971.004924
C35
v.36-38
1986
v.37

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 37

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

THE IMMIGRATION STORY II

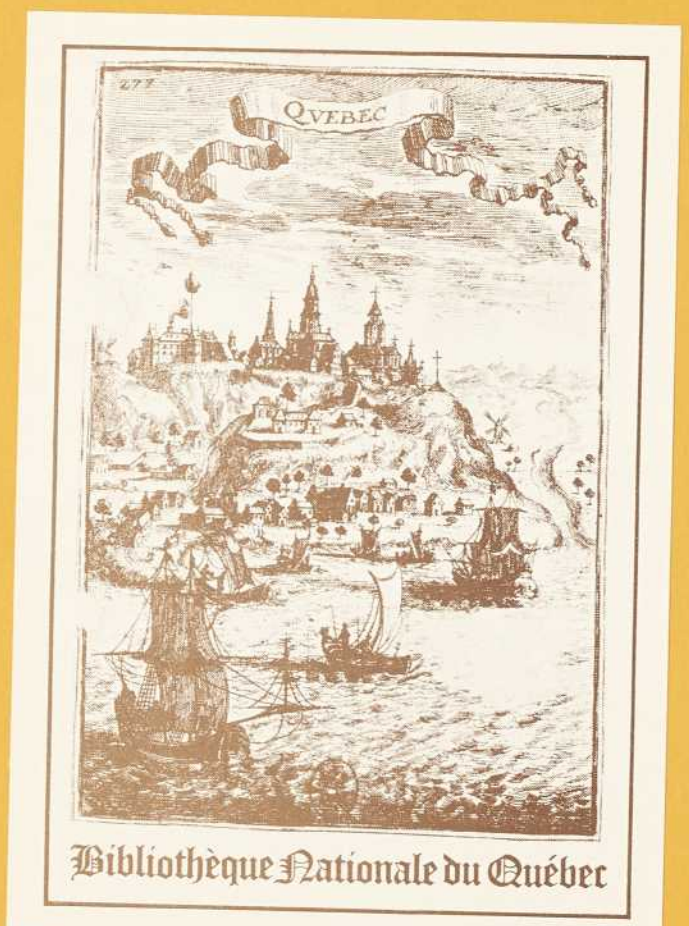
JACOBS' OPPONENTS

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1986

ISSN 0576-5528



Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec

CANADIAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

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 37

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

THE IMMIGRATION STORY II

JACOBS' OPPONENTS

Compiled by

DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1986

ISSN 0576-5528

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES - Serial Publication

Founded by Saul Hayes, O.C., Q.C., LLD, F.R.S.A. (1904-1980)

Original series, edited by Louis Rosenberg, F.R. Econ. S., F.S.S., numbers 1-6, 1955-1962

New Series, edited by David Rome, numbers 1- , 1974-

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS (Founded 1919)
1590 Avenue Docteur Penfield
Montreal, Quebec
H3G 1C5 (514-931-7531)

National President — Dorothy Reitman
National Executive Director — Jack Silverstone

NATIONAL ARCHIVES COMMITTEE

National Chairman — Professor Irving Abella
Co-Chairmen, Quebec Region — Professor Jack Lightstone
Phyllis Cohos-Newman

Director National Archives — Judith Nefsky
Historian — David Rome
Editorial Assistant — Lily Kaplin

FC
106
J8C35
v. 37
1986

D8700225

CONTENTS

Introduction Page i

Attacking Jews with Love 1
- Rabbi vs. Bishop 9
- Christian Reserve 16
- Toronto Not Least 18
- The Army of the Saviours 26
- In the Feigelson Home 32
- L.A. Hart Reacts 35

Canadian Jewish Tribune 38

The Establishment Older by a Decade 44

Perspectives 49

Rabbi Simon Joshuah Glazer 51
- The Canadian Rabbinate 54
- Kashruth 60
- The Schochet Imprisoned 64
- Class Struggle 69
- The Rabbi's Many Initiatives 74
- Is He a Rabbi? 79

Queen's College 83
- The Jews' Plaint 85
- Glazer Initiative 88
- Jacobs' Raction 94
- Dr. Campbell Responds 97
- In Parliament 100
- Public Opinion 111
- Bitter Protest 114
- A.B. Bennett View 116

Halifax 124

At Val David 126

The Son 127

INTRODUCTION

The current issues of Canadian Jewish Archives which deal with the immigration story of Canadian Jewry -- largely with the coming and the settling of migrants from Eastern Europe -- are complex and rich. The documentation coming from the years between 1880 and 1914 will require a score of issues. Yet the story of this movement began at least half a century before the 1880's, nor does it end with the present time; and there is a relationship with the Sephardic universe.

For the annals of the Jewish post-Roman exile and even of an earlier century are too full of sufferings and of revolutions to explain the vast movement from the Ukraine to Chicago by the "minor" excesses of Yelizavetgrad and Kishinev in the century of the German holocaust. Several decades before these pogroms the Jews in Russia were exposed to the incredible atrocity of the mass kidnapping of their little children by church and army; yet they did not respond by mass flight across oceans, and when the mass migration came, it did not derive only from the territories under the Czarist flag but from all the Yiddish lands.

Much earlier and more basic European Jewish phenomena must and can be evoked as the powerful forces acting upon the entirety of the people to alter them from a physically static and psychologically self sufficient, durable universe bending for centuries under murderous storms, sophisticated in outlasting threats of dynasties and reichs guaranteed to endure thousands of years, armed as these Jews were only with the divine alliance and the guarantee of eternal life.

What made this people suddenly decide that this time it will not suffice to bend with the storm, to rely upon the author of the covenant, to trust in the Talmud, its music, its teachers whose charisma reaches from the lowly people to the heights of Authority? The distance they travelled spontaneously, in single direction, is from life as it had been lived in the many hamlets from White Russia and Carpathia to Jewish life as it is being lived in Toronto, in Atlanta and in Tel Aviv.

The impelling force may have been the Zionism of Mapu, the Hebraism of the Haskalah, the religious reforms, the nascent labour movement, the vocationalism of ORT, the Zionism of Montefiore, the self-defence in Russian cities, or it may stem back to the French Revolution, to the Romantic revival;

or back to the Baal Shem Tov, or to the surfacing of the Cabbalah, or to the desperation of the holocaust of 1648 and the messianism of Sabbatai Zvi.

All this is at the root of the relevant history of the Jewish people as they exist today. We need only attempt to visualize what Canadian Jewry would be like today without the immigrations after 1840; if American Jewry had not received the immigrants of the past 150 years; what Argentina and the rest of Latin America, Palestine, South Africa, Britain, France, Australia and the Western world would be like without this Yiddish migration.

Remarkably, this self-generating human movement has left clues to its complex roots. We need only compare the physiognomy of this Jewish migration with its parallels in the contemporary migrations into Canada: the German, Polish, Ukrainian, Icelandic, Hungarian, Japanese, etc.

The Canadian Jewish Archives are examining the details of this movement in Canada insofar as the evanescent recollections and documents permit. The tentative titles of the series include:

A People Moves
The Emotive Phase
1863: the Impacts of Philanthropy
1882: the Crisis of Brody
Anglo Jewish Association
Baron de Hirsch
The Stream of Migrations
Health Services
Dispersion
Agriculture
Jewish Times, etc. (Canadian Jewish Archives No. 36)
Jacobs' Opponents (Canadian Jewish Archives No. 37)
Theatre
The Adler
Brainin
Chazanovitch
The Stream of Immigrants
Synagogues and Cemeteries
Mutual Aid
Religion of Yiddish
Children and Schools
The Working Life
Revolutionaries

ATTACKING JEWS -- WITH LOVE

One of the problems which engaged the Jewish Times profoundly was that of the Protestant missionaries, for it represented an ominous conflict with the central force upon which Canadian Jews relied for their very survival: the British tradition of tolerance for religious pluralism.

Of all the social and political elements in the nation the surest foundation for the Jews of Canada was Protestant English, with its ethos, its sociology and its legal structure. Not a single peroration read for a Jewish audience but concluded with an appeal to English justice, English equality, fairness, constitutionalism, tradition. These protections were as valid in Catholic Quebec, in the polyglot urban west and in the prairies policed by federal mounties as in Ontario. This force established the freedom of conscience and the equality of creeds which threatened Canada even at confederation. It was an alliance which was constantly sworn by Jew and Christian.

On its eleventh anniversary the Jewish Times recalled, "Even in this corner of the world within the sphere of our labors, we have had to contend with the detestable monster of racial and religious animosity. The volumes of the Jewish Times bear testimony to the efforts we have made to combat it, and to the success which crowned our efforts. We never made the mistake, however, of attributing to the people of Canada the fanatical bigotry which in reality characterizes a small section of the population of this province.

"There is here, as in France, Austria, and other European countries, a surviving remnant of an ecclesiasticism which in darker ages delighted in burning Jews at the stake and would again if the fanatics could have their way. To them the sun stood still over the cliffs of Quebec in the year 1759 and has never moved since to their eyes blinded by mediaeval mists.

"We fought this element on the ground of British freedom, law and justice, defeating them in every instance, never magnifying their number nor their influence, but brushing them aside as enemies of public order. We took our stand on the impregnable rock of our rights as British subjects and citizens of a free country.

"It was not as Jews merely, but as defenders of the British constitution, that we combatted the anti-Semitic group in this province, haled its exponents before the courts, drove them out of the country, or made them apologize and pay the cost of righteous prosecution. But like the imbecile Bourbons, whose ministry they cherish and whose evil rule they would reestablish, they learn nothing, forget nothing, though the mass of the people they seek to mislead treat

them with the good humored contempt signified by the name popularly bestowed to them." (Nov. 30, 1908)

Canadian Jews intoned this hourly benediction upon the empire and its laws,

"A judge shows that he is administering the law in a land, under the protection of the British flag, where every section of the community is allowed that free religious liberty for which the British Empire has always been known and by which it has reached its exalted position in the world." (Canadian Jewish Times, June 20, 1913. Editorial: "Historical Week for Canadian Jewry")

Suddenly, at the end of the century, a threat appeared to the stability of the Jewish home. It did not come from Catholic Quebec with its missionary tradition, from evangelical or fundamentalist denominations, but from the central eminent core, from mild Anglican and Presbyterian churchmen accosting Jewish immigrants, the little Jewish children most avid for dolls, the least employable of newcomers; and the menace came from ignorant, cynical meshumadim themselves hungry for security and status. Soon bishops confirmed their approval and toughened their language as they spoke up in debate with Jews. They challenged Jewish rights increasingly.

In early British Columbia, where education was in the care of Anglicans, Jewish children were withdrawn from the Victoria schools because of the missionary activities of the teachers.

It befell to the son of Abraham de Sola to defend the privacy of the Feigelson home, to Reform Rabbi Nathan Gordon to respond to Bishop Farthing, and to Rabbi Hirsch Cohen to remind Rector Troop about the Spanish Inquisition.

The very possibility of a conflict between the established Jewish community and Canadian Protestantism was traumatic. There was no clear connection with the anti-Semitic preachment of Goldwin Smith in this same period. But there was an early presage of the Lord's Day conflict, of the rejection of Jewish membership on the Protestant school boards, and some time later of the barring of Jewish refugees from Hitlerism.

Protestant missionary activity in the young Canadian ghetto revealed its own scornful perspective on that society. It was an activity that was considered more serious by both contenders than by later generations.

At the time the Protestant churches invested effort and money in fishing for Jewish souls, even while those responsible for the establishment and continuity of Judaism en voyage expressed their concern by loud alarums. In point of fact, the Christian effort was so futile, largely because of the sophistication of the immigrant public at whom it was directed, that the offensive was surrendered.

The missionaries' work among the Jewish immigrants was creating ominous misunderstanding even though its concrete results were risible. For the Canadians given to Christ it seemed legitimate and natural to direct their attention to these blinded Jews in Canada, just as they worked unhesitatingly among other "natives" in their colonies who were not of their denomination. It was part of their world-wide, millenia-aged mission. Now that the Jews were leaving the shetlach of the Russian empire and were entering the reach of Western Christianity, these missionaries became active all along the route that led from Brody to Vancouver. Their major instrument was the sincere smile of friendship, possibly a key to entry into comfortable Christian society. They offered a roof overhead, a personal interest, rarely a bit of material aid.

The Protestant missionaries sought to snare souls among the confused and helpless immigrants from Eastern Europe, even as they were challenged to single out new options in the New World.

For the Canadian Jewish observers the phenomenon was more than irritating. They were witnessing an attempt by Canadian Protestants to participate in the same destruction of the Jewish group, by western instruments, which Russian, Ukrainian and Rumanian pogromists were seeking by their own inhumanly violent instruments.

Curiously this Canadian program was using an unprepossessing group of converts from Judaism which were somewhat akin to these Meshumadim whom Tardivel and La Vérité had found in France. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 34)

The missionaries were prepared for resistance, for indifference, but not for this intense resentment which they met from the Jews. As the Jews who were fleeing Christian Russia for their very lives and for the preservation of their being and their identity as they saw them, the preaching of the missionaries came as a challenge to defend that for which they had sacrificed so much during many centuries. It was a threat and an offence of an as yet unknown dimension.

The Canadian Jewish Times wrote on June 23, 1911,

"The riots in Toronto brought about by the persistence of certain Meshumodim to force their brand of religion down the throats of Jews living in the 'Ward' suggest that something similar will happen in this city when Bishop Farthing's conversion shop is opened for business. The place selected by the head of the Anglican Church is, of course, in the Jewish district, and it will not be surprising that the arguments of his hired help will be answered by equally as good arguments consisting of decayed vegetable matter, tomato cans and other odorous refuse which the district can provide in such abundance. In this way, will the matter intended for the incineration department, but not removed, be of some good purpose."

The debate as to the inclusion of the Jews within the Presbyterian evangelical programme reached the congress of this denomination in Toronto in June 1913. Not surprisingly one of its participants was the converted Jew S.B. Rohold who declared, to quote the Montreal Jewish Times of June 13, 1913, that "the influence of Canadian Jewry depends, as to its quality, upon the Christian Church; he called upon the church not to exclude the Jews from its evangelical programme."

Sabetti B. Rohold had just written Glimpse of Toronto's Ghetto in West Can., (Vol. 16. Royal Empire Society, 1911, Pp. 345-52) and The Jew in Canada, 2nd ed. (Home Mission, 1913. 24 p.)

"This is an audacious and malicious statement, and deserves to be repudiated not only by every self-respecting Jew, but by every well-intentioned Christian.

"Whatever the spiritual needs of the people of Israel may be, every honest Christian knows that the Jews are competent to provide those needs out of the storehouse of their own religious experiences...

"It is the meanest of calumnies to say of such a people that they are not competent to restore to spiritual and religious manhood of any of its members who have become indifferent to religion. But it is adding insult to injury to say that we have any large number of indifferents, larger than will be found among our Christian fellow-citizens...

"We are a people of ideals, no matter what temporary cloud may obscure the sun. Our religious problems are peculiarly ours, and no other denomination has the right to consider us as heathen.

"A man like this Rohold especially, who has come from the loins of such a people, is guilty of the most odious treachery when he goes to a congress of religious men and spreads among them calumnies calculated to bring disrespect. They may not know what conditions prevail among Jews. But Rohold, as a descendant of Jews, may be presumed to know. We repudiate any statement that comes from him, and urge upon our Christian brethren to minister to their own backsliding members before they waste their time among Jews.

"A Jew remains a Jew. If he becomes indifferent to Judaism, it is not Christianity that will give him faith, but a re-awakening to the concern of Israelites.

"All Rohold's phrases about not wanting Jews to become Christians, but to remain Jews and open their souls to the Gospel, is sheer hypocrisy, and intended to blind the eyes and confuse the ears of his listeners. Such men as Rohold are a menace to the good fellowship that should exist between Jews and Christians."

From the Quebec perspective the Jewish Times wrote on February 21, 1908 on "Evangelization."

"A correspondence has appeared in the daily press on the subject of missions for the evangelization, that is, the conversion of French Canadians from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. Naturally the French Canadians resent this intrusive interference with their religious convictions, implying as it does, that they are poor, ignorant, dimsighted people in a state of spiritual darkness, who need the light of the Gospel such as is in the exclusive possession of the Protestant Evangelical sects. The Presbyterians being the most active in this propaganda, were taken to taks particularly in an article which appeared in La Presse. The Rev. Mr. Scott, a Presbyterian minister, defended the missions in a letter to the Gazette. It overflowed, as all missionary writing and preachings do, with the kindest, most affectionate references to the people whose conversion is sought.

"Jews are accustomed to this sort of Evangelical soft soap, which is merely the sugar coating to the nauseous pill the missionary intends to administer when he gets down to business. But all the sugaring, gilding and iridescent dyeing cannot conceal the kernel of insolent presumption of superiority by men who have the audacity to interfere with the conscientious religious convictions of others, spiritually endowed and intellectually equipped as they are, to say the least.

A French Canadian writes:-

"'After all, evangelization means, humanely speaking, civilization. What should we think of a movement, or of any form of organization, among French Canadians to civilize Ontario, let us say? Would the inhabitants of the sister province feel flattered and grateful at the announcement that their neighbors, as sole or chief depositories of the boon of civilization, were anxious to share with them?

"The fact is that, first, the vast majority of Protestants and Catholics are willing to leave things to Providence. Second, a certain number, with the best intentions, like Mr. Scott, would like to see their brethren of a different faith converted, but are content to suggest that thing tactfully. Third, a small insignificant fraction resort to methods which are offensive and calculated to defeat, rather than to promote, the very object they have in view.'"

Jewish resentment of the missionaries was reflected in the violence against the Toronto mission house on Hallowe'en. The leader of the conversionist activities, a former Jew named Singer, mobilized the city press against Jewish intolerance. (Adler, Nov. 3, 1912)

The wording used by B.G. Sack, in a report for a New York newspaper on the missionary activities in Canada, reflects the violence of the problem at the time,

"The missionary epidemic rampant in Canada for some time, which had made its way into the Winnipeg ghetto, and had led the Toronto police to split the heads of Jews, Russian style, has found its way to Montreal; they are ready to poison the souls of young Jewish children and entice them with candy and ice cream into the nets of pious Christian defenders of souls.

"At first it seemed that the bloody dramatic Toronto confrontation of several weeks ago would be repeated in Montreal as the paid kidnappers of souls chose the Jewish district for its propaganda among Jews and organized public meetings every Sunday in the hope of finding sacrificial victims there. Again, a group of Jews formed as the Jewish National Society also organized open air meetings just across from the missionaries' meetings.

"But the local police intervened in time to prevent both meetings. The minister responsible for the missionary activities complained to acting-mayor Gauvin who explained that the police had overreacted; the intention had been to prevent only the Jewish meeting...

"The missionary activity sponsored in Montreal by the Canadian Presbyterian convention on missions stopped; but even so liberal a newspaper as the Witness, which carried a column of news of Jewish interest every Saturday, could find no words to condemn "the barbarism" of the Jews in disturbing the meetings of Christians whose hearts overflow with love for them and with a desire to bring them into "the heavenly kingdom." (N.Y. Tageblatt, July 28, 1911)

As late as December 29, 1915 Reuben Brainin had occasion to write in his Der Veg on "Missionaries and Jewish Children."

Adler publishes from H. Wolofsky's Mein Lebensreise an incident involving the Jews' raction to the missionaries which had political consequences:

These militant Christians set up a House of Worship opposite Prince Arthur Hall where a Jewish Day of Atonement service was held. The missionaries invited the public inside to hear a sermon by the Rev. Neugewirtz, a well known convert. This provoked some of the Jewish worshippers and a fight ensued while the Protestant bishop was in attendance. The police had to quiet the disturbance.

There was considerable press interest and Alderman Abraham Blumenthal was interviewed. His comment was, "I try to teach my fellow Jews and talk to them, but I get nowhere."

The Adler warned Blumenthal that he had lost the moral right to represent the Jews in city hall by this lukewarmness and by failing to defend the position of the Jews.

This may have contributed to Blumenthal's political downfall, for soon after, Wolofsky notes, Lyon W. Jacobs was nominated for that council

seat, Blumenthal resigned and Jacobs was easily elected against labour candidate Joseph Schubert. (Mein Lebensreise, P. 80)

B. Figler reported "on that especially revolting incident in October 1916. "Religious services for the High Holy Days had been arranged in the Prince Arthur Hall.

"On the eve of Yom Kippur a huge sign, in large Yiddish characters, was displayed in front of the Mission House reading: 'Chief Rabbi Farthing will speak to-night on the subject: Is Yom Kippur the True Atonement?'

"This wording and the manifest insult it constituted to the Jewish community, in calling the Anglican Bishop Farthing the 'Chief Rabbi', aroused the anger of worshippers on their way to the Hall to attend the religious services. An appeal to the missionaries to remove the sign went unheeded. An attempt to tear down the sign led to violence. Several youths threw stones at the Mission House, breaking windows and doors, until Police arrived and quelled the disturbance."

La Presse of the 7th of October, 1916 reported on this "disturbance between Israelites on Prince Arthur East. A religious sect is attacked in its temple during a speech by the Very Reverend Bishop Farthing, one of the guests of honour of the evening. Rocks and vegetables were pouring down. Commissioner Ross sent Jewish soldiers to the rescue.

"It was an indescribable scene when Anglican Bishop Farthing, Mrs. Farthing, and several other ladies as well as ministers were besieged by a crowd in the Anglican mission for the Jews at 44 Prince Arthur St. All the windows in the structure were shattered by objects thrown from the exterior. Several were injured; fortunately none seriously.

"Chief Campeau and Assistant Grandchamps this time appeared on the site of the trouble when they learned the nature of the disturbance, and their presence helped to calm spirits. Commissioner Ross also was with the police. Soldiers from the Jewish company led by their officers also assisted by taking positions around the building to keep the protesters from entering. Only one person was injured, a young soldier from the Jewish company who was taken to the hospital. When the crowd was dispersed, the visitors were taken to their homes by cars belonging to the city.

"After the melée, Bishop Farthing explained that for some years it has been customary to hold a ceremony of intercession by Christian Jews on the Day of Atonement for other Israelites. He attended these sessions as guest of honour.

"Last year there was also the beginning of a disturbance on the same occasion, but four constables were able to disperse the demonstrators.

"In the course of last night's service several groups of young people came into the hall and left on the pretext that there was no room for them. Soon after there was a general attack on the mission. Windows were broken by projectiles of all types; bricks, stones, tomatoes and pieces of wood showered on the occupants. Rev. James Ray was quite painfully struck by a rock while he was at prayer.

"The hall where the meeting was held is only fifty by fifteen feet; the bishop and the other guests on the platform were quite exposed. There were several windows behind them. In spite of the cries and warning of danger the bishop continued his speech.

"All the windows and doors were broken by the attackers who attempted to overthrow a barricade hastily erected inside the building. There were several constables at the door at the beginning of the services, but they were helpless in the face of the growing crowd. Capt. Riopel arrived on the scene at the head of a squad, but two hours after the beginning of the trouble there still remained many groups in the vicinity."

