the Jewish problem would be resolved, not only in Montreal but from one end of the province to

the other. There would remain only the Jews who can subsist from each other. The rest would be forced to disperse, to seek their livelihood in occupations other than trade." (ACTION NATIONALE, vol. 1, Apr. 1933, Pp. 240-41)

"The comments of ACTION FRANCAISE were so extreme that Chanoine Groulx was ordered by his superior, Mgr. Gauthier, to dissociate himself from the monthly. The priest retells this incident in the MEMOIRES. (Montreal, Fides, 1971, vol. 2, Pp. 360-62)

Groulx seemed to have taken up the doctrine of integral nationalism which for French Canadians lead to separation. Desirous as he was to exert influence, however, he was restrained by his clerical role. He did not dare become a leader in action.

Bourassa sniped at Groulx who has supplanted him with the nationalist youth. This youth had long followed Bourassa for the ideas which were no longer his. In the same way they followed Groulx because of ideas which he did not dare express but were attributed to him and probably were his. He passed for a separatist.

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CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES, ON ANTI-SEMITISM IN CANADA 1929-1939, 13 Sections

For further information: National Archives
Canadian Jewish Congress
1590 Ave. Dr. Penfield
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