The entire Jewish community was shocked by this affront, S.W. Jacobs declared in an interview: "I deeply regret to hear that Jews have made a riot. But knowing that such is not their habit I must come to the conclusion that it was a provocation on the part of the missionaries. The Yiddish words that a 'Chief Rabbi' would speak on Yom Kippur, constituted a base insult to tempt Jews to enter. It is no wonder that the Jewish youth took the situation in their own hands.

"It should remain a lesson for the conversionists not to outrage Jewish religious feelings. Much as I regret the incident I do not feel that I can blame the Jews for refusing to allow their feelings to be outraged, though I regret other and more peaceful means were not possible." (S.W. Jacobs, M.P., P. 31)

RABBI vs. BISHOP

The Canadianized generations of Jews, who were not burdened with the whole fardel of Jewish semantics, reactions and historic experience and who had the Canadian and Anglo-Saxon rather than the Russian tradition, might have considered it their function to interpret the New World tolerance of the missionaries to the immigrants. That might have developed, but in the event, they didn't.

These Canadianized Jews were as one with the newcomers in rejecting the message of "the bearers of the light of truth."

The Jewish Times wrote, "This brings out prominently the stupidity and impertinence of this plan to Evangelize the French-Canadians. As to the Jews, the case becomes still more glaring. When we find men who have no knowledge of the Hebrew language presuming to instruct us in the meaning of our sacred scriptures, the absurdity, as well as the crass ignorance and audacity of the conversionists, only excite contempt.

"Not to Christianity, but to the revolutions brought about by the philosophers, the humanitarians who deprived its most powerfully organized church of the power to inflict death and all sorts of injuries upon our people, do we owe the toleration we enjoy, Having survived all that and, being endowed with the rights of free British citizens, we can smile at the fantastic efforts the missionaries; only pausing once in a while, as in the present instance, to tell them plain truths, with the request that they mind their own business and leave us, as we leave them, to exercise in their own way that freedom of conscience which is the birthright of every one of His Majesty's subjects.

"For us Jews the history of Christianity is a continuous record of unspeakable cruelties and persecutions imposed upon our people. By its fruits we know it."

Rev. Meldola de Sola called the aggressive purveyors of Christianity cowards, and the local Jewish press was tireless in searching out the expansionist missionary elements in current Christian writing about Jews.

This Jewish society contributed to another interesting development in this question: increasingly the liberal Christians, themselves no less profoundly convinced of the universal validity of their faith than those more heedlessly active in the cause, came to recognize that there is something indelicate and insensitive about the mission to the Jews; that it was productive of more harmful elements than of benefits. Christianity has come to accept that these fruitless missions

only create walls between peoples, foster hostility and prevent understanding.

And again,

"In recognizing as we do that Christianity is a proselytising religion, we are content to permit these good but curiously deluded people to carry on their propaganda, as we have to endure many other disagreeable things in life without allowing them to disturb our equanimity. Like the man when asked why he submitted to beatings by his wife replied -- 'It pleases she and it don't hurt I.' -- we accept these assaults on our faith with good-natured toleration...

"If they are able to persuade any Jew to accept these instead of the truths and beauties, the scriptural, historical and doctrinal claims of Judaism, they are welcome to do so. But here is where the line must be drawn.

"When the Christian missionary becomes a tempter and under the guise of charity, seeks to proselytise the Jew when he is afflicted with illness, poverty and want, then that missionary forfeits all claims to respect or toleration. He must be shown the door without ceremony...

"But there is greater meanness, still more contemptible and positively immoral conduct, to be charged against the mission for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity in Montreal. We set down these words with deepest regret, but with full sense of their meaning and of the imperative duty we have to discharge in uttering them. We refer to the cruelty, baseness and immorality of the missionaries in their attempts to ruin and destroy the peace and happiness of Jewish homes by systematically poisoning the minds of our children and teaching them to dishonor their parents.

"For how otherwise can the methods followed in the missionary schools, ostensibly for giving instruction in sewing and other little arts, be truthfully describe? They cannot teach the children they entice into their schools with presents of lollypops, candies, dolls and pretty pictures, that Christianity is the true and Judaism false, without implying that the parents of the little ones are rebels against God, to be distrusted and repudiated, as they are infallibly to be damned for refusing to accept the good and beautiful Jesus as their Redeemer. The atrocious villainy of such conduct must surely have never been realized by the supporters of the mission, or they would never countenance it." (Ibid., May 5, 1905)

Rabbi J. Friedlander of the Hamilton Anshei Sholem Congregation took Anglican Bishop Sweeney of Toronto to task for a sermon in which the cleric spoke of the element of danger which non-Christianized immigrants in the country posed to the future of Canada.

"I presume that you refer more particularly to Jews who have come here... I would also ask your lordship on what grounds you can justify the charge of apostasy which you bring against them, based as it is upon a passage from the Bible." (Mail and Empire, Apr. 30, 1909)

The bishop replied, "I had not specially any one class of the alien immigrants in my mind when I was preaching my sermon. My address was to our own Christian public in relation to our own Christian duty and our Christian danger."

Rabbi Friedlander was quite unsatisfied as he asked Bishop Sweeney "to consider that the whole subject of which you treated in your sermon was not an incidental reference, but forms part of a comprehensive plan promoted under the direction of the church for the conversion of the Jews in this country.

"These misguided efforts have ever been regarded by our community as an unwarranted interference with the sacred rights of our religious convictions, and are only an unhallowed instrument for sowing strife and discord in our midst. In many instances the results of proselytization are only to be found in making bad Jews worse Christians, in introducing sorrow and dissension in the family circle, and destroying the moral fibre of its members bound together by the touchstone of a common faith. Many of the missionaries employed by the church are recreant Jews themselves, in many instances with unsavoury records behind them, and these employ unscrupulous means in their propaganda work, invading the privacy of Jewish homes and by the offer of material inducements, bribe and cajole them into attending the missionary halls. The whole thing is a travesty in the realm of pure religious work, and an outrage on the feelings of your Jewish fellow-citizens...

"It is a very grave thing to assert that these people constitute 'an element of danger to the future of Canada.' Permit me to say that this statement is belied by every experience in this history of nations. In whatever land they settled and fair treatment accorded them, they became an element of strength.

"If to assume an impossible hypothesis, you were able to convert all the Jews in the world, would you not be helping to destroy the testimony of God's living word and contradicting His promise of an everlasting covenant between Him and His people?

"Besides, Christianity has her own great problems to solve. Her foundations are being undermined by assaults on the integrity of its hitherto accepted dogmas, and we have a right to say: 'Put your own house in order before attempting to meddle with others.'" (Canadian Jewish Times, May 21, 1909)

As late as February 24, 1911 the Montreal Jewish weekly commented,

"The conversionist controversy is still raging, and the public press has during the past week, contained many letters on the subject. So far nothing to our detriment has either been said or done. The Meshummodim have come out boldly in self defense, backed up by one or two of the clergymen directly interested in mission to the Jews. The latter, of course, includes Bishop Farthing, who at a meeting of a woman's society, took the opportunity of expressing his love for us, which naturally makes him all the more anxious that we should see the 'light.'

"Rabbi Gordon has done immeasurable good by his outspoken utterance, and a vast majority of our Gentile neighbors are in total accord with his views. We would, however, ask our co-religionists not to jump into the public press on the subject. The Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El is quite able to defend himself, and us, and the least we can do is to render him our assistance by remaining quiet."

Rev. de Sola of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue commented on the teachings of Anglican Bishop John Farthing on the missions, in a letter to the Gazette reprinted in the Canadian Jewish Times.

"As the leading spirit of the Montreal Jewish Mission, Bishop Farthing not only ignores the absolute right of my people to adhere to their religion without impertinent interference, not only inspires a movement which he would denounce as arrogant if it were directed by Roman Catholics or Jews against members of his diocese, but he is giving an impetus to religious strife in a city whose motto is 'Concordia Salus.'

"Jews naturally resent the Bishop's imputation that his religion is better than their's. They regard the Jewish Mission as an arrogant interference with their rights as British subjects. And they say to the Bishop 'You had better try to convert all Christians to Christianity before you attempt to convert us.'

"This missionary undertaking is causing ill-feeling to a deplorable extent. It is accentuating the race prejudice which Bishop Farthing laments. It is setting one religious denomination against another, and it is destroying the harmony which has hitherto existed between the various sections of our mixed population. It must therefore be condemned as unpatriotic by all men who have the welfare of our country at heart; and the Bishop need not expect that he will escape the obloquy with which men of intelligence visit fomenters of mediaeval religious strife. We are not living in Russia.

"In view of the startling record of crimes committed in this city recently Bishop Farthing would be rendering an infinitely greater service to Christianity by converting the lawless element of the city into decent citizens than by trying to make good Christians out of bad Jews. Good Jews he cannot and does not convert.

"There are so many ungodly people in the city, so many thieves, so many drunkards, so many rogues, so many white slavery fiends, that the spectacle of a bishop trying to convert the Jews, while there are so many Christians in sad need of conversion, impels me to demand that he set his own house in order before he presumes to interfere with ours.

"Bishop Farthing cannot teach the Jewish people a higher morality than they practise. He cannot give them purer homes, he cannot make them better husbands, better parents, better sons and daughters, or better men; he cannot imbue them with a more exalted conception of charity. But the Jew can give Bishop Farthing a needed lesson in liberality and tolerance, for the Jew teaches that the pious of all nations inherit the happiness of the future state.

"If Bishop Farthing considers conversion to Christianity essential to our salvation, if he really believes that an infinitely benevolent God will consign us to hell-fire unless we see eye to eye with him, how is it that he has never made an attempt to convert me and my fellow rabbis? Are our souls of no value? Are we such hardened sinners that we are unworthy of redemption? Or is it only poor, starving wretches, ready to grasp at any straw that indicates worldly benefit, who are deemed deserving of salvation? I pause for a reply.

"As Bishop Farthing preaches obedience to the Golden Rule, I beg to suggest that he practise it in his demeanor towards my people. I demand nothing more for my co-religionists than that same right to adhere to their religion without interference which Bishop Farthing would claim if the Roman Catholic clergy attempted to make religious propaganda in his diocese.

"As a Canadian interested in the welfare of this country, I denounce Bishop Farthing's Jewish missionary movement as an undertaking which is fostering that religious strife in a mixed population which all patriotic citizens, irrespecive of race and creed, must deplore and condemn."

The bishop replied on November 28, 1913,

"The rabbi confuses religious liberty and the duty of every man to propagate the truth as he understands it.

"The Church of England is not, either through her Jewish Mission or in any other way, interfering with the religious liberty of the Jew or any other part of the community. We would stand side by side of the Jew to contend for his full right to worship God according to his conscience were any one to attempt to interfere with that liberty. No Anglican, Jewish or Gentile, has never interfered with their services, or desired to do so.

"On the other hand, the Jews have tried to curtail our liberty of worship by trying to disturb the services in the Mission House.

"The instance which Rabbi de Sola gives of my objecting, if the Roman Church were to attempt to interfere with our people is unfortunate; because it is well known that our Roman Catholic brethren are active in their propaganda, and have a special mission to Protestants every year in this city. This causes no bitterness. The cases, however, are vastly different; the one is a Christian trying to proselytise another; the other is a Christian trying to win a non-Christian.

"The Christian is sent by his Lord to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom to every creature, 'to the Jew first and also to the Gentile.' Believing as we do, that Jesus is the long promised Messiah for whom the Jew still looks, we feel especially bound to try to persuade him of the fact.

"It is not a question of morality; it is a question of Christ. Believing that Jesus is the son of God in our Humanity, that He reveals the Father to men, is the one Mediator between God and man, and that, to quote His own words, 'no man cometh to the Father but by Me,' we are compelled to make known that truth to 'every creature.' We do it in all love because we are convinced that this truth satisfies the spiritual needs of men. For this reason we send forth men to preach the Gospel in China, Japan, India and other places.

"If our convictions of Christ's Person make us do this, we should be sadly to blame if we made no effort to win the Jew who is at our door to Christ. We admire what the Jew has, we desire to enrich that Old Testament faith which he holds by winning him to the Messiah. While we feel we must do this, we do not desire to do it 'impertinently' but in love.

"Rabbi de Sola says rightly, that under the protection of the British flag the Jews have 'rights,' and that one of these is religious liberty. No one questions this. May I remind him that in no country in the world have these rights been so well protected as under British rule. The Jew owes his privileges here to the fact that the ideals of Jesus Christ have governed the people. Whatever 'rights' the Jew enjoys here, he owes to Jesus Christ."

Rabbi de Sola responded at length to the cleric,

"Bishop Farthing's comparison between Roman Catholic missionary propaganda and the missions to which Jews take exception is an absurdity. In the former there is an exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine to which all Protestants are invited. The Protestant mission disingenuously leave educated and representative Jews severely alone and concentrate their efforts upon poor, starving people, who will do anything that is likely to improve their worldly prospects; or the missions endeavor to seduce children from the faith of their parents. In this connection I may state that the Jewish Endeavor Sewing Society had to be formed to neutralize such contemptible tactics.

Jewish girls had been led to join a sewing class, but in addition to needlework they were taught Protestant hymns and subjected to other forms of proselytizing propaganda. As Jewish parents will not knowingly allow their children to attend missionary establishments, these girls were practically taught either to disobey or deceive their parents. I ask whether the gospel which Bishop Farthing considers it his duty to preach to the Jews endorses filial disobedience or deceit?

"I know of instances in which men receiving assistance from the Protestant mission to Jews have received aid from Baron de Hirsch Institute at the same time until their duplicity was detected. At the mission they posed as probable converts and at the Jewish institution they appeared as destitute Jews. And I have the written confession of men baptized by conversionist missionaries stating that they had employed baptism as a means of making money and that, admitting their wrong-doing, they wished to be readmitted to the Synagogue...

"The treasurer of the Montreal Jewish Mission has made the significant admission that many people whom he approached for funds said that they would give money for other work, but not for proselytizing the Jews. I commend this admission to the Bishop's earnest reflection. And I would also draw his attention to the fact that at an Episcopal convention in Cincinnati it was resolved to take no further steps to convert Jews. It is evident that there are some excellent Episcopalians who do not see eye to eye with Bishop Farthing.

"The Bishop asserts that the Jew will never understand the spirit of the British people nor be truly one with them until he adopts Christianity. This is a question upon which the British Government is probably as good an authority as Bishop Farthing; and notwithstanding the good Bishop's views, it has given one Jew an important cabinet portfolio, and has just appointed another Jew Lord Chief Justice of England...

"When proselytizing missionaries try to withdraw poor Jews from their faith by exploiting their poverty, or when they bribe Jewish children to disobey or deceive their parents, there is an interference with our religious liberty which no amount of sophistry can justify and which we do not propose to quietly tolerate. It is one thing to preach Christianity openly in the churches, but it is quite another to resort to the tactics of the average Jewish mission....

"A few years ago the founder of a mission in this city declared that religious controversy with the Jews was unavailing because they were born controversialists, and he maintained that what was needed was 'a flank movement.' This is a pretty accurate description of the movement headed by Bishop Farthing. It is a flank movement. It lacks the manliness which would endeavor to convert the intelligent and represtative members of our community; it follows the example of Amalek of yore and falls upon the feeble and the stragglers, and then it exults in the souls it has saved."

CHRISTIAN RESERVE

Rev. de Sola was on solid ground when he referred to some Protestant reluctance to missionary work among Jews. Rev. Griffith Thomas referred to some Christians "who say that Jews should remain Jewish. It is the first duty of a Christian to convert as many Jews as he can." At that assembly missionary Neugewurtz reported success in converting Jews.

B. Figler, biographer of S.W. Jacobs, recalls this missionary.

"In those days the Christian church conducted a zealous proselytising campaign in the city. It considered a special prize the capture of Jewish souls, to 'show them the light' of the religion which they had always spurned, and established a Mission in the very heart of the Jewish population.

"The head of the Mission was a 'Rev. N.', with a strangely Jewish sounding name, who, with the help of various favours, sought to bring 'salvation' to the poorer families, of whom there were legion, as most of the new arrivals had come without any means and were living in poor circumstances.

"This missionarizing was a constant provocation to the entire Jewish community, who abhorred conversion and converts, remembering well the disabilities suffered by them in eastern Europe where they were often compelled to resort to conversion for the privilege of pursuing higher studies or to live in cities forbidden to Jews.

"They were now living in a land where no such restrictions existed and resented any attempt or suggestion at conversion and the very presence of a Mission in their midst. Nor did the Mission have any scruples in the means adopted in the pursuit of its avowed purpose." (S.W. Jacobs, M.P. Pp. 31-32)

H. Noveck recalls the early missionary activity with compassion for the preachers and for their customers alike. Their common poverty explained their meeting.

"The elderly pious Christian maidens let the Jewish convert-missionaries convince them that the desolate Jewish immigrants can now be interested in Jesus' evangel. After the economic crisis of 1908-09 there were people homeless and hungry. The wily converts told the naive ministers and old maids that these lonely sufferers can be brought under divine protection. Most of them had the endowment funds more in mind than the message of the Redeemer.

"Many friendless victims of the crisis did come to the rented halls of the missionaries hungry, not for the word of God but more simply,

for a few cents and a mouthful of warm food. Others, more aware of ideas, came to mock the Berditchev emissaries of Christ." (Fun Meine Kinder Yorn, N.Y., 1957. P. 199)

TORONTO NOT LEAST

Many of the newly-arrived Jews sometimes reacted violently. There were fist fights and assaults and arrests. The same youths who in Russia were learning to lift arm against an anti-Semitic hoodlum were provoked at times to resort similarly to the insensitive Christians -- sometimes Jews newly Christian -- who desecrated the Name by preaching outside the synagogues on Jewish festivals. Canadians were surprised that the law-abiding and peace-loving immigrants broke the law in such cases. These immigrants could not accept the very concept of Christian proselytizing among Jews. The Jewish condition in this sense too is sui generis.

"Some years ago," Toronto Rabbi Jacob Gordon wrote in 1913, "before our community had proper welfare arrangements for the needy, the fate of the poor was indeed pitiful. In their bitterest moments there was no one they could call on. Only the missionaries offered help. Their doors were open to all, and no one left empty-handed. Often it was with more than they had asked for, for the downtrodden had only expected some material aid, and they were offered spiritual aid as well.

"A newcomer, who had just arrived from the lands where the words 'missionary' and 'convert' were frightful, would go with but one meal of a dry crust a day and would pass the night on a hard bench in a synagogue -- if he were allowed in -- rather than fall into the hands of those who lay awaiting to trap his soul.

"But when he fell sick from undernourishment and from bad sleep, he found himself at their door; for in the city hospitals he could not communicate with the doctors, but at the missionaries' there was always someone who could understand him. And when he recovered, who found him a job? The wife of a sick man, the widow and the sick mother could not but send her children to the school where the preacher cared for the children. A small storekeeper hard pressed for a loan could find it among them when not available anywhere else -- often not to be repaid."

The missionary problem was one of the motivations which impelled Jewish activism,

"The missionaries, like the poor, are always with us; but whilst the latter can easily be satisfied, the former are a little more difficult to get rid of. If these would carry on their nefarious practices amongst adults only, little fear would be entertained, for we are all well able to look after ourselves in this respect; but when they commence to entice our children into their missions halls, it behooves us to take every precaution to protect the little ones from falling into the trap.

"In every large centre these apostates for revenue only prowl about on the lookout to shear some innocent lambs, and by bribes of candy and other articles which children ar so fond of, endeavour to win over Jewish children and to turn them from the faith of their fathers. Still, there are very few, indeed, they succeed in turning from the right path; the great inherent steadfastness which has pulled their ancestors through centuries of persecution standing them in good stead.

"To combat this evil in Montreal, some of the ladies who saw the necessity for safeguarding the young formed the Jewish Endeavour Sewing School. The amount of good this organization has done during the several years of its existence is really surprising. Not only does it teach young girls the necessary adjunct of needlework, but also keeps the children occupied, thus the danger of their falling into the missionaries' hands is greatly diminished. Besides, the children are supplied with sewing material, and under the supervision of the many ladies who form the membership of this society, they are enabled to make their own clothing, which in itself is a great help to poor parents.

"In Toronto, it appears, our missionary friends are just as active, and there likewise steps are taken to warn Jewish children against these 'soul-savers.' During Christmas week, when the missionaries offered special attractions in the shape of Christmas trees, etc., counter attractions were offered, by the Toronto ladies, for the children, and the efforts of the missionaries were consequently nullified. On Sunday of Chanucah week, Rabbi S. Jacobs delivered an excellent address to the children in Holy Blossom Synagogue." (Canadian Jewish Times, Dec. 29, 1909; also May 21, 1909)

Simultaneously the Adler in Montreal warned its readers to "guard their children. There is a strange store near the Jewish ghetto which seeks to trap the souls of Jewish children, by various means, by candies, and by telling attractive stories, to bring them to Christianity. The Yiddish paper called upon Jewish parents to foil the missionaries' aims, so that these children of the Jewish nation be not lost." (Feb. 5, 1910)

As Schipper tells it from the Toronto perspective,

"This was the period in which the non-Jewish community, for the first time, got a really intimate look at the truly East European Jew before he had a chance to become even partly assimilated into the Jewish-Canadian group. The non-Jew thought him a strange character, the living counterpart of the literary stereotype of a Jew, and so he imagined him to be a heathen. It became the self-appointed duty of a group of non-Jews to save these poor souls by converting them; active missionary work using relief and welfare aid as incentives, was carried on. Certain Jewish workers, notably Ida (Lewis) Siegel, hastened to the defence. The Jewish community conscience could not ignore the situation and counteracted the missions by setting up

training and interest groups such as the 'Sewing School for Girls.' It was forced to step up its welfare work and keep these people busy so that they would have less time on their hands and a diminishing need for the service of the missions. This was the first major open clash with any non-Jewish section of the community."

Young Abel Vineberg, who was to mature into an important journalist in Quebec's annals, noted in 1909 that "probably there is no other city in the world where the desire to convert the Jew is so manifest as in Toronto.

"Of late, Jewish influential men and societies have turned their attention to the subject, and a society going by the rather strange name of 'The Alumni' has taken quite a hand in checking efforts of over-zealous missionaries. But, then, argues the Toronto Jew, there is always some one who will want to convert him, as through the ages of history." (Canadian Jewish Times, May 14, 1909)

The Toronto press published accounts of "the kindness of the Bible Class of Chalmers Presbyterian Church in giving a good feed, as well as a drive in big vans, on Christmas eve, to 100 children. All these were children of Jewish parents. The newspaper reports state that 'the boys and girls felt that their cups of Christmas happiness were filled and running over. The little ones were from Elizabeth Street school and the Hayter Street mission. They were conveyed to the church in vans furnished by Marmaduke Rawlinson, chairman of the Board of Education, and after the merry ride, felt entirely ready for the turkey and plum pudding which was spread for them. After this each was dressed in good warm garments of cast-off clothing, and then, probably best of all, to the children, a real live Santa Claus came forward and with real live Santas Claus speeches, presented a pretty doll to each girl and a picture annual to each of the boys.'

"The only conclusion we can draw is that there must be something radically wrong with our co-religionists of the Queen City, or such a demonstration of Presbyterian benevolence to Jewish children could never have taken place. That they were the children of recent immigrant Orthodox Jews seems certain. Their poverty may be a partial explanation of their allowing their children to be taught, entertained, fed and clothed at a mission maintained for the purpose of proselytizing.

"They may think that they can by their home influence preserve their children's faith. Such a course has been pursued in times of persecution in Spain, Portugal, and more recently in Russia. There is no excuse for it in this country, and the more fortunately placed members of the Toronto community must be strangely remiss to allow such events to occur." (Jewish Times, Dec. 31, 1909)

The Canadian Jewish Times of May 15, 1910 reported,

"There is a fierce controversy raging in the Toronto press between the local Jews, and pious, but misguided, missionary supporters. Sandwiched in between these a Meshumad or two, or as the daily papers charitably called them 'Christian Jews,' come out and give a pitiable screech in defence of their perfidy.

"The fun began over an article on the subject published in this journal, which was reproduced in the Toronto News. The missionaries at once staunchly defended their 'honor', in reply to which a sheaf of letters was received by the newspaper referred to by both Jews and Gentiles. One named, Rohold, Superintendent of Missions to the Jews of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, who is himself a Meshummed, has replied in The Presbyterian, some of his contentions and arguments being so ridiculous as to be a sheer waste of good printers' ink to publish in these columns.

"Whilst commending the energy and public spirit displayed by our Toronto brethren, it is doubtful whether any good will result from giving so much publicity to the 'soul-savers.' It is just this publicity which they seek. It is well known that the less notice is taken of this form of annoying the Jew, the less money they can squeeze out of their well-meaning, but misguided supporters, and consequently the less we hear of them."

As happened again a score of years later, conflicts with Jews took a more violent form in Toronto than in Montreal.

In June 1911 "a riot lasting intermittently for two and a half hours, which resulted in many cracked heads and bruised bodies, and was attended by eight arrests, occurred at the corner of Agnes and Teraulay streets.

"A missionary from Louisville, Kentucky, named Dr. Soskin, who, it is claimed, had been attacking the Jews at a series of meetings during the week, was the centre of the broil.

"He had started an open air meeting with the assistance of Rev. S.H. Rohold, from the kerbstone of one corner, when another gathering called by the Bnai Zion Association, to protest against the remarks made last week by a Baptist missionary, began an opposition meeting on the other corner. Some interruption was made and a call was sent into police headquarters. The reserves of No. 2 division were quickly on the scene and two arrests were made.

"It appeared as though peace had been restored, but the crowds lingered and after a time the battle broke out anew. Three more arrests quieted things down, but later, towards ten o'clock, it was necessary for the police to interfere again. This time the police met with opposition and two more were taken into custody for obstructing or assaulting constables.

"Those arrested are:- Samuel Gleek, Maurice Hans, Samuel Goldberg, Hyman Katz, Isidore Fink, Maurice Certman, all charged with being disorderly; Harry Pinchefsky, assaulting the police, and Nathan Girdstone, obstructing the police.

"Rabbi Jacobs came down when he heard of the trouble and endeavored to bail them out, but he could not arrange it. He was very indignant and declared that the attacks made upon the rabbis were couched in language that would appeal to the worst passions in any countryman, and it was little wonder that his people should become excited to violence. The meetings of the Christian missionaries had been going on for some time, until it became exasperating, and his people had decided to meet in opposition and express their objection.

"'We have been subjected in the past few weeks to many insults by irresponsible persons. The missionaries come there, insult the Jews, cast aspersions on their religion, and wound their feelings, abusing the rabbis, and in every way doing their utmost to provoke them, which is the result of my having exposed their methods.'

"Otherwise the Jews in 'The Ward' are law-abiding and would not for one moment think of congregating in such large numbers.

"The Jews in 'The Ward' wish to live in peace and concord with the followers of Christian religions. But, on the other hand, we only ask for our people that they should be rid of the nuisance which at present is being created by these over-zealous soul-grabbers.

"Dr. Shayne, president of the B'Nai Zion Association, said that Dr. Soskin had been delivering speeches during the week of a very insulting nature and had threatened anyone that questioned his remarks with arrest. He laid the blame for the riot chiefly on the police, saying that a boy had given a little yell and the patrolman on duty promptly pulled his club.

"He also stated that Mrs. Lizzie Pinchefsky was sitting in front of her store at 91 Agnes street, when the policeman ordered her to go inside and when she questioned the order, struck her over the seventh rib with his club and when she threw up her hand, struck again and fractured one of her fingers. The others injured, for whom Dr. Shayne had medical certificates, were Harry Pinchefsky and Joseph Weiss, bruises on head; Nathan Girdstone, swelling over left shoulder, and Samuel Goldberg, swelling below right ear." (Canadian Jewish Times, June 23, 1911)

The Toronto World advised moderation to "the Rev. S.B. Rohold who is described as a Christian Jew and a Presbyterian missionary, appears to have the irritant effect frequently observable in the case of hybrids. Under the circumstances he would be well advised to leave his former co-religionists alone, and betake himself to the vast

army of the unattached, who are much more in need of Christian training than their Jewish contemporaries.

"Whatever personal prejudice may assume, the Jews of Toronto are fairly good citizens, and in general peaceably disposed. If some of them are restive under the preaching of Rev. S.B. Rohold, they are not any more so than a similar body of Christians would be if assailed by a Jewish proselytizer who attempted to convert them to Judaism. Just imagine the reception that would be accorded to a former Christian, converted to Judaism, who attempted to proselytize among the members of his former faith!

"Christianity consists in doing as one would be done by, and Mr. Rohold has scarcely imbibed a full measure of that spirit if he thinks that his cause will be advanced by participation in such scenes as he has evoked in 'The Ward.' 'Preach I must, and preach I will.' he asserts, with a disregard of the true spirit of liberty that will certainly do more injury than good to Christianity.

"'This is a land of liberty.' he declares, but as a zealous proselyte, he seems unable to distinguish between liberty and licence. The members of the Jewish faith have just as good a right as Mr. Rohold to be left in the enjoyment of peace and quiet, and he may very easily become a public nuisance instead of an exponent of liberty, as he hopes."

The Jewish Times noted that "some very able Christian scholars and doctors of divinity have written and proved, to their own satisfaction, that the forms of Christianity which they do not believe were false and schismatic. We cannot be blamed if we accept their conclusions.

"A small riot occurred on Monday, July 14th, in the neighborhood of St. Patrick Street and Kensington Avenue, when a crowd of men, women and children surged around the spot where the Rev. Henry Singer, superintendent of the Toronto Jewish Mission, was conducting an open-air service. Anathemas were hurled at the speaker; there were disturbances and eventually five people were arrested by the police and charged, some with disorderly conduct and others with obstruction.

"The Montreal Gazette wrote an editorial entitled 'Free Speech,' in which the inadvisability of stopping these meetings was upheld. The cause of the trouble, wrote the Gazette, was the Rev. Henry Singer, a Christian clergyman, who make a practice of trying to convert the Jews to his faith by preaching to them from the sidewalk and the roadway. The Gazette advised, as a remedy, the ignoring of the speaker by those who do not believe in his preachings."

The Canadian Jewish Times asked "why such disturbances are not rare occurrences in the Jewish district of Toronto. In no other city in the Dominion have reports ever reached Canadian citizens of any

similar disturbances. Why a section of the population of the Queen City, known to be law-abiding, should on the appearance of this 'Christian' clergyman in their midst, become so incensed as to create a riot.

"The reason is that the Rev. Singer is a 'converted Jew' and not a Christian preacher.

"When a year ago, something in the nature of a small 'Pogrom' à la Russia occurred in Toronto as a result of a similar meeting, our Gentile friends expressed the opinion that we Jews were not sufficiently tolerant to be able to stand the preaching of another religion to us.

"This is a fallacy. No disturbances would occur in Jewish neighborhoods, as the result of the preaching of any religion by men who come from that religion. For example, when about two years ago, Pastor Russell, who is preaching Christianity, visited Toronto, the Zionists of that city, invited him to address them -- and quite a number of Jewish people attended his general meetings at the Massey Hall on their own volition.

"When, however, a man has turned traitor to his own race and returns to them to preach of his 'well paid religion,' the insult thus offered is of a character which makes it difficult for those to whom he is endeavoring to preach to restrain from giving vent to their indignation.

"The press is hardly aware of the deep humiliation it is to the Jewish people, to be preached to by a paid 'Meshumad.' That the converted missionariess are aware of Jewish sensitiveness in this matter and maliciously play upon it, is evidenced by the expression of cynical revenge, which is seen on their features as they hear the murmurings and indignation of the Jewish people, whose 'souls' they are trying to 'save.'

"The ridiculous part lies with the good folk who continue to send these missionaries into Jewish neighborhoods and uselessly spend large sums in keeping them supplied with good salaries, whilst such money and labor could be well invested in the Christianizing of Gentiles. When Judge Winchester was asked to stop the cause of the missionary disturbance in Toronto, he said that this was a Christian country, and that was sufficient reason, according to this Christian gentleman, for endeavoring to undermine a religion, which has stood the onslaught of Christianity for two thousand years." (July 25, 1913)

"So long as the missionaries direct their attention to Jewish men and women and seek to convince them of the truth of Christianity we do not object. But we strenuously object and will persistently oppose the inexcusable, cruel and, as we regard it, criminal attempts of missionaries to induce our children by all sorts of bribes to become

converts to Christianity. We believe there should be a law to punish persons who undertake to proselytize children of immature years. Such attempts bring discord and unhappiness into Jewish homes, and are therefore opposed to the best interests of society. (July 28, 1905)

"To first place an affected Jew under a gratuitously imposed obligation, and then take advantage of his weakness and presumed sense of gratitude to further intrude the still more unsought 'consolation' of strange gods, is an intolerable outrage on all the Jew holds most holy and sacred. Religious zeal may explain but it does not condone the indelicacy and veiled insolence of such a proceeding...

The 1909 report of the Jewish Endeavour Sewing School claimed that the institution has had the effect of keeping young girls away from the Mission houses. (Ibid., May 21, 1909)

"Parents allowed their children to attend the sewing school opened by the mission, because being strangers and ignorant of the language and customs of the country they were anxious for the children to learn and glad to let them take advantage of the opportunity for free instruction; but when the parents learned that the school was established to undermine the faith of their little ones and turn them to Christianity, they were horrified and immediately withdrew them. If Mr. Troop wants names he can get any number by calling on the Jewish Ladies Sewing School in the Baron de Hirsch Institute. In that school are some hundred and fifty girls many of whom were taken from the mission when their parents became aware of its true character...

"To the educated Jew the whole missionary business is a huge farce. But when the missionaries attempt to insinuate themselves into poor and uninformed Jewish families under false pretences, it is necessary to expose them in their true colors." (Ibid., May 19, 1905)

The renowned James S. Woodsworth in the early years of the century was superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg. In his Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto, Methodist Mission Rooms, 1908, Pp. 344-45) he reported on their work among Jews. Some 80% of the girls in their Montreal Sunday School were Jewish, particularly in their sewing classes.

THE ARMY OF THE SAVIOURS

The Canadian effort had begun nearly sixty years earlier and had witnessed at least five different beginnings -- all futile and short-lived. No converts appear to have seen the light of Christianity in Canada over the years of this effort.

Rev. J. McCarter took four columns in the Witness to tell the story of his failure as a missionary for the conversion of Montreal Jews to Christianity. The Jewish Times notes that he reveals modern Christian methods for invading the sacred precincts of Jewish religious consciousness.

"Rev. McCarter tells us that he was a regularly ordained Presbyterian minister in charge of a congregation at Mille Isles, near Montreal. In 1895 he resigned his charge and started on a mission to the Jews in Montreal solely on his own initiative. He had applied to the Central Committee of his church for permission to embark in this work, but was refused. The Montreal Presbytery took no notice of a similar application. By starting on his own account he soon discovered that, in the thorny, thankless field he had chosen, he had nothing but small voluntary contributions and his own enthusiasm to depend on.

"The mission to Jews in Montreal began in 1848. Between that date and 1902, a space of fifty-four years, the Presbyterian church had made four different beginnings of Jewish mission work, which all proved short lived and futile. At the time of the third breakdown Mr. McCarter felt himself supernaturally called upon to seek success where others had failed. He believed he could succeed though he knew little about the Jews, did not understand Hebrew and was without means of support... He struggled along for seven years, hoping against hope, till at last his failure became so pronounced that he had to abandon his mission and leave the country...

"He quotes an article from St. Andrew, a weekly issued by the Established Church of Scotland. It was headed, 'Presbyterian Church in Canada, Jewish Mission,' and signed, J.C. Montreal, Sept. 26, 1902. 'The story of our Mission to the Jews is a pathetic one -- a record of failure from the first to last.'"

The missionary effort has left us with the mementoes of such characters as Trebitsch-Lincoln, become Ignatius Timothy, who came to Montreal at the beginning of the century to assist Presbyterian pastor John McCarter. However the Hungarian Jew, evasive yet ubiquitous, spent more effort in advancing his undirected career, toying with the Christian denominations and bargaining for meagre moneys, than in baptising Jews. Indeed his own son considered himself a Jew all his life.

But Trebitsch-Lincoln was an original. Born Jewish, converted to Lutheran, a Presbyterian in Montreal, months later an Anglican priest -- the kaleidoscope continued, after his Montreal experience, with Buddhism, etc. But the London "Jews Society" was confident that the steadfastness of his faith would conquer all, and the archbishop of Montreal ordained him a deacon in his cathedral.

"It outlines four different unsuccessful attempts, associated with the names of Epstein, Webster, Newmark, and Trebitsch.

"Mr. Trebitsch, a Hungarian Jew, succeeded Mr. McCarter and ran the mission just one month when, finding there was nothing in it, not even a bare subsistence, he threw it up as a Presbyterian venture and put it under the Episcopal church and the London Society for the Conversion of Jews. After a while he dropped out altogether and was succeeded by Mr. Neugewirtz, who still holds the fort. The London society has lots of money and is willing to spend it on the Montreal mission. And this is what Mr. McCarter calls 'a record of the Lord's skillful guiding.'" (cited by Jewish Times, June 16, 1905)

His inventions might have included the disco.

"Pastor McCarter was an old-fashioned missionary who believed he would find his converts by visiting homes in Montreal's Jewish quarter. Ignatius soon saw that this was accomplishing very little, and he suggested that they should make over the mission into a replica of an Eastern European coffee house, stock it with the latest Yiddish-language newspapers, serve free tea, and thus present newly arrived Jews with a congenial place in which they might encounter friends from home. Caught off guard in such a setting, they might then be steered toward Christianity."

A private report by the Adler of November 30, 1908 counted three Jewish converts in six years.

A fortnight later the Adler calculated that it cost the mission $20,000 to convert a Jew. The Salvation Army handed out a dollar a week to its sick charges, but the mission house gave six dollars to its beneficiaries.

Two boys who had been unemployed and hungry were now at work in the mission at $15 per week.

The Rev. Mr. Neugewirtz reported that at the commencement of the Montreal mission to the Jews "the work was difficult, but now the Jews were anxious to come and 8,280 had attended in the last twelve months. They had paid 2,370 visits to Jewish homes, and 263 visits in hospitals. He would not refer to the number of converts, for the work was not to be judged by such a standard." (Jewish Times, Dec. 4, 1908)

Another case which involved missionary Neugewirtz and Rector Osborne Troop of St. Matthews Church was that of Mrs. Katz which was taken up by the Montreal Jewish Mission Society. It was reported that the Baron de Hirsch Institute had refused aid for her and for her child. A Jewish report on the Jewish mission meeting stated that the cost of her care at the Ste. Marguerite Home a year ago was $15,000. Apparently she had converted to Christianity, but that she would reconvert to Judaism if there were a Jewish hospital to care for her,

Rector Troop and the Rev. Neugewirtz called on Rabbi Hirsch Cohen to assure him that Mrs. Katz had converted out of conviction rather than need. The rabbi reminded his guests of the choices placed before Jews by the Inquisition and that a woman who changed her religion could easily tell lies. Troop responded that the inquisitors were not good Christians. Rabbi Cohen suggested that missionaries be sent to them. (Adler, Nov. 30, Dec. 3 and 11, 1908)

The Montreal Daily Witness reported this current Christian activity in December 1898,

"During August and September Mr. McCarter addressed large congregations in Chateauguay on the subject of the Jews; notably at Ormstown, North Georgetown, Riverfield and Howick. At all of these places much interest was expressed, and liberal financial assistance was given to the mission. In November Mr. McCarter visited Ottawa, and held a meeting in the Y.M.C.A. building, at which the Rev. Dr. Rose presided. The cause of Jewish evangelization has many warm friends in Ottawa, and the interest is spreading.

"On Nov. 18 a young Jew in connection with the Montreal mission publicly confessed Christ as his personal Saviour. Prudence restrains further mention of this case at present, but more may be told in the near future.

"On Dec. 2, Mrs. McCarter, by invitation, addressed the annual meeting of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society in connection with Calvary Church. Very warm interest was expressed in the cause of Jewish evangelization, as well as appreciation of the address. On Dec. 8 a letter reached Mr. McCarter from the Christian Endeavor Society of Knox Church, Winnipeg, requesting information and suggestions with a view to commencing similar work in that city, where there is a large Hebrew population. The special work of this mission is advancing, and its present condition is very encouraging."

The Jewish Times reprinted the report "in order that Jews who may not see that paper should know what a deep interest Mr. McCarter is taking in them, and that he is still to the fore in the no doubt congenial business of drumming up that 'liberal financial assistance' which is the main object of his self-imposed mission.

"The last time we alluded to him in these columns, we challenged him to name one Jew who had been converted to Christianity by him. Now, at last, after nearly a year's silence, he asserts that a young Jew has 'confessed Christ as his personal Saviour.' But, mark the hole he leaves for evading the giving of proof of his assertion. 'Prudence restrains further mention of the case at present.'

"No doubt! Prudence is a great virtue. It covers and includes all other virtues, even the virtue of speaking the truth. But we know what he is doing and trying to do as well as he does himself, and we again challenge him to name one Jew whom he has ever converted. He claims there is one, and the fact that he claims only one is proof of the failure of his mission. If he had two he would be only too delighted to trumpet the fact through the columns of a newspaper which directly reaches and is deservedly esteemed by those whom he is desirous of seeing drop the shekels into his hat.

"But if he can gull these good people, and lead an easy life at their expense, we will not permit him to pretend to a successful apostleship to the Jews, and we again warn our people to keep an eye on this Rev. Mr. McCarter, who goes about with lollypops in his pocket to entice Jewish children, but who has never yet succeeded in blighting the ancestral faith of even one Jewish child. It is a wonder our Christian friends have not grown tired of such humbugs." (Dec. 23, 1898)

The Christian Daily Witness published the portraits of the "dauntless two who saw the light. It was confidently expected that they would be greeted by crowded houses. Imagine their surprise and disgust therefore, on finding after waiting until nine o'clock, that the audience consisted of seven people, of whom four were Jews.

"The arrival of Mr. William Drysdale after the service began brought the grand total up to eight, exclusive of the speakers...

"Rev. Maurice Reuben who boasted that he had been incarcerated in a lunatic asylum (for reasons which were obvious during his discourse) appeared to be entirely regardless of the statements which he made.

"'Wherever,' shouted the learned divine, 'Christianity is found there is culture found and the Jews get the benefit of this culture by associating with Christians. Many Jews think that they come nearer to Jesus by considering him a great social reformer, but in order to understand Jesus and his teachings the «man» idea concerning him must be entirely removed. The Jews endeavored to purchase atonement for their sins by the offering of bulls and goats but failed to see that some higher sacrifice than that of animals was necessary.'

"These and other things did the speaker say during the course of his address which lasted an hour, after which Rev. Philip Sidersky begged his ex-coreligionists not to believe the stories which (he said) had been circulated that their object in coming to Montreal was to

'break up the Jewish religion' as he elegantly put it. They came not to destroy, but to build up." (Jewish Times, Apr. 30, 1900)

On November 1, 1907 the Jewish fortnightly wrote,

"The papers report the fifth meeting of the Montreal branch of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, held a few days ago. Archdeacon Kerr paid a tribute to the work of the Society.

"'Rev. D.J. Neugewirtz spoke of work among the Jew, and referred to the undoubted difficulties encountered by those who undertake Christian work among the Jews. The persecutions of ages had embittered the Jews. They had learned thereby to hate the name of Jesus...

"'Three hundred and fifty-two services had been held during the year, with an attendance of 4,246. They were also trying to reach the young... special attention had been paid to incoming strangers.'

"Reports such as the foregoing are always amusing and sometimes instructive as, for instance, the statement about the mission being 'crowded' and the 'need for increased accommodation.' The premises occupied by the mission must be very restricted or the Missionary has a queer idea of what constitutes crowded meetings. There were 352 services held during the year with an attendance of 4,246. This gives an average of twelve persons and a fraction to each meeting! "We have information the 'crowd' of twelve and a fraction was composed on all occasions of more Christians than Jews, the latter being the same person every time.

"The mission is trying to reach the young and those outside the city. This points to the most reprehensible feature in the missionary propaganda. The systematic endeavor to cause religious dissension and disrupt Jewish homes is simply devilish and calculated to arouse the deepest passions."

Among these spiritual adventurers in Canada we meet the colourful Reverend I.T. Trebitsch, later English M.P., then Buddhist monk, etc. In January 1903 he appeared in Halifax, five years a Christian, at the Missionary Loan Exhibition in the Academy of Music. He told of his labours as missionary to 12,000 Jews of Montreal, and was most earnest and effective. His exposition of the Jewish case against the Christians is logically impassioned, pleading and convincing." (Halifax Chronicle, Jan. 21 and 29, 1903)

Rev. A.F. Burt, Nova Scotia Anglican rector, describes a walk in Montreal's Jewish quarter in 1902,

"We reach Dufferin Square, an open space opposite the synagogue where the Jews congregate on Saturday afternoons. We are speedily observed, and the people begin to gather around... I count heads in

a few minutes, and there are upwards of sixty in the gathering... All around us is a bedlam of gesticulating volubility. Rude jest, laughter, sneers, catcalls, and discordant interruptions are heard on the outskirts of the crowd... Hand thrusts, not always polite, are given by the listeners, which Mr. Trebitsch takes with the utmost good humour, and returns with equal vigour. Very soon the disputants begin to grow excited. They leave English and use several other tongues, as one speaker after another is met... The missionary proceeds to answer; first in one language then in another... Some turn away, visibly disgusted that the rest give any attention to the missionary; and others, more curious, take their places... The crowd breaks up into sections, each continuing a vigorous discussion of its own, until the door of the adjacent synagogue opens and the people move in." (David Lampe and Laszlo Szenasi. The Self-Made Villain, a Biography of I.T. Trebitsch-Lincoln. London, Cassell)

The harvest of these missionaries was meagre, an indication, in part of the nature of the Jewish morale of these men, women and children in the distress of uprooting and migration.

One melamed became a professor in Toronto, a Yeshivah student rose to the bishopric, as in London, Ont., a rabbi dissatisfied with his congregation opted to become instead a Wesleyan minister in Ontario.

In Kingston a ferocious and disgruntled Rev. J.G. Evans returned from Jerusalem a disappointed man to report that "vast sums of money have been spent in mission work among the Jews, but exceedingly small has been the number of converts to Christianity, although the London Jews' Society, the Missionary Alliance of New York, and others, have prosecuted their work faithfully and persistently. So far the Jew has stubbornly refused to be proselyted, and has rejected every inducement to recognize the Messiaship of Jesus of Nazareth. Christian work among the Jews of England is far from satisfactory or successful to those who have lavished money, and spent time in the work. In New York, by the action of the Presbyterian Church in the famous Wazawieck case, the Christian work among the Jews of America was paralyzed. In fact, nowhere in all the world has any successful work been done that has led many Jews to Christ.

"The Jerusalem Jew is the very embodiment of bigotry, and a more discourteous, insolent tyrant cannot be found within the walls of the ancient city. To merely mention the name of Christ, in the hearing of a Jerusalem Jew, means the most blasphemous utterances. It is no wonder Peter swore in the judgment hall. They all do it. The Jew is by far the most intolerant inhabitant of Jerusalem today. Had he but the power there would not be a Christian institution standing on the soil of Palestine, nor a single Christian permitted to remain in the land."

The readers of the Kingston Daily News read the Jewish response from local resident B. Silver. (Ibid., Dec. 8, 1899)

IN THE FEIGELSON HOME

A moment in the life of an active missionary becomes vivid in correspondence between the Rev. Meldola de Sola and the Rev. J. McCarter of the Christian Jewish Mission.

"Mr. H. Feigelson, of Bronsdon Lane, who belongs to my congregation, informs me that you visited his house for the purpose of trying to induce him to abandon his religion, and that although he ordered you never to enter his dwelling again, you have repeated your visits during his absence to the intense annoyance of his wife and daughter.

"I shall not expatiate upon the cowardly meanness which prompts you to visit Mr. Feigelson's house at an hour when you know him to be away at work, and when you consequently run no risk of encountering more forcible opposition to your visits than that which can be offered by a delicate woman and a young girl. The contemptible cowardice you thus display, is just what we expect from men of your ilk. You do not dare attempt to proselytize those who are capable of penetrating your design; you direct your unctuous attacks against the young, or those who are not sufficiently familiar with the language of the country to understand the true inwardness of your professed concern for their welfare.

"You have, no doubt, a burning desire to save the souls of my people -- and to convince those who pay your salary that you have done something to earn it, even if that 'something' be only to inflict your presence upon a temporarily defenceless woman and girl. Now I have a burning desire to save you -- to save you from the decidedly unpleasant consequence of any further attempt to darken Mr. Feigelson's door. I therefore advise you to desist. I tender you this advice for your own good.

"As Mr. Feigelson's Rabbi, I am quite capable of caring for his spiritual welfare and that of his family. I do not require your assistance. If you wish to do some good in the world, and to earn your salary, go and try to convert to decency the drunkards, the thieves, the inmates of brothels and other dens of infamy that disgrace our city. For you to attempt to convert virtuous people of my faith to your view of salvation when so many of your own people need conversion to virtue is the very acme of presumptuous insolence." (Jewish Times, Dec. 22, 1899)

The Presbyterian denied the correctness of Mr. de Sola's statements.

"You advise that it is my primary duty to convert to decency and virtue people in the city who are living in open sin and vice. With regard to this, (a) if you are acquainted even with the names of

various Christian agencies in the city, you must know that this work is not neglected. That more might not be done I do not say. You are not in a position to know what even I have been doing in that line. And your own experience must have taught you that when people persist in wrong-doing, it is not always from lack of having been taught better.

"But (b) let me ask you Rev. Sir, what you yourself are doing to reduce those vices of which you speak? Is your obligation not as real as that of Christians? Are you not of those to whom it was said, 'Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord? This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise.' What avails your abstract testimony to what you call the unicity of the Divine nature, when for lack of practical faith in the living God, sinners around you are perishing in their corruption? You leave it to others who read your Book, but are called by another name, to help sinners in the slums of our cities and on to the distant Antipodes to follow Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the paths of righteousness, and you, who claim the place of the first-born; what are you doing to aid the work?

"You seem to reckon it a grievance that I should speak at all to Jews, and especially to any of your congregation, on the subject of religion. But is not this a rather big demand? I have seen that you count many Christians among your personal friends, why then should not I enjoy the friendship of Jews?

"I have read your statement of satisfaction that you hold the Scriptures to be God's inspired Word in the same way that Christians do. If so, is it not a thing to be desired that Jews and Christians should agree as to its interpretation?

"We feel toward Jews honor and gratitude for their services in connection with the Scriptures, but we cannot allow them a monopoly either of the Book or of its interpretation. We read in it -- 'Arise shine for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee' -- words, which your God addressed to your fathers of old, and which we take to have an application for all who read the Book. They command us to give the light which it contains to all the nations -- to Jews as well as Gentiles, and we try in the fear of the Lord to obey it. I am sorry that this should give you any annoyance." (Ibid., Mar. 2, 1900)

He added that he had been a "number of times in the house of Mr. Feigelson, and spoken to several members of his family. Mr. Feigelson I have only spoken to once. He knew me to be a Christian minister, but further than that the subject of religion was not mentioned at all. He was aware of my visiting at his house, for he was repeatedly at home at the time; but he never to my knowledge expressed either approval or disapproval of the circumstances. That any visit of mine was an annoyance to his wife or daughter, I had no means of knowing, but rather positive evidence to the contrary; nor do I now believe it. That I tried to induce Mr. Feigelson or any of

his family to abandon their religion, that he ever ordered me not to enter his dwelling again, and that I repeated my visits to the intense annoyance of his wife and daughter, -- these are pure fabrications, even if all the Jews in the city should speak to the contrary. I refuse to believe that the members of Mr. Feigelson's family told you I did so, until I shall have it from their own lips, for I have no reason to doubt their veracity."

Feigelson himself established the credence of Rev. de Sola on March 7, 1900,

"It is perfectly true that I told Mr. McCarter not to come to my house, and that he bothered my family with his visits afterwards, when I was out. It is not true that I was at home repeatedly when he called."

The Rev. J. McCarter was supported by W. Drysdale in a communication to the Jewish Times,

"As a member of his advisory committees, I felt it my duty to investigate and, having done, so I am fully persuaded that the statements are not strictly correct and decidedly misleading. Our Missionary is not, and has never been, in the habit of calling on any family who have no wish to see him, but is, I am happy to say, welcomed by many of the Jewish people whom he is always ready to serve in any way in his power." (Ibid., Mar. 2, 1900)

L.A. HART REACTS

The reaction of American Jews was no different from the Canadians. A small item in the Jewish Messenger of New York refers to a Canadian missionary, the Rev. Mr. Freshman who proposed to begin a Hebrew Christian movement in the United States metropolis. The editor A.S. Isaacs commented on Love's Labor Lost. (Jan. 6, 1882)

Charles Freshman, who had been appointed rabbi in Quebec City on the recommendation of Rev. A. de Sola, converted to Wesleyanism in 1860 and became a minister among the German colonists in Ontario. (Autobiography. Toronto, Samuel Rose, 1868, xvi, 317 p.)

In his The Jews and the Israelites, Their Religion, Philosophy, Traditions and Literature in Connection with Their Past and Present Condition, and their Prospects (Toronto, Dredge, 1870, xxvi, 456 p.) the meshumed records the suspicion and jealousy which Christians exhibited to converted Jews, even to those engaged in missionary work.

Like another convert to Christianity in Canada whom he met, Isaac Helmuth, Freshman did not direct his church work to Jews. He worked among German-speaking Wesleyan Methodists. His son Jacob was long a missionary among Jews.

He tells of a Lutheran preacher who referred contemptuously to him as "the Jew." Differences with members of other Christian denominations evoked anti-Semitic expressions such as "Hang the Jew," and in German, "Jude, Jude, nix come heraus."

One of the principals in this conflict for the souls of the Jewish immigrants was Canon Osborne Troop of St. Martin's Church at Prince Arthur and St. Urbain St. He appears in various controversial situations involving Jews, not least in the problems of obligatory Sunday observance. The pages of the Jewish Times were full of arguments about his activities for many years. (Edgar Andrew Collard. "The Free Seat Church" in Gazette, Feb. 11, 1985)

It was in these debates on religion that L.A. Hart played a very important part.

"Lewis Alexander Hart was a member of one of the oldest families in the Province of Quebec; his great-grandfather, Aaron Hart, having come from England to Canada, and settled in Three Rivers, in the year 1760.

"Lewis Alexander Hart is the youngest son of the late Alexander Thomas Hart, who was one of the most esteemed citizens of Three Rivers, and seigneur of the fief Courval, in the counties of Yamaska

and Nicolet. He was born at Three Rivers, on the 15th July, 1847, and received his early education at Mr. Lawlor's school, in his native city, until his 12th year, when he was removed to the Montreal Collegiate School. Here he remained for three years, during the last of which he was head monitor of the school; and took the captain's prize at the midsummer examination of 1862. In September of that year, he matriculated in the faculty of arts in McGill College, at the early age of 15 years; in his first session he took the prize for an English essay, and obtained certificates for first-class standing in Hebrew and in English literature. In May, 1866, he was graduated B.A., and received the degree of M.A., in 1869.

"After completing his course in arts, Mr. Hart began the study of the notarial profession in the office of the late Theod. Doucet, notary, at Montreal, and subsequently entered the faculty of law in McGill College, graduating B.C.L., in the spring of 1869, when he stood first of his class in Roman law, in the special examination for the gold medal. Shortly before the completion of his 22nd year, he was admitted to the practice of the notarial profession.

"In June, 1880, Mr. Hart was appointed by the Royal Institution governors of McGill College, lecturer upon the theory and practice of notarial deeds and proceedings, and a member of the faculty of law in the University. The course of instruction on which he lectured was an entirely new one; and he enjoys the distinction of being the first notary to be appointed a professor in the McGill law faculty. He resigned his professorship at the time of the Macdonald Endowment of the faculty. Mr. Hart did not cease to be a student after completing his academic course; but, in adopting the notarial profession as his occupation, pursued his study of general literature, and more especially devoted himself to the acquisition of a wider range of legal subjects which should be properly mastered for notarial practice.

"Mr. Hart was married on the 23rd October, 1878, to Fanny Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Henry Benjamin, of Montreal, and has eight children, four sons and four daughters.

"The registrarship for the division of Montreal west having become vacant through the death of Mr. W. H. Ryland, Mr. Hart has been asked by a large number of citizens to allow his name to be mentioned to the Government to fill the vacancy. This he has consented to do and the Notarial Board at a general meeting recommended his appointment." (Biography in Jewish Times)

He was a leading member of Shearith Israel. In 1890 he had drawn up the new act of incorporation of the synagogue, together with Gershom Joseph, the first Canadian Jew to serve as Queen's Counsel. In the course of time he served as treasurer and president of the congregation.

"Hart contributed a series of able papers to the Jewish Times, on 'Christian Attempts to Convert Jews.' Those papers attracted considerable attention.

"Hart wrote under titles "On Christian Attempts to Convert Jews," "Some Questions Answered," and "An Answer to Christian Evangelists", from February 2, 1900 to May 19, 1904.

"Giving the conversionists credit for sincerity in their belief that they possess the truth and are by conscience compelled to make it known to others, the best way to meet their attacks is that taken by Mr. Hart. In a calm, logical, courteous manner he surveys the field of disputation, less as a polemic disquisition than as a scientifically critical examination of the grounds of attack." (Jewish Times Feb. 2 Nov. 23 and Dec. 7, 1900)

These writings were collected in a volume, A Jewish Reply to Christian Evangelists which appeared in 1906 from Bloch in New York, (x, 239 p.)

The volume concludes with a lecture by the author, a leading figure in Shearith Israel, delivered before the Young People's Society of Shaar Hashomayim.

At the end of 1908 Hart began publishing a series of articles in the Jewish Times "About Sacrifices and Atonement of Blood."

Hart's polemical work was reprinted as far afield as New South Wales.

Moral support came to Hart from Hamilton Rabbi L. Weiss who also contributed at length to the Jewish Times in the same vein (Ibid., Apr. 21 and July 28, 1905). The Hungarian-born minister had spent a quarter of a century in such American communities as Columbus, Ga., Columbus, O., Palestine, Tex., and Chattanooga, Tenn. before settling in Ontario.

His works include Talmudic and Other Legends, 1888; Some Burning Questions, 1904, principally on the messiahship of Jesus and on why the Jews do not accept him. (Jewish Times March 24, 1905) His "More Light," an exposé of Christological distortion in Christian missionary textbooks, also appeared in Bombay in the Mahrati language. Rabbi Weiss' Glints of Mosaic Light is of freemasonic interest. (Ibid., Aug. 6, 1909)

CANADIAN JEWISH TRIBUNE

The end of the Ryan period in Jewish annals was presaged a year before his resignation when, in the spring of 1908, the competing weekly Canadian Jewish Tribune first saw light under the management of Hyman P. Nervich. The Jewish Times of May 29, 1908 reported that two issues of the Tribune had appeared.

That day La Vérité noted the new periodical as an additional influence upon the English and the French press. (May 30, 1908)

The Adler recalled that during the recent elections the question had been raised whether Jews should vote as a block on questions of Jewish concern.

The Adler had taken the position that such a Jewish block is desirable but the Tribune had opposed this stand because it might be harmful. The Adler reiterated that Jewish voters need have no fears when it comes to the defence of their interests.

In a second editorial entitled "The Patriotic Nationalists" the Adler charged that the Tribune is a "Yehudim" periodical; it fears harmful consequences from Jews uniting for the advancement of their interests. (Oct. 20 and 21, 1908)

This attitude ascribed to the "Yehoodim" of this time by the young Adler was confirmed nearly half a century later by historian Israel Medres.

"There was a tendency among the wealthier English-speaking Jews to try to restrain the 'political' ambitions of the 'East-enders.' The 'Yahudim' even objected to the east-end protests against anti-Semitism. It was the Yiddish press that took up the fight of the 'Main Street' Jews." (Israel Medres. "The Influence of the Jewish Press in Life in the U.S.A. and Canada," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 19, 1952)

The Jewish Tribune continued publication for seven months until December 25, 1908.

On that date the editors of the Jewish Times made a fateful decision:

The English-language Canadian periodicals combined with Nervich in control. As the Canadian Jewish Times announced on January 8, 1909,

"There have been some attempts made, from time to time, during the past few years, to found Jewish periodicals in this country, some in this city and some in Toronto. It has, however, been found that

there is only room for one journal of such a nature in the whole of the Dominion. When the matter has been gone into thoroughly, it will be seen that we are, as yet a young community and, therefore, not in a position to support more than one vehicle to safeguard our interests.

"Canadian Jewish Tribune, the last issue of which was published on the 25th. ult., had been in existence for over seven months, during which time it carried out the aims and objects laid down at its inception in a thoroughly praiseworthy manner; and, insofar, succeeded admirably. During its brief life, it achieved a great deal of good in various directions, and its discontinuance will be regretted by many.

"To these we have a word of consolation: the gentleman who occupied the editorial chair of the Tribune, as stated in our editorial, will now have control of the Times. The energy displayed in each journal will now be combined, and it is only natural to assume that a yet higher standard of excellence will be attained.

"All subscribers to the Canadian Jewish Tribune have already been placed on the subscription list of this journal, and may now look forward to receiving the Canadian Jewish Times, with regularity, every Saturday morning."

In the same issue the Jewish Times announced to its readers,

"With this issue the Jewish Times begins a new era. At the time of its inception, eleven years ago, it was started with the object of combatting any prejudice or ill-feeling which may have existed against us, and we hope that this mission has been fulfilled. Although the enterprise of the individuals who back it has not been a success financially, yet they have tried to weather the storm in the hope that it was promoting the best interests of the Jewish people throughout our Dominion.

"The time has arrived, with a population such as we have, say, sixty to seventy thousand, that we feel ourselves justified in bringing out a weekly, enlarging its scope, and continuing the good work which, in our humble opinion, has hitherto been done.

"Our readers will notice that we have made a slight change in our name. Henceforth this journal shall be known as the Canadian Jewish Times, there being in San Francisco a paper called the Jewish Times. Another reason is that we cater to the whole Jewish community in Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and our new name we feel, will now be recognized by all as appropriate. The business will, in future, be continued by the Jewish Times Publishing Company, Limited, and the public will be given an opportunity shortly of becoming actively interested in the undertaking -- we do not wish to hold all the good things to ourselves.

"We have been particularly fortunate in securing as Managing Editor, the services of Mr. Hyman P. Nervich, who is known to many of our readers as the enterprising editor of the Canadian Jewish Tribune. Under his capable management, it is felt that the objects which we have always had in mind will be realized, namely the advance of our principles, the education of our public and the recording of the events of the community.

"This new departure involves a heavy expenditure, and it is for the Jewish people of this country to say whether they are prepared to assist by way of subscriptions and advertisements in maintaining a vehicle for the expression of Jewish opinion such as we aspire to."

In the next issue, on January 15, 1909 the Jewish weekly announced "Captain Carrol Ryan's Retirement".

"On retiring from the editorial chair of the Jewish Times, Captain Carrol Ryan carries with him the sincere assurances of the warm personal regard of all with whom he has been associated in the management of the paper. He has been its editor from the start, and for eleven years and nearly two months he occupied that responsible position, he devoted himself to its duties, and laboured assiduously with conscientious regard for the interests of Canadian Jewry.

"This paper came into being at the time when the Dreyfus affair was attracting universal attention and a section of the press in Canada was echoing the virulent slanders of the reactionary, anti-Jewish press of France. Not content with abusing Major Dreyfus, the victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever hatched, the newspapers to which we refer extended their vilifications to our whole race and to us Jews of this province in particular. It was necessary to combat this crusade of bigotry and animosity, which, if permitted to go on unchallenged, was calculated to produce unreasoning enmity and lead to deplorable results.

"The Jewish Times entered the field, and so well did it perform its allotted task, in presenting the truth, exposing falsehood and defending our people individually and collectively, from the aspersions of their detractors, that one after another the organs of a hateful propaganda were silenced.

"Having passed the Psalmist's alloted three score and ten span of life, Captain Ryan desires us to add that it is with profound regret that he resigns the editorship, but he is consoled by the thought that it is for the best: that others, younger in years and blessed with better health, will continue to build on the foundations he took a part in laying, broad and deep, and from which, he hopes, a structure will arise creditable to all concerned in the work.

"We are glad to say, however, that Captain Ryan's connection with the enterprise will not cease entirely, for he has promised to contribute occasionally to our columns, and do all in his power to aid

in its success. His record, of which we are as proud as he can be himself, is in the volumes that have grown under his direction.

"We hope he may live many more years, and win still higher honours in literature and the journalistic profession he has adorned so long with the approbation of all who know him and to the lasting benefit of the country. His services to Canadian Jewry will never be forgotten."

Lyon Cohen, outstanding community leader, scion of the outstanding family of Canadian Jewry for many years and sponsor, with S.W. Jacobs, of the Jewish Times, said,

"I am sure that we would have failed if it were not for the wholehearted devotion which was given to it by Captain Ryan who, although a non-Jew, was not only sympathetic but had a wide experience with our people, having been a Crimean soldier in his younger days, living with a Jewish family from whom he acquired the taste of delving into the mysteries of the Caballah.

"The paper as a business venture never paid its cost, but it was a great satisfaction to be able to record the events of the time..." (Bernard Figler. Rabbi Dr. Herman Abramowitz, Lazarus Cohen and Lyon Cohen. Montreal, 1968. Pp. 100-1)

B.G. Sack wrote in the Yiddisher Kemfer, "Canadian Jews were fortunate even...with an Irish Catholic poet and journalist who edited the courageous Canadian Jewish Times for a number of years. He was a rare lover of the Jewish people and even an enthusiastic Zionist; he wrote warm songs of Zion. He had a distinctive Jewish approach to Hebrew problems and interests. He can be called the virtual creator of Jewish opinion in Canada." (Passover issue, 1957)

Hyman Edelstein wrote on Ryan in his "The Christian Jewish Editor" in Jewish Standard of August 15, 1959, Pp.20, 53-54.

On its Bar Mitzvah at the end of 1909, shortly before the founders disposed of it, the periodical changed its title to the Canadian Jewish Times and its frequency to a weekly. The publisher reported,

"Indications of our growing maturity were given when we expanded from a bi-weekly to a weekly, and added four pages to our regular issue. Now, to still further mark our progress, we come out with a coloured cover. These improvements have all been made in response to the growing necessities of our business, and our desire to supply Canadian Jewry with a paper worthy of it, and the vital interests we strive to represent. Our circulation has more than trebled within the last two years, as the number of our people in the country have multiplied, and there are few places in the Dominion where The Jewish Times is not known, read and regarded as a trustworthy vehicle of Jewish thought, contemporary history and inter communi-

cation. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Newfoundland to the Yukon, it is a welcome visitor in Jewish homes, and is, for the Jews of Canada, a medium of information, superior to any other obtainable...

"When this paper was started, in response to the demand for an organ of Jewish thought and a defender of Jewish interests, the Jewish population of Canada was little more than ten thousand, scattered all over the country. To-day we number between seventy and eighty thousand, of whom not less than thirty thousand are settled in Montreal. Where there were only three or four synagogues, there are now sixteen, with others in prospect. This is one proof of the prosperity our people have enjoyed, but in other respects, as the records of our communal institutions show, and as the evidences appear on all sides, the Jewish immigrants have not only greatly improved their personal fortunes, but have added a large and valuable element to the manufacturing and business progress of the city and country. It is creditable to their capacity for assimilating themselves to the ways of the country that they have been absorbed into its industrial and commercial life without causing the slightest disturbance, while developing and expanding it in all desirable directions." (Nov. 19, 1909)

Within a year of Ryan's retirement the founders of the Jewish paper sold it to Hyman P. Nervich. Later Mr. Gelbman joined Nervich in the ownership of the Canadian Jewish Times Printing and Publishing Co. at 411 St. James St.

The moment is appropriate for an examination of the circumstances and the contributory causes, not of a separation but of a new relationship between the elements of the community. The transfer may have been related to the retirement of the editor.

On the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Jewish Times the successor-editor ruminated, "Though now fairly on in years we do not yet feel that we can lean back in our chair, close our eyes, and with a smile of satisfaction feel that we have done our work and that cares and worries may forever be set aside.

"True, the pioneer work has been accomplished. The first explorers, Mr. S.W. Jacobs, K.C., and Mr. Lyon Cohen have long ceased wielding the pen-axe into the Jewish unjournaled and unnewspapered flock. The Canadian Jews themselves have even learned to no longer take their good-natured and regular fling at the paper which they estimate like the one loved with all her faults. It is looked forward to and eagerly scanned. The time too has passed when the owners paid for their cause by covering annual deficits. The time has also gone by when the owner's office boy, sometimes assisted by his little sister, wrote up the paper.

"We have matured in every branch and feel the responsibilities of our years. Montreal no longer possesses seven thousand Jews and all

Canada fifteen thousand, as when this paper first made its debut. And there lies the rub. The community too has matured as have we. We feel our responsibilities to the community. Let the community feel its responsibilities to us." (Dec. 13, 1912)

The departure of the founders of the Jewish Times, with their colleague Ryan, was an event and a symbol in the development of Montreal Jewry.

By 1913 Leon Goldman was president of the Canadian Jewish Times publishing company. Max Saunders was the co-proprietor and managing director and Harry Gordon was secretary-treasurer.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OLDER BY A DECADE

During the decade after the founding of the Jewish Times, in the spring of 1908, a fateful series of events was shaping the history of the Canadian Jewish press.

Ryan was aging, approaching seventy. Not that this born Christian was hampering the processes of time. The developments in the community were too powerful to be impeded. But his removal from the scene opened possibilities for new personalities and new Jewish expressions which no one of his background could restrain; apparently no one sought to hold them back. The founders of the Jewish Times reconsidered the direction of their fortnightly. The Jacobs-Cohen phase of the Times was coming to an end, and with it a period in Canadian Jewish history.

In Canada more than elsewhere Yiddish became an important, real element, an omen and a symbol of the fate of the pre-immigrant establishment of the Americas and even of Europe. This was particularly true in Montreal. It was evidenced in the history of the Jewish Times, in the virtual resignation of S.W. Jacobs from its management and in its absorption by the Canadian Jewish Chronicle; the latter a creature of H. Wolofsky, the remarkable founder of the Kanader Adler.

In this history of Jacobs' and Cohen's Jewish Times the development of the Yiddish press at the side of the anglophone periodical was decisive -- and early.

Even more important, a change in the contents of the Times, a change which found reflection early in its own early contents, became evident to its readers.

As late as 1908 the Jewish Times strongly resented informing the daily press of plans to form a Yiddish theatre and a Hebrew Protective Association which would constitute a volunteer battalion for self defence, particularly as they seemed to represent themselves as "leading Jews who were forming institutions distinctly Jewish." Clearly, in part this reflected the uncertainty about the formation of political Jewish representation and the emergence of "unauthorized" spokesmen for the community.

"As a matter of fact, the project is not regarded favourably 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.'"

"But the attack extended beyond politics to culture.

"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." ("Segregation not Desirable," Sept. 7, 1908)

Another target of contempt which was current and which the weekly was propagating touched the language question, more precisely Yiddish.

This was a very complex issue which is essential for an understanding of Jewish culture since Napoleon. The Jewish Times expatiated on it,

"It is a mistake to call it the language of the Jews. Its use is wholly confined to immigrants and their immediate children. These latter neglect it, and when they grow up, prefer to speak English. It seems to flourish at present because of the masses of newcomers in America, who can speak no other tongue except Yiddish. Admitting that it has developed a literature of its own, such as may be, that it is singularly forcible and in some respects, picturesque, it remains a jargon with the abrupt coarseness usual in such forms of speech; its force occasionally verges on grossness and the whole scheme of its expression is grotesque. It has neither the broad strength of German, to which it is most closely allied, nor the direct vigour of English. It lacks the faintest touch of the nice subtlety of French, and is as destitute of the melody of Italian as it is of the sonorous roll of Spanish. Those who were born to it may love it, because it is to them native and Jewish. But those of us, who have been born and educated in Great Britain and North America, would as soon think of making it a vehicle of polite intercourse, as of reviving the Choctaw. It has served a great purpose of intercommunication among our scattered people, and for a long time to come, will continue to do so. But it is absurd to strive to raise it to the dignity of a great language." (July 9, 1909)

Earlier "good work has been inaugurated in Winnipeg in the matter of educating the late arrivals amongst the Russian immigrants in the English language. Classes are held four nights each week, which are largely attended, and are much appreciated... There is great difficulty in finding sufficient teachers to look after these classes -- nearly everyone showing some valid (?) reason for his inability to attend -- the consequence being that Rev. Dr. Bonnheim, Messrs. J.J. Goodman, Max Finkelstein, and H.A. Isaacs, each devote two evenings weekly to the cause...

"The work is highly necessary, as it certainly has the tendency to elevate them socially, making better citizens of them and raising them out of the rut of the Yiddish jargon." (Feb. 24, 1905)

In its most primitive form we find Yiddish referred to disparagingly -- only at times it should be noted, in all fairness -- in the Montreal Jewish periodical.

It is not too much to see in these the editorials as the distillation of differences which led the founders of the Jewish Times to dispose of this weekly.

In spite of its artistic appreciation the Jewish Times considered a Yiddish theatre as an undesirable and an even unpatriotic, separatist institution.

By the same token the Jewish periodical opposed a volunteer Jewish defence against anti-Semites who attacked Jews on the streets of Montreal. All forms of Jewish volunteer services were looked at askance by the Jewish Times. (Sept. 7, 1908)

The complex changes may be followed by measuring the attitude towards the immigrant society which had become other than the audience to which the Jewish Times was first directed. Indeed this fortnightly had first reflected the unsympathetic and often contemptuous attitude of the established Jewish society towards the newcomers. It was an attitude which was reflected in many ways, not least directly towards the Yiddish "jargon".

But from the beginning this negativism was increasingly moderating for many reasons and in many ways. For one reason, the Montreal Jewish establishment of century's end was largely founded by east-European Jews who were deeply grounded in the Yiddish and orthodox religion and traditions of Lithuania who could not long despise the newer arrivals from their own birthplace.

During the decade before 1908 this Canadian society became aware of the fraternity of Yiddish speech within the Jewish group, a type of freemasonry, which was particularly common in such social conditions as the Canadian, where a sharp distinction was made between those who spoke, bespoke, or understood the language and those who did

not. The differentiation was becoming more refined than that between the established anglophone community and the newer arrivals.

The contributors to the Jewish Times were discovering Yiddish literature and visiting Yiddish littérateurs who soon found a tribune in the Baron de Hirsch Institute.

In the fall of 1909 the Jewish Times welcomed "one of the chief leaders of the nationalist movement amongst Jewish workingmen, the Socialist Dr. C. Zhitlowsky who at this time was combatting the assimilationist "cosmopolitan" labour movement.

"Coming originally to America as a representative and delegate of the Russian party, Dr. Zhitlowsky took great interest in the Jewish national movement, making a strong stand against the radical element which was so prominent in New York. Through his efforts, many of those who were drifting in this direction were successfully recalled to nationalism. After the peaceful revolution in Turkey, he called upon the various units of the Jewish working party to unite under one flag, the 'Poale Zion.'

"Whilst in Montreal, Dr. Zhitlowsky will lecture in the Baron de Hirsch Institute, on Saturday and Sunday next, upon the following interesting topics: 'The Unity of Different Thoughts and Currents in Modern Judaism,' and 'A Revolution in Jewish History.' As a lecturer, the Doctor is well and favourably known." (Dec. 3, 1909)

During his visit to Montreal Yiddish novelist Sholem Ash met Nervich of the Jewish Times as well as Rabbi Nathan Gordon of Temple Emanuel and B.J. Goldstein of the Adler. (Adler, Apr. 10, 1910)

Sons of immigrants attending McGill University included scholars in Yiddish.

The Ferband, the only workingmen's order, was meeting Friday evenings at the Baron de Hirsch Institute. Was the secretary recording minutes on the Sabbath eve? Institute presidents such as Lyon Cohen made it their custom to visit their immigrant guest institutions in a friendly manner. (S. Belkin. "The Leader and his People." 1937)

Coincidentally an awareness of Yiddish culture, theatre and literature crept into the pages of the Jewish Times towards the end of this decade, years which also witnessed the birth of the Adler.

The new climate in the immigrant community and its growing impact upon the old community were very impressive. An examination of any phase of this sociology revealed colourful phenomena during this period, not least in journalism and in religion. Almost at random from the personalia of the decade there emerges -- not without his own modest help -- the activist Rabbi Simon Joshuah Glazer. Almost as if he were aware of his Montreal historic role, the documentation

which he bequeathed history highlighted his David-Goliath conflict with the heads of the establishment.

But the publisher-founders had many other reasons for retiring from the periodical. The climate even within the established community had altered since 1897 when they first issued the Jewish Times, and outside this established sub-society, another Jewish world, the immigrant world, another press and another Jewish culture were no longer nodding unanimous, respectful consent to Ryan-Jacobs-Cohen.

But only a decade after the Jewish Times first appeared, it was no longer the only Jewish voice in Montreal, and the competitor was not a fortnightly but a daily with a professional, erudite staff and with a constituency dependent upon it ten times the size, if not the wealth, of the anglophone publication. The solid fence of bourgeois contempt and superiority could not for long retain cultural and religious superiority with a strong tinge of Europeanism which the Adler represented in Montreal.

Within three years of the birth of the Adler -- not necessarily in consequence -- the established anglophone fortnightly was transferred to new owners. When the Adler was but seven, the Canadian Jewish Times came under the control of H. Wolofsky, the most Yiddish of figures in Montreal Jewry, the publisher of the Adler.

In April 1914, after suffering changes in proprietorship and editors, the Canadian Jewish Times was acquired by H. Wolofsky of the Yiddish Adler, who changed its title to the Canadian Jewish Chronicle. He and his sons became the sole community publisher of Montreal Jewry for half a century.

The Chronicle merged with the Canadian Jewish Review in 1966 into the Chronicle-Review which published until 1976.

PERSPECTIVES

In this atmosphere of mutual respect, and in the desire to establish cooperation and administrative unity in philanthropic activity, there came to develop inevitably a sharing of power among Canadian Jewry which went much farther even than in American Jewry. This was the beginning of Canadian philanthropic unity of Kehillah plans, of the federations of charities, of the joint campaigns for war sufferers, of the Joint Distribution Committee, of the United Jewish Relief Agencies and the united efforts for Israel.

The established community had frequent occasion since its first days as an institution to appeal to the authorities for cooperation in connection with its immigrant welfare work. These measures became the more frequent, the more consistent with its social philosophy, and ever more in keeping with the social philosophy of the Institute. Indeed we find in these representations over the early years a coherent formulation of Jewish and of Canadian political and social welfare philosophy.

The Baron de Hirsch Institute documentation became an ever more carefully developed statement of community thought welcoming and requiring the participation of ever more of the growing population. But it was a participation that came at a price to be paid -- in the process of formulating the community's democratic philosophy.

These are some of the processes occurring within the "static" estab-lsihment during the first decade of the century. Yet the processes are probably most visible in the form of the new types of persons who suddenly appeared on the Canadian paysage: the rabbis, journalists, youthful students, politicians, Kosher butchers -- encountering Samuel W. Jacobs.

S. Belkin recalled meeting Lyon Cohen first at a meeting of the Poale Zion. As president of the Baron de Hirsch Institute Cohen was not content with presiding over meetings; on Sundays he spent mornings and afternoons at the social work centre listening to immigrants who came for assistance or for counsel in dealing with their personal problems. He also visited various immigrant and cultural associations to whom the Institute offered the hospitality of its rooms for meeting facilities, libraries, etc. It was at a 1912 meeting of the Poale Zion that Cohen met the Poale Zion leader S. Belkin.

By the outbreak of the first war Cohen had developed a remarkable kinship and trust with the immigrant society which virtually made him a leader of Canadian Jewry. The crises of war led him to work for mutual recognition of the two sectors of Jewry and for a united community.

A climactic drama of the democratic leadership in the community at war's end was enacted in the form of the massive demonstration against the anti-Semitic excesses in the Ukraine which foreshadowed the holocaust.

New York Jews -- some 500,000 of them -- under the banner of the American Jewish Congress marched on the streets to draw attention to this slaughter.

In Canada their ideological comrades in the Canadian Jewish Congress and in the Federation of Ukrainian Jews and in the circles of the Adler supported the proposal for a parallel manifestation.

Cohen, president of the Congress, was absent from the city during these decisions. When he returned, several days before the scheduled demonstration to a last minute conference of Jewish organizations "he fought like a lion against such a decision: such public manifestations are futile, especially in a metropolis where Jews are so tiny a proportion of the population.

"The heated debate remained on a high level of dignity. The peope were ready to take risks in the effort to aid their threatened brethren in the Ukraine. The conference was all but unanimous in its rejection of Lyon Cohen's position.

"He arose to say only, 'The voice of the people is like the voice of Shaddai.'

"On demonstration day, when Main Street was packed black from Duluth to St. Catherine Street with mourning Jewish Montrealers, Cohen accompanied by S.W. Jacobs drove to the head of the parade to march with his people.

"The researcher of Judaism in Canada will recognize in this episode the firmest evidence of the democracy rooted in the community by this time when Lyon Cohen presided over it." (S. Belkin, ibid.)

RABBI SIMON JOSHUAH GLAZER

The decade of profound alteration in the Jewish community, 1897-1907, can be personified by scores of individual immigrants in Montreal, some of them colourful, others typical, still others effective and active, some magnetic and charismatic, others of worldwide renown, still others dedicated to universal beneficent change in the condition of the people divinely chosen desperately seeking protection against the holocaust looming over them.

It is possible to choose them almost arbitrarily, examine documentation and recollections, and observe the steps and degrees of their influences upon their own immigrant society and upon their host subsociety of Jewish predecessors.

The names of Rabbi Simon Joshuah Glazer and of Hirsch Wolofsky come to mind; the former came to Montreal in 1907, and the latter established a Yiddish periodical that year with the participation of the former.

When the publishers of the Jewish Times, and in all probability S.W. Jacobs in particular, observed these personalities within the framework of the evolving community, they were confirmed in their growing determination to distance themselves from the periodical to which they were so profoundly attached for more than a decade.

The person of Rabbi Glazer was not as gentle and attractive as other orthodox rabbis who had immigrated to serve the religious groups, such as Rabbis A. Ashinsky and H. Cohen. He came without the respect for social authority; without readiness to cooperate with his predeccesors who had won leadership by many years of service; without acceptance of the traditions of centuries of Canadian civilization and convention.

Not only was ambitious Rabbi Glazer prepared for opposition from those to whom he might have been acquiescent; he sought out the strongest of these to do them battle on the issues dearest to them. When these happened to be leaders, he challenged their leadership.

He was a new phenomenon in the Canadian Jewish experience. In the perspective of Jacobs and Cohen what was foreshadowing was not the conflict of the challenge, but the clear presence of a horde who could in no sense be ignored -- the unappetizing prospect of a Jewish future not to be engaged in conflict with impunity.

Rabbi Simon J. Glazer was born in Erzwillig in the Kovno Gubernate in Lithuania on January 21, 1876, the son of Abraham Elijah and Rebecca (Fisher) Glazer. (Who's Who in American Jewry. 1926. Pp. 198-99)

Glazer had lived in Des Moines, Iowa. since 1902. He had come there a year after his marriage to Ida Cantor of Buffalo, N.Y. During his first six years in the United States he preached in many centres on various themes, notably on Zionism and on the urgent need of Jewish education.

During his years in Des Moines he edited the weekly Jewish Herald (1904) and, in Toledo the Jewish Compromiser (1906).

In 1904 he published The Jews of Iowa, A Complete History and Accurate Account of their Religious, Social, Economic and Educational Progress in this State: A History of the Jews of Europe, North and South America in Modern Times, and a Brief History of Iowa. (Des Moines, Koch Bros. xvi, 359 p.)

In 1907 his Sabbath School Guide, a Systematic Work for the Instruction of Judaism, a Compilation of the Essentials of Judaism, Based upon the Bible and the Highest Rabbinical Authorities appeared in Toledo, Ohio, from the Hadley Publishing Co. (xii, 171 p.; Jewish Times, Apr. 19, 1907)

In June 1907 Rabbi Glazer of Toledo spòke at the Montreal Rumanian Synagogue on a Saturday afternoon, "The rabbi gave addresses here last Saturday in two synagogues, the Chevra Kadisha and the Austro-Hungarian. He has received a call from the Orthodox Jewish congregation, but has not yet given it consideration." (Jewish Times, June 25, 1907)

But the same year we find him in Montreal active in the orthodox community, where he met up with the variety of problems faced by the rabbis of the immigrant society. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26). He spoke at the Siyum Sepher Torah at the Chevrah Tifereth Israel at Mile End in January 1908, when Mr. and Mrs. Kellnor presented a Sacred Scroll to the synagogue. "He spoke eloquently on the necessity of building a synagogue in that part of the city which would operate a Hebrew school." (Jewish Times, Jan. 24, 1908)

The following year, 1907 is another landmark in Canadian journalism with the appearance of his orthodox Yiddisher Shtern (Jewish Star) and of the daily Adler (Eagle)

The weekly Shtern existed for a year.

The La Presse québéquoise states that the Shtern had been founded by Elias Mieff in 1906 (vol. 4, P. 241). If so, it was revived in 1907 by Lithuanian-born H. Hyman and Rabbi Joshuah Simon Glazer (1876-1938). (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26)

A copy of the Sept. 20, 1907 issue, no. 18, is preserved in the library of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. (A.L. Kaplansky, in 1932

Anniversary Issue of the Jewish Daily Eagle, gives 1910 as the date of publication. Article by Pinchas in the Adler)

In 1912 he edited the short-lived weekly Die Yiddish Velt.

His role in the Shtern and in the Velt was one of his many initiatives as he sought leadership in the rabbinical structure. Characteristically, his preface to his Guide of Judaism, A Systematic Work for the Study and Instruction of the Whole Scope of Judaism, which was issued by the Hebrew Publishing Co. in New York (XVI, 176 p.), was signed in Montreal on February 22, 1917 as chief rabbi of the United Synagogues. The preface to the second edition of 1922 was signed in Kansas City.

For a number of years Rabbi Glazer contributed to this particular American orthodox educational literature emanating from the Hebrew Publishing Co. (which also issued Harkavi's Complete Dictionary, English-Yiddish Yiddish-English and other works) and the Star Hebrew Book Co. The latter New York firm issued Glazer's Bar-Mitzvah Pulpit, Sermonettes for Bar-Mitzvah Boys and others Arranged According to the Sedroth of the Torah, (1928. 222 P.); History of Israel, Based upon Graetz-Dubnov, (1930. 6 vols.); Book of Sermons for all Occasions, (1930. 256 P.) and Techinah-Book, Containing Prayers and Religious Duties for the Daughters of Israel, (1930. 128 P. H.L. Fox notes that Glazer was the first to translate into English Maimonides' Sefer Hamada with the notes of the RaBaD.

He came from Europe in 1894 after studies in Yeshivot at Yurburg, Tauraggen and Euragola, armed with ordination from Rabbi Wolf Lehrman of his native Erzwilling, Rabbis Abraham Rabinowitz and Alexander Moses Lapidoth of Rossiany, American Rabbi Jacob Nidrewitz, and others.

He soon acquired the English language and the modes of civil and communal action of the New World. But he was dedicated to the traditions and to the militant psychology of the society to which he was born. Far from him the thought of adaptation to the new world, least of all to the practices developed by the integrating Canadian-born society and its institutions. Each of his public actions known to us testifies to his independence and to his dissidence.

THE CANADIAN RABBINATE

The area of his activities which he chose, the rabbinate, was particularly stormy, with very few rewards. Qualified candidates were many since in Europe very advanced Jewish studies were universal. Training in rabbinics was the matter of all education, and the ordination certificate was in effect the universal document testifying to completion of advanced studies. Few of its holders ever considered putting it forth as a key to professional practice. Indeed, it was commonly understood that the professional rabbi "in the Old Country" had always to be aware that his audience might include many such ordinants in his audiences.

They were not so numerous in the impoverished immigrant society, for among these newcomers the orthodox were not dominant. And there was a call for men trained in Jewish learning, for education, for Shechitah, for circumcisions, etc. across the continent, and the field was crowded, competitive.

In this universe of ancient culture and universal education, at least for men, common conversation and humour was replete with profound lore; only the less fortunate -- who were not few -- were shut from Hebrew- and Talmud-soaked allusions. Learning and its folklore were the measure for prestige and even for family formation.

These measures were carried over to the immigrant world. To listen to the sound and to the aesthetics of street speech, to synagogual conversation and to the political discourse, even of extremist secularists, was to participate in a Hebraic cultural anthology. It could be heard anywhere, not least among Communists or in the offices of the elder Bronfmans, Michael Garber, Moishe Myerson, not to speak of teachers like Wiseman, Magid, Yelin, Zipper, Dunsky. Even later modernist composer Istvan Anhalt had recourse to the music of the Zohar for one of his works.

Transported to Canada this ubiquity of intense learning created competition for positions and a large critical audience to measure the efficacy of the performance in the clerical profession. The result on this level became a jungle. Reading the documentation of this epoch a century later often makes the reader blush for what had happened to its dignity.

But the worst feature of the life of an orthodox rabbi, which poisoned his very being, was his insecure status; unlike the ancient tradition, he was not attached to a synagogue or a community which might bear a responsibility. At best he might in theory be the City Rabbi in a small town, but not in Montreal. Failing a more specific status, in his case Rabbi Glazer was attached to several synagogues

with an uncertain salary from each, always unstable and precarious, all of them together adding to less than half his income. In other words, he was on his own.

The rabbi would suffer endless competition, in the light of the vast store of Jewish learning and of economic pressure from Europe, and hence in the immigration diaspora of Montreal, as elsewhere. A rabbi could maintain his stance only by virtue of personality, energy, aggressiveness, sufferance and even intrigue. Much of this was public scandal, with leaflets, press attacks to the point of searing court actions.

An advertisement by Rabbi Meyer Zvi Levy of Baldwin St. in Toronto reveals much about the life of rabbis in the community. "You will always find me at home to deal with all rabbinical problems, for example, responsa, arbitration cases, good advice between man and man, and to settle all types of marital problems, also to officiate at weddings.

"Please remember that according to law only a rabbi may perform the rites of marriage, and the law is very clear that he who is not familiar with the laws of divorces and weddings is not permitted to have anything to do with these matters.

"In such difficult times why should you spend money for all kinds of silly matters when you can come and have your wedding ceremony in my house and be very satisfied with the good wishes which I will give you in my home?"

A glance at his timetable during the 1912 Passover weekend indicates that Rabbi Glazer preached at Chevrah Kadisha on Shabbat Hagadol and on Shabbat Hal Hamoed; at the Austria-Hungarian synagogue during the afternoon of the first morning of Passover; at the Beth Jehudah synagogue that afternoon; at the Rumanian synagogue on the morning of the second day and at Yizkor the last day, and during the last morning services at the Galician Khal Yeshurun synagogue on Sherbrooke and Colonial St. (Jewish Times, Mar 29, 1912)

The February 16, 1912 issue listed the Kol Israel Chaverim congregation on Papineau St., the Tifereth Israel of Mile End, the Shomrim Laboker on Cadieux St., the Beth Solomon Congregation on St. Charles Borrommée St. and the Bais Israel synagogue of Quebec City among those recognizing him as chief rabbi.

The professional situation of the rabbinate was demoralizing. Suddenly nearly every rabbi declared himself a "Gaon" (a genius), a title that was formal a thousand years ago, and since used most frequently to qualify only those the like of the Rabbi of Vilno. Canadian printers on the night shifts of Yiddish newspapers became accustomed to the visits of "Gaonim" to ensure that that title appeared in the morrow's advertisements.

A remarkable document which casts the strongest light upon the life of the orthodox immigrant society has been willed to us by Simon Glazer. His 1909 journal constitutes a record of his activities, often hour by hour. And they are long hours.

The rabbi's position in "his" synagogue was not what it has become since. It need not be assumed that a cash salary was always connected with a synagogue. The illuminating Montreal diary of Rabbi Glazer for 1909 reaffirms the importance of the "miscellaneous" income of a traditional rabbi even as it records his functions. The Canadian rabbi was social worker, marriage counselor, peace maker, arbitrator, judge, interventor, etc. Clients showed their appreciation by a dollar or more. This added up to about half of his revenue. Even back in Europe an unofficial tax on yeast at the shtetel store was often part of the rabbi's income.

This life of truly religious dedication added up, on the material level, to an income of some $1,900 per annum, with less than half of this total coming from the Roumanian, the Austro-Hungarian, the Chevra Kadisha and the Quebec City congregation. The balance was "Hachnassah," income from marriages, divorces and arbitrations, and other offerings when they came. Even taking into account the purchasing value of the dollar, it was a difficult life.

No wonder that in Canada Rabbi Glazer was connected with several congregations at a time; still less that the rabbi came to call himself Chief Rabbi of the United Orthodox Congregations of Montreal and Quebec.

Most of his time was spent in what would nowadays be called cases, as indeed he called them. These were most often religious in character, but they verged on the social. Circumcision ceremonies and weddings are admixed with divorce proceedings, the latter complicated by the stringent demands of the halachah and by the vast distances between the places of the nuptials, the places of origin and the present residence of the parties; often they involve desertion and far flung search. There are very many cases of marital dissension.

These are phases of the rabbi's work, for which he generally received no remuneration. Much of the rest is communal. In his spare moments he knocks at doors collecting for the poor, usually accompanied by one of his congregants. Then there are countless addresses before various synagogues and mutual benefit societies.

The Canadian Jewish Times of March 1, 1912 wrote, probably in the form of a paid insertion, that his friends were "raising a fund for the purpose of buying a house and presenting it to the Rabbi as a residence. The committee in charge of the noble undertaking reports great progress; the smallest amount accepted from anyone is $25. There remains but little more to be subscribed for in order to pay cash for a residence for the Rabbi.

"Rabbi Glazer has been in Montreal for the last five years, and because of being the head of the majority of the synagogues in this city, questions arose which have called forth strong opposition to the Rabbi from quarters which have never been overfriendly to any of Rabbi Glazer's predecessors. But Rabbi Glazer has retained the confidence of all of his synagogues and made friends among all classes. Among the labouring classes he is known as the peace-maker, for he never grants a 'get' unless the case be that of a truly deserted woman.

"The latest step on the part of Rabbi Glazer's friends will be gratifying to the entire community which the Rabbi has been serving for the past five years without ever expecting to be rewarded in such splendid manner."

Rabbi Glazer was the only Jewish minister to declare himself chief rabbi; he sought to impose his authority on other rabbis. He petitioned the court that no Jewish divorce be issued without his approval. In order to impose it on those who rejected his authority he laid information that they issued divorces contrary to civil law. At this point he complained that judges have become authorities on Schechitah, marriage and divorce. (MS notes)

In the case of Rabbi Glazer his arch enemies were the officers of the Baron de Hirsch Institute led by Samuel W. Jacobs and the members of the Cohen family ("Torah and Distinction seated together"). To complicate matters and to polarize the conflict, the Cohens were as deeply rooted in the East European tradition as was Rabbi Glazer, for their Rabbi Hirsch Cohen was as learned as the new rabbi from Toledo. Rabbi Cohen eventually won out and remained the leading orthodox rabbinical personality of Montreal for half a century after Rabbi Glazer returned to the United States. Rabbi Cohen had his share of personality, talent and wisdom. His kinship to the great Westmount Cohen family (Lazarus, A.Z., Lyon, Horace, Leonard) did not weaken his professional posture in the east end community.

S.W. Jacobs, publisher of the Canadian Jewish Times and future member of the House of Commons, represented the very effective established Jewish community which held a different position in regard to Jews' integration into Canadian society than did the conserving Rabbi Glazer who insisted in maintaining the socialized way of life of Central Europe. Indeed the Canadian-born Jacobs did not recognize Glazer as a Montreal rabbi. (Canadian Jewish Times, Feb. 12, 1909)

Later Jacobs formulated his position on the changes and prospects of orthodox Jewry in Canada,

"I always deplore the absence of some central authority to guide our people dispersed among the nations and I have admired the magnificent organization of the Roman Catholic church and everything which makes for unity of purpose among its adherents. The secret of the

greatness of that church is due to the directing force which can be noted to the smallest detail in everything that affects its welfare throughout the world.

"Contrast this with our system of scattered handfuls of refugees throughout the world living their own lives, adjusting themselves to suit the requirements of the day or the people among whom they live -- no homogeneity -- recognizing no head except one constituted by themselves, in many cases irresponsible demagogues and self-constituted leaders who hold the positions because of some so-called superior knowledge which they claim to possess of the Talmud of which their flock knows nothing.

"It is not surprising that such communities have no standing in the country and I shudder to think what our position would be in the public eye did they obtain the foothold for which they seem to think they are fitted. Behold the Lion of Judah wearing the ass' skin.

"The idea of many of these people is that the Kosher meat question is the alpha and omega of the whole of the Jewish religion; squabbles among themselves, airing views in the newspapers, suits in the court for libel, prostituting the pulpit to air their own personal affairs.

"I think you will agree that there is room for improvement among this element of the community, and that our future in America depends largely upon how effectively this element can be brought into line and educated upon principles consonant with the life of the larger community among whom we live.

"In New York, rabbis and chief rabbis eke out a miserable existence by the issue of certificates to Kosher, and in many cases I fancy to non-Kosher, meat shops; and their recreation consists of black-guarding each other in the Yiddish newspapers if allowed; if not, by issuing circulars in which they pay their respects to each other.

"All this may be overcome, and can be, by communities placing themselves under the protection and guiding hand of modern rabbis and teachers, men who can command the respect of the older people by holding fast to the traditions of their ancestors and who, at the same time, know the need of catering to the younger generation growing up under different conditions, by instilling in their minds respect for authority and for the history of our imperishable past joined to admiration for the institutions under which we live and thrive.

"There ought to be some central authority today in Canada which would direct the various Chevras and institutions which go to make up the body of Judaism in this country, and protect many simple people from impositions and from charlatans with whom unfortunately we are so generously supplied; call it a Chief Rabbinate, call it a Legislative or Vigilance Committee, so long as it does the work which

it is so necessary to do if our Judaism is to stand for something better than the mere distribution and sale of Kosher meat.

"Imagine what a powerful organization could be brought about by a coordinative consideration of all the various bodies throughout Canada, all recognizing a central body and a directing head looking to the welfare and prosperity of Canadian Jewry." (Canadian Jewish Congress Archives. S.W. Jacobs, MS.)

KASHRUTH

Because of these general conditions, and because of their economic aspects, Kashrut of meat, Passover food, etc. presented particular occasions for conflict and scandal.

Rabbi Hirsch Cohen wrote in the Adler of December 4, 1908, "Rumour has it that the Kosher trade is involved in hatreds, persecutions, detectives, policemen, scandals, arrests and desecration of the Holy Name."

It was this type of attack upon the rabbi that led him to initiate the libel action upon the Adler that spring. It was settled out of court, with legal and all other costs to be borne by the defendants. (Jewish Times, Apr. 30, 1909)

As Rabbi Glazer noted in his diary twelve years later, "The tragedy of orthodox Judaism appears complete when the question of Kashrut is raised anywhere."

A record of common folkloric speech in Toronto portrays contemptuous conversation in regard to Kashruth,

"Some years ago, if you stopped a man in the street and said, 'Listen brother, you had a fine dinner which you enjoyed; but do you know from what animal your butcher supplied your wife? The meat was killed by a grandchild of Essau.' He would stare at you and reply somewhat in these terms: 'Say -- what do you think -- are we still in Kasrilevke where the Jews would meet in the synagogue till twelve to discuss all kinds of non-existent matters starting with the bath house and finishing with kosher meat? Here it's different. Here we are all dealing with houses. No one bears in mind kosher meat or anything of this sort, when we're all so busy with houses; and whoever concerns himself more with houses the better.'

"Nowadays, however, things have changed. We've remained the same Kasrilevke paupers as we had been years ago and with the same golden hopes on which he had worked so hard and bitterly in the shop all day, evenings about houses, the wife busy with boarders, and the children selling papers." (Toronto, Daily Hebrew Journal, Jan. 1, 1915)

Sack notes that the Kashrut question involved the livelihood of butchers, schochtim and rabbis. The questions sometimes reached the courts, so that judges who were not Jews had to rule on halachic matters.

As readers of Speisman's history of the Toronto community know, the Kosher food phase was far from edifying and had contributed much to

the degeneration of the rabbinical office. (Stephen A. Speisman. The Jews of Toronto, A History to 1937. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1979) It was not improved, in Montreal, until the Labour Zionists took the matter in hand for the sake of Jewish national dignity in the early 1920's and when the Canadian Jewish Congress acted much later. Rabbi Glazer was deeply and inevitably immersed in the disputes about Kashrut, as Rabbi Druker had been earlier, with all their cynicism, greed, dishonesty and indignity.

Like all involved in the Kosher meat industry, Glazer knew that Schochtim and others "will go about circulating rumours that I am associating myself with Trefah butchers. I ordered circulars to be issued denying it. It appears that the meat question will lead to a hard campaign and much trouble." (Diary, March 18, 1909 et passim)

A few months after his arrival in Canada the Montreal press of December 6, 1907 reported,

"Because they assaulted their rabbi, Rev. Simon Glazer, in his study; 29 Guilbault Street, warrants were sworn out for the arrest of Abraham Neanton, B. Blumenthal and a man named Macaroffsky.

"Neanton is under arrest and the police are looking for the other two. Macaroffsky is the one who is accused of striking Rabbi Glazer, but the other two also tried, the rabbi alleges, to spoil his features.

"The trouble arose over the refusal of Rabbi Glazer, who has sole control of the Kosher meat business here, to grant a license as 'killer' to Wolf Goldsman, a friend of Neanton.

"Neanton wanted to establish a 'kosher' shop and wanted Rabbi Glazer to allow him to have Goldsman as his killer, (schochet). The rabbi refused to accede to Neanton's request as his predecessors had refused to grant Goldsman a licence, on the ground that Goldsman had a rather unsavory reputation. He said though that he would give Neanton a 'kosher' licence if he would buy his meats from other duly licensed Kosher butchers. This did not suit Neanton.

"Rabbi Glazer heard that on Friday of last week and Monday of this week Goldsman had been acting as killer and sent his steward to Goldsman to tell him that he would have to discontinue, and that he would take every measure to advertise Goldsman as an impostor even if he had to effect his arrest.

"It was this ultimatum, it is alleged, that caused Neanton and Goldsman's sons-in-law, to assault the rabbi.

"To-day to The Herald, Rabbi Glazer gave the following account of the affair.

"'The three came to my house and asked me if it was true that I would not grant Goldsman a licence. I told them that I certainly

would not, and they began to curse me fluently and made a rush at me.

"'I jumped for the rear door and got through but Macaroffsky went around the back way and punched me.

"'Meanwhile my servant had run downstairs and out on the street yelling «Murder, police,» and her screams alarmed the trio who scampered downstairs, still swearing at me. They told me that I was not the «Czar of Russia,» and I told them that they were in an enlightened country and that I would have the law on them.

"'The three are not long out from Russia and are anarchists or Socialists, or something of the sort and are always striving to upset authority. They, for some reason, started with the rabbi. Fortunately there are but very few of this type in the city.

"'It has been stated that I hit each of these three men with a poker and that I was dangerously ill as a result of the encounter, but this report is absolutely false.'

"The kosher business of Montreal amounts to nearly $3,000,000 a year and Rabbi Glazer has the making of the appointments. He has eleven men to kill cattle and nine to inspect, sixteen to kill poultry, and forty-one retail dealers.

"When he pronounces meat as unfit it is thrown away. In fact he is absolute master of the Jewish meat trade in Montreal. There is a great demand for the various licences but the recipient has to be of unimpeachable character and reputation."

He was subjected to similar violence in his home again on January 29, 1909.

The day-by-day living arrangements of the Jewish immigrants created municipal problems which came to face the authorities at every level. The classic case of Sunday observance rose in importance from the custom of delivering fresh bread to a philosophic and theological issue -- not to speak of Jewish and of Quebec folklore and life styles -- which engaged the highest legislatures for decades. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 14)

The daily press regularly carried details of traditional Jewish housekeeping where these were touched by common legal regulations and Canadian custom. We have here a body of anthropology.

The Devoir of October 15, 1910 reported that Alderman Brodeur recommended a measure which Loi 101 of 1977 would not have approved. His proposal: "that the regulations governing courtyards and lanes" be printed in Hebrew. His proposal went beyond his intentions.

"Dr. J.J. McCarey, director of municipal food services, declared that the work of his inspectors would be greatly alleviated if the food regulations were printed in Hebrew as well as in French and English.

"'There are many Jews in Montreal dealing in milk, bread and meats,' the doctor said, 'and some of them have an insufficient knowledge of the two languages in common use. Consequently some of the rules seem to escape them.

"'This measure would particularly simplify the task of our inspectors on duty on Craig St. between St. Denis and Bleury streets where there are small stores kept by Jewish women most of whom can understand my men only by the signs and gestures to which they need to resort. It is in just these establishments that hygiene is least observed.'"

THE SCHOCHET IMPRISONED

Russian schochet Solomon Lamdan stumbled into trouble with the civic law by slaughtering poultry in the kosher mode at his St. Dominique St. home near the St. Lawrence Market. He had been doing this work here for a number of years, supporting his wife and eight children from the three cents he had received for each fowl which he had dispatched for some 150 Jewish residents of the market area.

Suddenly he was arrested for cruelty to chickens, or for bleeding chickens within 500 yards of the St. Lawrence Market. He was imprisoned in the jail at the foot of De Lorimier St.

Rabbi Cohen saw the Lamdan incident as involving Rabbi Glazer and, further, as "an intervention by municipal authorities who intend to destroy the Jewish community. An earlier example: Judge Lafontaine had recently been asked to rule on who may issue Jewish divorces," he wrote in the Adler. His reference to problems of Jewish divorces was connected to Rabbi Glazer who had sought the intervention of the court to establish his authority as chief of all the rabbis in the community. He objected to the anarchy in the community.

"Judge Choquet rules as to who may sell kosher meat. Now they will decide on who may kill chickens."

Rabbi Cohen's letter continued: "Every minyan engages a reverend who performs marriages which are forbidden -- to married people, to pregnant and to nursing women.

"No one cares about the prevalence of consumption; there is no Gmilas Chassodim (free loan society), no old people's home, orphans are placed in non-Jewish hands, Baron de Hirsch Institute is the only philanthropy -- and it is threatened."

The rabbi was probably referring to a condition described, in all innocence by the Canadian Jewish Times on July 2, 1909 when it editorialized with satisfaction on the Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital; seven Jewish childred were housed by this non-Jewish institution; something strongly repugnant to the Jewish tradition which cherishes the privilege of ensuring Jewish care and upbringing for all Jewish children who may come under public responsibility.

"There is a little known and less talked of institution at 43 Argyle Ave., which is doing good work all the time, in a manner which is at once praiseworthy and unostentatious. We allude to the Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital, of which Miss Phillips is the capable lady Superintendent. It may be news to some of our readers to learn that there are seven tiny Jewish inmates of this Hospital, which is entirely supported by voluntary contributions," the Jewish Times wrote.

"Those who have interests of the good work at heart, evidently believe in gaining their end by what almost looks like stealth, and we consider that all the more reason why they should be accorded our generous support. We understand the hospital is also used as a creche, so necessary for those mothers, compelled by circumstance to seek their living by daily toil. These are the institutions that are worthy of our commendation, for they achieve a world of good without an unseemly flourish of trumpets or the much advertising of subscription lists."

He called a meeting at his home through the Adler. (Jan. 29, 1909)

On May 31, 1908 Rabbi Cohen wrote in the Jewish newspaper, "Some synagogues and societies have their 'reverends' perform marriages. They have secured permission from prothonotaries in the belief that these groups were incorporated under the law, but they were not. The attorney general called them to return the books and to state that they had been in good faith."

When the by-law in regard to killing chickens was passed Rabbi Cohen had brought the matter to the attention of Ald. Godbout. But the alderman responded: "If other synagogues and lodges had protested and had interested their aldermen, the by-law would have been reconsidered in City Hall."

While incarcerated the schochet was visited by Rabbi Simon Glazer on January 27, 1909 who learned that the schochet had refused to touch the food which the jailer had offered him. This official was unaware of Jewish dietary laws or the Jewish requirements of talith and phylacteries. Rabbi Glazer called Rabbi Hirsch Cohen and instructed him to bring these necessities to the prison.

Vallée, governor of the prison, was not sympathetic and had not been willing even to let Rabbi Glazer see the prisoner. He did not care whether the schochet ate or not. He was the governor of the jail and Mr. Lamdan was under his care. He had fed prisoners on a prescribed diet for over twenty years. Therefore Mr. Lamdan got his pea soup or his dole of meat, and if he was not satisfied with that he would get no more.

"There will be no food brought to the prisoners from the outside unless through the authorization of some higher power. I won't have Rabbi Glazer coming down here trying to feed my prisoners. This is a jail, not a boarding house or a hotel. All the men in the cells are guilty of some crime against the law. Therefore they must subsist on what the law allows them."

Rabbi Glazer pursued the matter and interviewed the mayor in regard to the bylaw affecting the killing of poultry. (Jan. 29, 1909) He also wrote to Premier O. Gouin concerning facilities for prayers available to Jewish prisoners in jail. (Feb. 9, 1909)

Nor would the jailer have the phylacteries and talith sent to the prisoner. "It is impossible to send these to the ward where he is confined. Why, the other prisoners would kill him. You must remember that there are all sorts of people, and not of the gentlest by any means in the wards just now. If the prisoner should put on that paraphernalia, the other prisoners would turn him into ridicule and might assault him. It would cause a disturbance." He offered to take an Old Testament or any other book to the prisoner, but he would not give him the paraphernalia for prayer which would attract a lot of attention and make trouble." He insisted "prisoners live on prisoners' diet.

"This prisoner must eat just like the rest of the prisoners eat. We have no privileges here. Canada was a country long before you came here and it will be a country long after you have left."

The governor relented and permitted the schochet to put on his talith and phylacteries each morning in the pharmacy where he kept the paraphernalia. (Star, Jan. 27, 28 and 29, 1909)

Under protest he permitted Lamdan's friends to pay the fine of $6.25 and was briefly freed. But once liberated he immediately resumed his schechitah and was again served with a warrant.

"The short, black-bearded rabbi, badly nourished, a type of one of Russia's downtrodden races" appealed to the Star reporters with his eight-year-old son as interpreter. He promised not to accept payment for slaughtering food if the authorities would cease harassing him at his work.

In the meantime Lamdan was released and was again arrested and sentenced to a further two months imprisonment. On March 11, Glazer and A. Blumenthal interviewed Recorder Weir and Mr. Lemieux who had drafted the bylaw in question. He was promised that Lamdan would be released within three days.

The market committee heard the rabbi on May 17; they promised him that they would station the schochet in the market. "The day's work was marked by the commission gained for Lamdan from council. It is considered a victory after all that was done against the man," the rabbi's diary reads. And the next day, "Lamdan stood in the market and worked; considered a great victory."

Léon Trépanier portrayed Montreal Jewry for readers thoughout the province by examining the police records. So he wrote in the Quebec City Action sociale of "A Rabbi in Prison."

"A Jewish rabbi by the name of Solomon Lambon (sic) is purging fifteen days for cruelty to animals. The poor Jew has declared he would rather die of hunger than touch the food prescribed by the prison authorities. Another rabbi by the name of Glazer has appealed

to the authorities against this odious persecution of his own type of persons." (Jan. 28, 1908)

Two days later Trépanier again reported, "In the Jug: The Jewish Rabbi Solomon Lamdan is in the jug again. After leaving the prison, his fine having been paid, he went to the home of a poor Jew on St. Dominique St. and killed several chickens in the Jewish manner, a mode of killing which is cruel in the eyes of those who are as compassionate of animals as these creatures deserve."

Rabbi Glazer supported his plea; but significantly advocate S.W. Jacobs, K.C., did not; he resented the intervention of Rabbi Glazer, asserting that Rabbi H. Cohen was the official chaplain of the jail.

But even in this case, which lasted many months, the rabbi injected his conflict with the community. His diary entry of February 21, 1909 records a letter from the attorney-general about prison regulations. The rabbi "found therein Cohen's statement which proved many things." The letter from the minister did not go without a response.

The documentation of Rabbi Glazer's work by chance is most complete for the year 1909. It reflects an aggressive, vigorous, litigious personality engaged in fulfillment of traditional law with great stubbornness, but constantly involved in personal conflicts, particularly against his "enemies" in the Baron de Hirsch institution.

On April 25, 1909 "I addressed a large meeting of the newly organized YMHA at the assembly room of the Baron de Hirsch Institute. Lyon Cohen, the worst enemy of mine and the present president, also spoke. It was rather an embarrassing situation, but I got the best of it." (Diary)

He addressed himself with great vigour and dignity to the community through the pages of the Canadian Yiddish paper the Eagle, and the Montreal Herald -- through the new continent-wide association of orthodox rabbis and through the Zionist movement. He fought the reserved philanthropists of the Baron de Hirsch Institute no less vigorously than the "animal lovers" who sought to ban orthodox shechitah in Nova Scotia.

Thus his constant public dispute with Rabbi Hirsch Cohen involving outstanding leaders of the community are documented in the 1910 Purim edition of the Adler.

He accused Rabbi Cohen of arranging Kashrut approbation for Toronto B. Weinstock matzoh bakery in order to protect a $6,000 third mortage by his brother Lyon Cohen. Rabbi Cohen denied any investment in the firm and claimed to have seen a "hechsher" (a document certifying Kashruth) in the bakery in English. Glazer admitted having been paid to go to Toronto, but not to grant a hechsher. Two months earlier the bakery had operated on the

Sabbath; its operator had served as informer to the government. So Glazer had refused to appoint an inspector and had forbidden consumption of his products. (The rabbi's diary entry of Feb. 21, 1909 states that "Weinstock of the Toronto Matzoh bakery called and bothered me for four hours for nothing. It seems he cannot possibly consent to have a Montreal inspector go there because of his inability to provide proper methods.") But the new owner, since February 25, was far from such practices, and Glazer was prepared to appoint an inspector. (Adler, Mar. 23, 1910)

There was a fundamental basis to Rabbi Glazer's condition in his society. Because of the very absence of a community voice he felt it incumbent to speak and to act when something needed to be said or done, particularly in the face of non-Jewish authority. So when Schochet Lamdan was repeatedly arrested for not complying with municipal by-laws and kept in jail without phylacteries or kosher food, it was Glazer who indignantly intervened.

"Solomon was again arrested for this crime, and the entire Jewish colony, led by Rabbi Glazer are crying persecution." (Jan. 30, 1908)

Indeed, when the rabbi worked out a compromise for the release of the schochet it was S.W. Jacobs, K.C., associate of Lyon Cohen in the Canadian Jewish Times, who objected to the arrangement.

CLASS STRUGGLE

The conflict between the immigrants and the establishment, between employers and employees, had a class dimension when bitter strikes tore at the existing flimsy Jewish fraternal fabric.

The difficult position of the community, its clergy, and moral spokesmen in the face of labour disputes was portrayed early in the decade.

The issues went beyond the economic as is evident from the lengthy report by the Montreal correspondent of the Quebec City L'Action sociale on the strike of the Montreal garment workers. He writes,

"In all fairness one could examine the declarations of the employers and of the workers and find proof that both are justified and both are at fault. But at this point we interested ourselves rather in what is actually happening in the present conflict.

"Since the strike began, meetings have been held every day by the protesters and it is sad to note that most of the orators have devoted their speeches to praise socialism rather than to establish the justice of the workers' case. It is significant also that it is the Jews who in this conflict have put themselves at the head of the movement and that they have preached hatred of the bosses and this while surrounded by red flags, the symbol of social disorganization. As we read the following lines from the report of a meeting held in the auditorium on Saturday evening by the strikers, one would believe that we are at the moment of the apotheosis of the doctrine dear to the heart of the Jewish Emma Goldmann and her French prototype Louise Michele.

"As we read in the French language publication, 'In the midst of the session three young girls dressed in white carrying the red banner on which was written «Long Life and Success to the General Strike Led by the Members of the Pants Makers Union» entered the hall and did not fail to arouse a very strong impression. Although it appeared as if this was a mass demonstration of socialism, it was nevertheless a clear expression of sympathy towards the strikers. Loud applause greeted the entrance of these girls. In this demonstration of sympathy towards the pants makers union there was collected the sum of $350 which was placed in the treasury of the strike.'

"The young man who reported this story sought to indicate the strong sympathy of the participants for the strikers, but the great applause which broke out on the arrival of the Jewish socialist Wayman made very clear the intentions of some of the leaders of this strike.

"An English newspaper here reports that the red flag truly indicates the cause of the great success of this meeting. In connection with this strike one of the speakers dwelt for more than half an hour on slavery in Egypt, on the sons of Israel and almost on the entire history of the Bible.

"It is really regrettable that our French Canadian workers are taken in by the Russian Jewish demagogues and that they easily swallow the entire preachment of these protesters. It would have been easy, putting aside the question of socialism, and the extermination of the bosses and of the autocracy of the Pharoahs in relation to the Sons of Israel, to put the settlement of the strike in the hands of a board of arbitration. It is clear that in spite of all the representations which were made to our religious authorities, the real concern of the principal leaders of the movement is to prolong the conflict and to bring into the strike various other issues. The strike became serious following the illegal absence from work by the Jewish workers and the subsequent condemnation by the magistrate. This provoked the strike. The Jews want to continue it, and to end it with benefit to themselves." (March 1, 1910)

Unemployment was a major concern in the immigrant society and in the philanthropists' structures. Naturally the Baron de Hirsch Institute took seriously "the complaints of officials of the C.P.R. against the acts of Rabbi Glazer in sending men to Angus Shops for work. The rabbi was invited to attend the next meeting of the Board so that this matter could be discussed.

"Rabbi Glazer explained that he had interviewed one of the Foremen of the C.P.R. in December and had asked that gentleman to find places for several Jewish men. He had then been informed by this official that he was unable to place any men at that time but would do so after the 1st of January. Relying on this promise the Rabbi had given slips to some of the applicants requesting this foreman to give them work, but in addition to those to whom slips had been given some 50 or 60 more men had turned up at the same time with the result that none of them secured places. The whold thing was simply a misunderstanding. After this explanation Rabbi Glazer withdrew." (Minutes, Jan. 12 and 19, 1908)

During one 1910 conflict the Canadian Jewish Times under the direction and editorship of H.P. Nerwich wrote,

"An Opportunity for our Rabbis.

"The strike in this city of the cloakmakers has as yet not been ended, and much suffering and hardship is entailed to the girls and men who are out, and, no doubt, heavy losses to the manufacturers. The rights and wrongs of the employers or employees we know nothing of, but where so much unnecessary privations exist, something should be done to settle the matter amicably. Here is an excellent opportunity for our spiritual leaders, the ministers, to take a hand.

Their views would be respected and they, as arbitrators, could do an immeasurable amount of good.

"The function of the minister should be more than merely the preaching of morality and theological doctrines. He should take an active hand and a positive stand in the immediate and many problems of daily life. In trying to bring men of various classes to a peaceful adjustment of their differences, the minister would be partly fulfilling his noble mission. He can enlarge upon this by entering further into the practical affairs of life. He can make his influence felt in a much larger degree than now."

A clothing manufacturer, Alan J. Hart, presumably in the heat of class battle, made a statement against the strike leaders that aroused the editor of the Canadian Jewish Times,

"The cloak-makers' strike is still being energetically waged, and no attempt at a settlement has, apparently, been made. The employers through the press and the employees from the platform are giving their respective sides of the issue, and now and then indulge in remarks which are not considered to be conducive to peace and harmony.

"We are led to these remarks by an utterance of Mr. Allan J. Hart, a large manufacturer, which appeared in one of our contemporaries during the week. He is quoted as referring to the strikers, in a body, as 'foreigners' and 'coming from persecuted countries,' etc.

"Coming as it does from a man who is held in respect and esteem, and is connected with many of our local commercial leaders, his remarks have caused no little surprise. We are accustomed to hear the whole community calumniated and abused through the wrongdoings of an individual or two, but these have only emanated from without our ranks and from people who do not bear much love for us. But, in this instance, the incident has created a painful impression. No doubt the words attributed to Mr. Hart were said on the spur of the moment.

"We believe that he, on cooler thoughts has seen its injustice and regrets the unpleasantness he has caused." (March 18, 1910)

Rabbi Glazer, not surprisingly, entered the fray in a sermon at the Lagauchetière St. Synagogue, an oral framework with no document from his hand. "What I said is well known and was proper in a sermon, but wholly inoffensive," he attested "in writing" to Mr. Hart in person, adding that "he is very much opposed to lawlessness of every nature." (March 23, 1910)

But Mr. Hart helped document, in his own wording, the incident which was so offensive to him.

He attacked the rabbi who, he said, claimed to be the Chief Rabbi and misquoted him setting forth, while he was at it, his social and communal philosophy as a Montreal Jewish manufacturer.

"The rabbi had cursed him "publicly from his pulpit, hoped that I would have the end of Haman, and said 'Kaddish' for the repose of my soul. I have already made reply in the daily press of this city and now wish to point out that I haver attacked the strike leaders as Jews, but as undesirable, troublesome foreigners.

"This, and all that I have said, I am prepared to establish by facts, and if anyone else in our community, or Rabbi Glazer, find that my description of the strike leaders also fits them, as Jews, they can all put the hat on.

"I do not consider them as Jews, nor is their religion the Judaism that has been taught in this community for the past hundred and fifty years, and which suited my fathers and is good enough for me. Our Judaism was good enough to secure equal rights in this country to all of our race who have since come here, and we will not allow the high esteem it has been held in this country or its usefulness to be jeopardized or influenced by the arrival of the scum of Europe, no matter what they may call themselves.

"When foreign agitators force young girls to refrain from work under threats of robbing them of their characters if they do not assist the Union; when vile, blasphemous and anonymous circulars in Yiddish are printed and distributed by so-called Jews; when people whose only claim to our religion consists in their ability to speak this same language, attempt to upset the laws and institutions of our country, it is time that some action be taken before our entire community be classed with such undesirable strike leaders and agitators.

"If your paper truly wishes to serve the Jewish community, and I believe you do, you would do well to get your information correctly and not encourage lawlessness and hypocrisy, by making unwarranted insinuations.

"Do you know that these strike leaders are endeavoring to get at the very root of our religion by doing away with our Sabbath?

"Are you aware that these same strike leaders have appealed to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal to endeavour to prevent Sunday work?

"Let this be enough. If it does not set you on the right track I do not know what will" (Canadian Jewish Times, March 25, 1910)

Seldom short of a response to a manufacturer, Rabbi Glazer had the following published on April 1, 1910.

"I note with much regret that I figure in your last issue with too many interrogatives, adjectives and superlatives, and all in not a pleasant manner, and I trust that your interpretation of British fair play is elastic enough to give space for a privileged statement to one who has invariably refused to reply to the critics.

"Am I the Chief Rabbi of Montreal? Certainly not; and I defy any one who will prove that I have laid claim to such office or title.

"Am I the Chief Rabbi of the United Orthodox congregations? Yes. And I would be misrepresenting my office, to which I am elected by ten congregations here and in Quebec, if I should renounce the title.

"Did I curse from my pulpit, and did I say the strikers were right? No. But I criticized Mr. Hart's action in coming forward with such damaging letters in the daily newspapers in an unfriendly country. I rebuked Mr. Hart, naming him, by relating the following parable, from the Midrash, Leviticus ch. xvii.:

"'Once upon a time there journeyed a peddler from city to city in the neighborhood of Cyprus, offering a very dear article for sale -- namely, «life.» He came to the city where lived Rabbi Janai, and even the latter wanted to procure a specimen of the peddler's «goods.» Rabbi Janai and his like, however, were rebuked by the peddler for wanting to buy «life» at an advertised sale. When finally the people pressed the peddler sorely for the «article,» he took out a book of Psalms from his pack, opened it, and read aloud from ch. xxiv.: «What man desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.»'

"Mr. Hart, claiming Judaism so strongly, should not undermine his own ground by such statements about his co-religionists. He should know by now that the world holds us responsible for one another, or that we are Areibim one for the other. And, who can tell who will be next in Israel to 'flee from persecution'...

"However, I am glad that Mr. Hart admitted to me that among the several hundred strikers there are but eight or ten 'real bad ones.' I am willing to say that the percentage of 'bad ones' is double his figures, yet they are all far from being lawless, troublemakers, etc., etc.

"I do not in any way connect myself on the side of the strikers. And, I have never said that I believe them to be right. But I am forced to express my opinion now. The whole matter should have been arbitrated by a committee of prominent Jewish citizens, including some Rabbis who were willing to act in behalf of peace. The whole strike, as Mr. Hart explained, is, Jews against Jews, and it should have been settled by Jews."

THE RABBI'S MANY INITIATIVES

Similarly Rabbi Simon Glazer was energetic in deportation cases against Jewish immigrants. His letters in regard to such current incidents were echoed in the Montreal Star and Witness. But Lyon Cohen clearly resented the intervention of this alien rabbi in community affairs beyond the liturgical and he felt justified in protesting to the Chevrah Kadisha Congregation against what the rabbi had said in such cases. Rabbi Glazer sensed that the eminent community president was agitating against him. (Diary, Feb. 14, 1909)

"I spoke during Saturday morning at Austria-Hungarian Congregation and denounced damaging rumour circulated about me by the Schochtim and (Rabbi) Hirsch Cohen. The synagogue was filled.

"During the afternoon I spoke at Roumanian Synagogue which was crowded, and it appears that campaign is in full swing."

He was in communication with A.B. Cummins in regard to the Russian government recognition of American passports held by Jews in Russia. (Jan. 20, 1909)

He intervened with the Hon. Willian Patterson to remove duties on matzot and to modify the conditions of Jewish prisoners.

When it became necessary, on May 31, 1909 he addressed the Finance Committee of City Council on behalf of the Hebrew School seeking exemption from the taxes and later he handed Council a petition to this effect.

He carried on correspondence and visited immigration Agent Scott in 1909.

A remarkable denigration of Rabbi Hirsch Cohen appeared editorially in the Canadian Jewish Times of March 8, 1912,

"The Montreal Abattoirs Limited, a body politic and corporate under agreement with the Corporation of Montreal to slaughter animals and cattle for all who are engaged in that trade, have now ventured on a unique field of activity -- i.e., to provide 'Kosher Wurst' for the Jewish people. They have engaged Mr. Hirsch Cohen to be the superviser over 'Kashruth'. But, as the gentleman is himself a Schochet, a chaplain and also has claims on the office of Orthodox Rabbi of Montreal, he has subrogated his duties to a butcher's father-in-law, and as the latter is but few weeks in the country, he will no doubt be able to see to it that the 'Wurst' shall be 'Kosher'. The Montreal Abattoir Limited should be reminded that once upon a

time there was a Toronto Matzoth factory, the machinery of which can now be purchased at a very cheap price."

Careful readers of the report and particularly Rabbi Cohen's role in the kosher wurst could sense the questioning of Cohen's ordination; Rabbi Glazer never called Cohen a rabbi, and now the editor also refrained from according him the title.

The weekly also recalled the matter of the Cohen investment in the Toronto matzoh bakery; the equipment is now on sale at bargain prices.

Afficionados of the Kashruth rink, where rabbis were fighting for the meat gartel/belt, could read the weekly paper with satisfaction.

The following week the editors reported a kosher triumph for Rabbi Glazer,

"The growth of Montreal Jewry is apparent on every day the observer may take. It is but hardly over a year since a market was built for the Jewish public on St. Dominique street, near Ontario street, and already a new market on a far larger scale will spring forth on Prince Arthur corner St. Dominique street. The proprietors of the proposed market are Messrs. Popliger, Steinberg and Drabkin. It will be an imposing structure with stores and galleries not only for meat but for all kinds of other goods. The plans were passed this morning by architect Robert Findlay. The structure will have a frontage of 54 feet on Prince Arthur street and 145 feet on St. Dominique street. The place will be closed on Saturdays and holidays and, insofar as the meat industry is concerned, will be under one management, so that it would in no way infringe upon the city by-laws regarding markets.

"There remains now but one thing more to do to secure the Kashruth of Montreal, and that is to have an exclusively Jewish abattoir so that none of the Jewish wholesale meat dealers be driven out of business as is very likely to happen if the present intentions of the Montreal Abattoirs Limited are carried out.

"The Rabbi Simon Glazer will have supervision of the Kashruth of the market." (Mar. 15, 1912)

In February 1909 Glazer had been named chief rabbi of the Quebec City Beth Israel Congregation while Rabbi Cohen was recognized by the ironically named Ohev Shalom Congregation "Lovers of Peace." Nevertheless it was over the title of rabbi of Union of Orthodox Congregations of Montreal and Quebec that he reported in the Gazette of July 7, 1909,

"Last week I had the delightful task of visiting my flock at Quebec, and I thought of making it sort of a holiday because of the many interesting things to see and places to visit in and about the city

founded by Frontenac. On Friday morning, I started out from Low-Town, aiming to go Up-Town, dreaming very little that before night-fall I should be a visitor in what I might call hitherto unexplored 'Low-Town.'

"Turning to the right on a corner at St. Paul street, I noticed a wagon-load of men, women and children, herded together like so many animals after a circus performance, guarded by men in uniform, and dragging along indifferently. From the fact that I saw no peach-basket hats on the women, and no traces of inebriety about the men, it was a safe conjecture that the lot belonged to the fraternity of prospective Canadians. The sight of immigrants reminded me of a request I had lodged in my memory the day before, but which was soon forgotten, about an immigrant named Bregman, who has an uncle in Montreal.

"Without further hesitation, after a five minutes walk, I found myself in what might be hereafter known as the 'Vale of Tears,' although it is situated near the most beautiful harbor in Canada. And besides, Mr. Robertson, assistant superintendent of immigration at Ottawa was there, too, hemmed in between several stern-looking officials who were examining the newly arrived.

"A woman speaking pure Yiddish was undergoing the inquisitionary process. The interpreter, who speaks a kind of German, labored hard to make himself understood by the frightened woman. I saw a blunder and was ready to advance at the very footstool of the great and mighty powers, but a sad-looking man saved me from what might have been worse by merely telling me 'to stand back.' The woman was admitted in Canada, notwithstanding the fact that the interpreter made it appear to Mr. Robertson that her husband was three years in Canada, and that her youngest child was but eleven months old. Poor woman! She never will know what the interpreter did to her Yiddish, and why Mr. Robertson smiled so mischievously.

"My case, Bregman, who had the $25 necessary out of the savings account of his uncle, too, was admitted, but I was not to quote it as a precedent in other cases where the young and healthy fellows will forget to take along the much-looked-for $25. I shall obey Mr. Robertson.

"I next invaded the enforced silence of the polite and good doctor of the Detention Hospital, which boasts also of an annex in the shape of a windowless shed for the 'safe-keeping,' as the good doctor assured me, of immigrants who are not sick, but who either are to be deported or sent on to their loving ones in Canada. And the shed is, indeed, a safe place, unless the immigrants be eaten alive by vermin, or be killed by the stench at night, when it is over-crowded with tired, spiritless, and fatigued human beings of both sexes and all ages. There is no escape for anyone sent thither by the immigration officers.

"When I looked at the hundred or so of my unfortunate brethren, who had flocked around me as if though I could give every one of them a home, I likened them unto so many limbs of a tree which was torn out of its root by a cyclone, tossed about aimlessly by the waves of the Atlantic hither and thither continuously. And as the futility of trying to sooth them with anything else but a cheerful word of hope was conspicuous to begin with, I took down the addresses of their relatives and was ready to retire from this, the newly-discovered 'Low-Town' of Canada. But they were persistent in making me listen to their story of woe, how filled of vermin the shed was, how unwholesome the food was, how they are being dealt with as prisoners, as if though it was a crime to knock at the gate of a country which has not yet even touched the edges of its hidden treasures, which is rich enough to shelter and support hundreds of millions of people, and which is even not half explored.

"I started to promise them that I would probably be able to make the Canadians, the real owners of Canada, know all they complained about when the supper bell tolled, and a polite guard came and told me 'Venez par ici, Monsieur,' when I started to follow the host of innocent prisoners to the place where supper was ready.

"Strange, indeed, what 'low' places man will invent for his fellow-being, after doing so much to be saved and live, 'above'!

"On Sunday, standing at the foot of the Frontenac monument, and looking down upon the picturesques scenes below I wondered, if the dear stone could chide, whether he would not descend and look sad why the beautiful city he founded was selected as a spot to be washed by the tears of so many who are in need of new homes."

Rabbi Glazer formed the Hachnossat Orchim and Moschav Zkenim Society, "The Welcoming of Guests and the Home for the Aged." A ladies group of Hachnossat Orchim, after years of effort, had accumulated $1,000. The men's Hachnossat Orchim bought the house as an immigrant shelter on St. Urbain Street, at the corner of Evans Street. Later the Young Peoples Hachnossat Orchim society was formed. (Adler, Apr 8, 1910)

This durable initiative was described later in the Canadian Jewish Times,

"The Hebrew Sheltering Home, though organized a few years ago, has firmly established itself as an essential factor in the local Jewish community. With the increase of the number of immigrants to our shores the reason for the existence of such a home to give temporary shelter to transients becomes quite apparent. Besides this, the Home provides accommodation for aged persons, many of whom occupy pleasantly appointed rooms.

"Within the next fortnight the new annex to the Home, which is now in course of construction, will be handed over to the building

committee by the carpenters and decorators in charge. This new accommodation was necessitated by the fact that there are a number of orphans in the city that are 'farmed out,' and it has been decided to put a stop to this and to have the Home on Evans Street as a central philanthropic institution for the care of orphans and provide shelter to the aged and transients.

"Under the circumstancs the financial responsibility for the upkeep of the Home became quite serious and it is with a hope of helping the Home to stem the tide that a benefit has been arranged to take place at Dominion Park," on the initiative of the Young People's group. (July 19, 1912)

One of his most dramatic confrontations occurred in court when he appeared as witness for a Mr. Compinsky charged with striking representatives of the Baron de Hirsch. Glazer called for the aid of an attorney and declared loudly his belief that the man was innocent. He was discharged, the rabbi paying the costs of $5.50. (Diary, March 12, 1909)

In 1910 Rabbi Glazer took on anti-Semitic Edouard Plamondon in Quebec City before S.W. Jacobs summoned the notary to the courts of the land. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26 and 27)

IS HE A RABBI?

Clearly Glazer saw his role in Jewish society as a one-man Canadian Jewish Congress before the event, and this at a period when the concept of such an institution was already in gestation.

The Baron de Hirsch Institute had been active in this direction for a decade, with a considerable measure of success, notably in education matters in 1903 and in Sunday observance in 1907. It had established an effective legislative committee at this very time and had sought to give it a broader, more representative character, but had balked at permitting other groups to join it. The Adler recalled the general problem editorially, "What of the Board of Deputies?" on March 28, 1909.

Yet here was an independent private person who was not, in the eyes of some of these leaders, altogether respectful or respected, assuming such functions -- and not totally without success. Inevitably his activities brought him in profound conflict with the groups about the Institute and with such of its leaders as Jacobs and the Cohen family, who by their culture and family tradition, could understand him best. This all the more since the Institute was developing a very effective role as authorized spokesmen of the community and its legislative committee as the precursors of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

On their instigation they renewed the 1886 conflict when the established congregations sought to prevent the immigrants from setting up their own congregations.

As early as February 5, 1907 the Jewish Times published An Onlooker's letter,

"The manner in which some of our coreligionists drag our fair name through the mire is deserving of the severest condemnation. I refer to the recent reports in a local daily in which the title 'rabbi' is thrown about indiscriminately, without any apparent consideration as to whether that term is applicable to the individual assuming it, or not. Nowhere have I heard a 'schochet' or a reader calling himself 'rabbi,' or even 'reverend,' until I came to this country. Here, I find that every Tom, Dick or Harry, in the clerical or religious line, who comes from goodness knows where, calling himself a 'rev,' and what is more surprising, find people to support them in such calling.

"It would not so much matter, if they would behave themselves, and settle their petty disputes between them; but this is not the case, as they are constantly in hot water, and newspapers report these affairs, believing it to be of sufficient importance on account of the parties concerned calling themselves by that misleading title.

"I have in mind one particular individual in our midst, who is always on the lookout for newspaper notoriety; in fact, could hardly exist without it. This man, who is quite a newcomer, is the cause of most of our troubles, and since his arrival, the Jewish community has been brought into more newspaper notoriety of an unflattering nature, than for many years past. Now, Mr. Editor, can nothing be done to put a stop to this adventurous 'rabbi's' (save the mark) unpleasant activities? Surely we Jews cannot stand by, and see this man playing ducks and drakes with our honour in the manner he is doing, without making some kind of protest?

"Another point is that we must give the Montreal press in general to understand that we have only three rabbis in this city, viz., Meldola de Sola, Dr. Herman Abramowitz, and Nathan Gordon, and all others who claim that title are going beyond their rights.

"We have also heard someone prefixing the rabbi with 'Chief.' To say that such is a misnomer is superfluous. Any man with the slightest knowledge of communal affairs knows full well that Montreal has no chief rabbi; and in the very nature of things there cannot be, and all that is required to do is to educate the Christian press to this fact.

"In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I trust that we Jews in Montreal will take steps to put a stop to this disgraceful state of affairs and prevent a recurrence of such unpleasantness."

A week later the Canadian Jewish Times ruled that only four ministers could call themselves rabbis: de Sola, Abramowitz, Gordon and Cohen,

"As far as the title 'rabbi' is concerned, we should like to put him right. A 'rabbi' is one who has a diploma to that effect, or is recognized by any one of the three following sources:- (1) From any Theological Seminary, of which there are only two in the States, the Theological Seminary of New York, and the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati; (2) from any recognized Yeshiba -- of which there is only one in America -- that of the Yeshiba Ben Yitchak Alchanan, and (3) by 'Semicha.' The latter is somewhat more difficult to define, but there can be no doubt that any one acknowledged by such is fully entitled to the title in question.

"To our knowledge, the only rabbis in our midst are Rabbis Meldola de Sola, Dr. Herman Abramowitz, Nathan Gordon, and Hirsch Cohen. There may be others, but these are the only ones we have cognizance of. The term 'reverend' is more flexible. This originated in Europe, where it was found necessary to make a distinction between a duly qualified Jewish minister, and his assistant. It is, therefore, now understood that all readers, or Chazanim who make their professions solely as such, are thus designated.

"Can nothing be done to put a stop to this newspaper notoriety of an unflattering nature? The best means of remedying this evil is not to take evey piece of news of the doings amongst our 'Schochtim,' etc., to newspaper offices, and ask them to insert it. No publicity would be given, if it were not sought; and it is indeed scandalous, and, to quote our correspondent 'deserving of the severest condemnation,' that we should have men amongst us, apparently so narrow-minded, as to forget the interests of the whole community by such actions. It can be of no possible interest to our fellow citizens to know that «'Rabbi' so-and-so,» is slaughterer of twenty seven chickens; yet the news we generally have dealt out to us on anything appertaining to Judaism is, more or less, along similar lines. It is also quite true that until recently very little was known about our domestic affairs and it is all the more regrettable since the news that is being published concerning us is invariably of a nature not complimentary to us." (Feb. 12, 1909)

The Star wrote to the same effect on the authority of the Jewish Times.

Rabbi Glazer protested to the Star but his response "appeared in a remote column which is not likely to do much good."

It is remarkable that this statement should have appeared in the periodical connected with the name of Cohen, considering that it is so contradictory to their culture and training; for they could not for a moment recognize the rabbinical authority of Reform Rabbi Gordon, and Rev. de Sola did not call himself a rabbi.

Among Glazer's opponents was the Eagle Publishing Co. whose Adler "continued to attack me for a long period. They came to their senses by paying all costs and by publicly apologizing and by promising never to issue their paper on Saturdays," after several sessions with its founder-banker Carl Rosenberg. (Diary, May 7, 1909)

That was not the only litigation between them. In the summer of 1911 Rabbi Glazer, minister to "ten Orthodox Jewish Synagogues in Montreal as well as other institutions of a similar character in Quebec, sued the Jewish Eagle for libel in connection with certain remarks published by the Yiddish journal against him relating to a strike of the Schochtim against the butchers. The rabbi of the 'United Orthodox Congregations' claimed that the published utterances of the newspaper were derogatory to his character, and that his position as spiritual head of his congregations demands that he enjoy the respect and good will of his fellow-citizens and of the community at large.

"He instituted suit for $999.99 against the newspaper for the publication of the article which he characterized as false, malicious and defamatory and that his honor, reputation and standing in the community have been impaired by the publication of the article, done with the intention of bringing upon him humiliation and ridicule. The complaint filed by the reverend plaintiff further went on to say that

he personally enjoys the respect and esteem without which he could not properly maintain the dignity of his position.

"The Jewish Eagle admitted the publication of the remarks attributed to it, but pleads that the statements published concerning Glazer are substantially true and were published in the interests of the Jewish public; that the plaintiff occupying a public position is subject to criticism for his public acts in connection with his position and that his conduct in the kosher meat squabble justified The Eagle in publishing the matter complained of.

"A day or two before the trial the officers of The Eagle were summoned for examination on discovery, which is a preliminary examination permitted by the court in order to ascertain what the opposition party relies upon to prove its case, and also to obtain from the witnesses any information which will help the parties in the conduct of the trial.

"Mr. Wolofsky, in his answers stated that he had personal knowledge of the kosher meat strike and that Glazer, according to him, was responsible for the breaking up of a committee of thirty-three gentlemen who came together for the purpose of settling the strike. In his answers, Mr. Wolofsky did not spare the 'head of the ten orthodox congregations' and on several occasions referred to him as 'a public liar,' and a man who was constantly making trouble in the community." (Canadian Jewish Times, June 23, 1911)

QUEEN'S COLLEGE

The Plamondon case in Quebec was not over, in 1912, when the Canadian community was faced with another challenge -- this time in Ontario: an important university dared to limit arbitrarily, by a projected act of the federal parliament, the rights of Jews to appointment, even to janitorial posts.

Advocate Marcus M. Sperber recorded the case of Queen's College in the Canadian Jewish Times of March 22, 1912,

"In 1841 Queen's University was incorporated by Royal Charter and not by an Act of the then Parliament of Upper Canada. The preamble of this charter to cite textually therefrom, provides for the establishment of a college in the then Province of Upper Canada, now Ontario, in connection with the Church of Scotland for the 'education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion, etc.' Provision is made in the charter that the College shall be managed by 27 trustees, 15 of whom shall be laymen in full connection with the Church of Scotland, and 12 shall be ministers of the Presbyterian Church, the principal of the College to be a minister of the Presbyterian Church. It is seen, therefore, that since its inception the College has always been Presbyterian.

"Within the last ten years, however, demands have been made that the University apart from the Theological Department should be separated from the Presbyterian Church. Naturally the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada were opposed and are still opposed to those demands and did everything in their power to prevent the University from being usurped from their control. But faced by public opinion and by professors and past graduates, it finally consented to have the University declared non-denominational, that is to say, that no distinction should be drawn between the different denominations of the Christian religion, but that the University should always remain Christian.

"But inasmuch as it was also their desire that the professors of the University should be able to share in the Carnegie Pension Fund and also that the University should obtain assistance from the Government of Ontario, there were two clauses inserted in the present Bill, namely, two and three, which read as follows:

"Clause 2 declared that the University was to be for the general advantage of Canada.

"Clause 3 declared that the management and discipline of the University shall be in every respect free from all denominational restrictions and shall be national and non-denominational in its charter and management.

"In order to preserve, however, the distinctively Christian character of the University, clause 20 of the Bill provides that the University shall continue distinctively Christian, that no test oath or qualification save the profession of Christianity shall be required of or appointed for any officer, trustee, member of council, or official of the University. Laymen shall be eligible to any position therein.

"This clause 20 is the whole bone of contention, and when the Bill was before the Private Bills Committee, a delegation of Montreal Hebrew citizens headed by Mr. Lyon Cohen, the President of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and co-operating with representatives of the different communities in Canada, appeared before the Private Bills Committee."

THE JEWS' PLAINT

The Jewish weekly unmasked an attempt by the university men and the church assemblymen in its issue of March 29, 1912,

"At the conference between the trustees of Queen's University and the representatives of the Presbyterian General Assembly, held last Friday, it was decided to amend section 20 of the Queen's University Bill by abolishing the test oath required of the officers of the University and making the proviso that only those of Christian character shall be eligible to positions on the professorial staff of the college.

"During the debate on this amendment it was formally stated by all concerned that the words 'Christian character' do not signify the belief in Christianity but only a good moral and religious life, a life following the example of Christ, and to this qualification it was pretended no possible exception could be taken.

"The present amendment to the Bill is not satisfactory nor acceptable to us. It is only another attempt to befog the issue and throw dust into the eyes of the opponents of the Bill and parliament.

"It is not the intention in here to go into the question as to the exact meaning of the words 'Christian character', but we are obliged to take them in the generally accepted meaning.

"One question that we would like to ask these gentlemen and their supporters is this, since how long has the word 'Christian' been synonymous with everything that is good, moral and religious?

"Are these certain gentlemen aware of the fact that the Russians who barbarously murdered Jewish women and children are Christians, that the Protestants and Catholics who burned each other at the stake whenever an opportunity arose and persecuted each other in countless other ways during the Middle Ages are also Christians, and that the instigators and participants of St. Bartholomew's massacre were also Christians, or do they read them out of the Christian Church?

"Since when has Judaism been obliged to take lessons in its teachings governing the relations between man and man and between man and God from Christianity?

"Who will affirm that the Christians are more charitable than the Hebrews, or that they lead better or purer family lives than the Hebrews; and this in spite of the fact that we have never been influenced by Christianity or its teachings?

"Do these gentlemen think that Christianity to the exclusion of all other religions has a monopoly of faith, morality or charity, and if not, why not embody the other religions in this clause?

"Why are these gentlemen so solicitous about the moral character of their professors? Do they imagine that by embodying such a clause in the charter, it will act as a safeguard against the intrusion of persons of doubtful character, or do they imagine that such a clause will make their professors when tempted, say, 'Get thee behind me, Satan'?

"How many people, ministers included, can say with a clear conscience that they have always lived Christian lives and have always followed the teachings of their master, Christ?

"If they do insist upon the clause in the Bill requiring their professors to be of a good, moral, and religious character, they can do so by using those words instead of the word, Christian.

"In our humble opinion, however, such a clause is not necessary; and for these, among other reasons, namely, before engaging a professor, inquiries are no doubt made as to his capability and qualifications and general character, and a man is not taken off the street and engaged as professor in a university, no matter how small or insignificant that university may be.

"Furthermore, the tenure of his position is conditional upon good behaviour and if a professor were to lead a scandalously immoral life, there is no doubt that his engagement would be annulled by the university during the middle of the term without in any way being liable to him for any damages.

"However, if Queen's University should have the misfortune of engaging a professor who afterwards went to the bad in the generally accepted sense of the term, he might perhaps plead in such a case, the influence of his environments, as a reason for his going to the bad; because you will notice that the other officials, trustees, governors, and executive board, of the University, are not subjected to the restriction imposed upon the professors, that of being a man of Christian character. These gentlemen can be as bad as they like and they are still eligible for such positions, and why should the liberty of the professors be curtailed in that respect?

"The intentions of those gentlemen who are promoting the Bill was too evident to permit misunderstanding, when the Bill was originally presented, it was desired to make the University national and undenominational and at the same time to have it in their own hands to the exclusion of all other citizens of Canada who might not profess their views.

"When their plans were discovered and they were told that either the university would have to be of a sectarian nature or else they would

have to strike out clause 20 of the Bill they thought that they could befog the issues by the present amendment. But in this they are mistaken.

"The whole controversy has placed the promoters of the Queen's University Bill in a ridiculous light before the public. They might at least have had the courage of their convictions and have declared openly their intentions. If they desired to have a small sectarian university for their own brotherhood, they could make restrictions to their hearts' content. But Parliament should not be called upon to sanction them and, when called upon, should not sanction them.

"They need not fear that they will be molested by intruders. But, on the other hand, if they desire to organize and promote a university upon broad and national lines, then let them strike out all those foolish restrictions by declaring the university to be Christian, by demanding a Christian character from its professors, whilst at the same time, trying to make people think that the university is national and undenominational.

"The two are incompatible and the public is not and will not be deceived and, as for those who might perhaps be deceived, it will be our pleasant duty to enlighten them, through the press, through Parliament and through personal communications."

GLAZER INITIATIVE

Rabbi Glazer and advocate Marcus M. Sperber went to Ottawa as a delegation of Montrealers to seek amendment by the House of Commons of the Bill which would recognize the denominational Christian character of Queen's College at Kingston. (Canadian Jewish Times, March 22, 1912)

It is easy to visualize the chagrin of the founders of the Canadian Jewish Times as they read in the weekly which they had founded the report on Rabbi Glazer's action on the important Queen's University case. Even as Jacobs was donating endless effort to protect the equality of Jews in the Canadian university now become a national institution, the Jewish weekly he had founded and edited ascribed to the rabbi and to Mr. Sperber the Jewish initiative in the case.

On March 8, 1912 the Canadian Jewish Times recalled that the legislative measure proposed that the university shall become national.

"There are two reasons why the sectarian college all of a sudden wanted to nationalize itself: first, because it would entitle them to the Carnegie Professors' Pension Fund and, second, because it would entitle them to a grant from the Ontario Provincial Government. For these two 'reasons' they wanted to establish -- insofar as it goes -- by embodying paragraph 3 in the Bill, which reads like this: 'The management and discipline of the University shall be in every respect freed from all denominational restrictions, and it shall be national and undenominational in its character and management.' So far so good.

"But such would have really lost the identity and the real character intended for the University by its present managers. Thus comes paragraph 20: 'The University shall continue distinctively Christian, but no religious test or qualification 'save the profession of Christianity' shall be required of or appointed for any officer, etc.'....This would virtually exclude any Jew even from being a door-keeper in a 'National University.'

"In February 1912 Queen's University in Kingston applied to parliament for a declaration of the college to national status even as it remained distinctly Christian with the right to exclude Jews from its directorate and staff."

The Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute joined spokesmen from other Canadian Jewish centres and prepared to do battle with a highly organized bi-partisan majority in the House of Commons in full knowledge of the seriousness of the case.

Again S.W. Jacobs and Lyon Cohen led the Jewish cause. The Jewish delegation included Rabbi Jacobs of Toronto, Ald. Blumenthal, S.W.

Jacobs and L. Silver of Montreal and A.H. Wolfe of Ottawa. But again, Rabbi Glazer, with the aid of M.M. Sperber, now in control of the Canadian Jewish Times Printing and Publishing Co., appeared as a separate spokesman for Jewry. It was a repetition of Rabbi Glazer's tactics of years' duration, another challenge to the political philosophy of the Baron de Hirsch Institute.

The Canadian Jewish Times set forth very boldly the role of Rabbi Glazer in this episode -- not the first or the last dispute in Canadian history as to who is more effective in serving Canadian Jewry best before the government.

Sperber recorded, "Before this committee, with the consent of all concerned, clause 2 of the Bill was stricken out. Clause 3, however, remained and this clause 3 was wide enough to permit the University to hunt with the hounds and run with the hares. Clause 3 provides that the University shall be national and non-denominational whilst clause 20 provides that the University shall be strictly Christian. But the contradiction between those two clauses is so apparent that it requires no further comment. The promoters of the Bill, by clause 3 declaring the University to be national and undenominational, evidently desired that the professors should enjoy the benefits of the Carnegie Pension Fund and the University the assistance of the Ontario Government.

"Before the Bill was presented again to the House another delegation of Montreal Citizens composed of Mr. M.M. Sperber and Rabbi S. Glazer went to Ottawa and through their efforts clause 3 of the Bill was amended by striking out from its words, 'and it shall be national and non-denominational in its character and management.' Clause 20, however, of the Bill remained unchanged.

"There is no doubt but that we would have preferred to see clause 20 of the Bill stricken out, but the argument advanced by those who favour the Bill in its present form was that each sect of the community has the right to make rules for its own internal government and establish a college or university for its own members; but such an institution cannot be called national and cannot be declared to be for the general advantage of Canada.

"We do not intend to go into the controversy with our friends holding this view, but we do say that much as it was desired to let clause 2 and 3 of the Bill remain and to strike out clause 20, we are satisfied that if the promoters of the Bill insisted on clause 20 remaining, that clause 2 of the Bill should be stricken out altogether and clause 3 thereof amended as above stated.

"The terms of the Bill as it stands today will prevent the professors from enjoying the benefits of the Carnegie Pension Fund and will also prevent the University from obtaining any aid or assistance from the Ontario Government, on the ground that an institution with such a

clause cannot be considered a national or public institution entitled to government or state assistance.

"The importance of the amendment of clause 3 of the Bill can be seen from the fact that Mr. Nickel, who introduced the Bill, refused to accept the amendment on the ground that it was not in accordance with the express wish of those who promoted the Bill, and stated that he would write to them setting out how the matter stands and that if they object to the Bill going on in that form, that it will have to be withdrawn.

"The condition in which the Bill finds itself today is that it changes the name of the University from that of Queen's University to Queen's College, the University is declared to be distinctly Christian and a test oath is provided for the officers, trustees, and members thereof; but on the other hand, the University has nothing of the characteristics of a National University about it, that is to say, an unsectarian University. If anything it stands today in a worse position than it was before, owing to the notoriety which it has acquired on account of the objectional clause in its charter proclaiming to the world that it is not an educational college but a Christian college.

"The importance of the amendment made to clause 3 of the Bill can be seen by Mr. Nickel's remarks above reported and also by the fact that a conference is to be held on the 22nd March instant between the Trustees of Queen's University and the Representatives of the Presbyterian Church at which the advisability of cutting out the contentious phrase in clause 20 of the Bill, will be discussed. It is generally expected that inasmuch as the promoters of the Bill desire the college to become national that clause 20 of the Bill will probably be amended so as to strike out from it the words that 'the University shall continue distinctly Christian' and 'save the profession of Christianity,' so that clause 20 of the Bill would read as follows:

"No test oath or qualification shall be required of any etc., etc.

"In this case, of course, clause 3 of the Bill would remain as originally drafted and the amendment made to it dropped.

"Another interesting question has been raised in connection with this Bill and that is as to whether the Dominion Parliament has jurisdiction to pass an act relating to education which is declared by the British North America Act to be within the scope of the Provincial legislatures. Whatever may be our own opinion on the matter, it is not our intention here to go into this controversy.

"No doubt an opportunity will arise in the future when the whole question will be raised before the Court and the constitutionality of the Bill questioned. That is not a matter for Parliament or the legislators to decide but for the Courts alone.

"Untiring efforts were made not only in our own behalf but on behalf of religious freedom and progress by various members of Parliament on both sides of politics during the debate of the Bill. It is with pleasure that we have noted our old friend Mr. Bickerdike, M.P., for St. Lawrence leading the forces of progress on the Liberal side and Mr. Lancaster on the Conservative side, supported by Mr. Devlin for Wright.

"Inasmuch as comments were made that Mr. Bickerdike was opposing the Bill because of the number of Hebrew voters in his division, Mr. Devlin declared on the floor of the House that he was not speaking and voting from a political point of view because to the best of his knowledge there is not a single Hebrew voter in Wright.

"Mr. Lancaster, M.P. stated that, although as a rule he did not agree with the Honourable Member for St. Lawrence Division (Mr. Bickerdike), that on this occasion he was obliged to agree with him. These gentlemen were ably supported by a few more friends of liberty and progress such as Messrs. Robb, M.P. (Huntingdon); Verville, M.P. (Maisonneuve, Montreal); L.A. Wilson, M.P. (Laval), the Minister of Justice who was opposed to the word 'national' in clause 3 of the Bill and the Honourable Mr. Emmerson, who opposed the Bill upon the constitutional ground.

"The question is broader and more important than appears on the face of it and there is no doubt that we have not heard the last of it.

"If the promoters of the Bill should accept it in its present condition it will be for the Senate to declare itself upon it and for the Governor-General to sanction it. Before that is done, however, some time will elapse during which it is possible that further steps will be taken for the removal of the objectionable clause 20 of the Bill or its amendment by striking out the words 'distinctly Christian' and 'save the profession of Christianity.'

"One of the reasons why we are opposed to clause 20 of the Bill in its present form is because it is a gratuitous insult to all non-Christians; that is to say to Jews, because there are no other religions in this Dominion with any considerable following against whom it could possibly have been intended.

"We object to Parliament being made the vehicle of the opinion of a small number of Presbyterian fanatics, and giving its sanction to an act which draws distinction between different religions in this Dominion of Canada and sanctioning test oaths. It is true that these gentlemen have a perfect right to make rules for their institutions, but they have no right to apply to Parliament to recognize these rules. Parliament cannot and should not make any distinctions between one class and another or between the different races and creeds which inhabit this Canada of ours. The aim of Canada is too pure to allow that, and the British flag recognizes no distinction

because of race, religion or creed." (Canadian Jewish Times, March 22, 1912)

"As Jews we could have no objection against Parliament incorporating any sectarian school even though the exclusion of Jews be directly mentioned. Parliament could incorporate a Jewish school excluding Christians as well.

"These facts came out boldly when the discussion of the Bill took place at the office of the Minister of Justice last Monday at the latter's office. The objection raised by Rabbi Glazer and Mr. Sperber was sustained by the Minister, who also promised to speak out the objection on the floor of the House. Now, there remains but little doubt as to the removal of the objectionable features of the notorious Bill.

"The question now mainly concerned in Jewish quarters in Montreal is: Who did it? Without any hesitation we must admit that the Conservative Government, when the objection was made clear to them by Rabbi Glazer and Mr. Sperber, have retained no doubt as to the justice of the cause of all the Jews of the Dominion who decried the passage of the Bill in its proposed form. The great surprise, however, was the splendid work of Mr. G.F. Johnstone, late candidate in St. Lawrence division. When Rabbi Glazer requested Mr. Johnstone to wire the Prime Minister his objection against the Bill he did not hesitate a moment. He only expressed his regrets that he did not know of the whole affair long before.

"It was his telegram which caused the postponement of the Bill, for it would have gone through last Monday as it came out of the Committee on Private Bills.

"Mr. H. Bloomfield contributed his quota by wiring to the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Monk, and by asking him to receive Rabbi Glazer.

"Of course, Mr. Bickerdike, the Liberal member of St. Lawrence division, Montreal, tried his very best, and when met by Rabbi Glazer and Mr. Sperber on the train when returning from Ottawa, Mr. Bickerdike was glad that the right steps were taken in interesting the Government in the measure."

"We do not believe that in a case where the honour of all Jews is concerned partisanship shall be a factor. Mr. Monk, who not long ago was pronounced an anti-Semite by a local Yiddish contemporary, expressed great surprise at the notion, and said: 'As for me, any man who comes to Canada to make his home is my brother and I will defend his rights.'

"Whatever anti-Semitism there is in this country is not due to any party. There are narrow-minded and bigotted individuals in every party. No Government has been called progressive unless it aimed to

treat every citizen alike, and the present Canadian Government, being composed of eminent men, know this fact."

JACOBS' REACTION

S.W. Jacobs objected to the granting of this charter, "This university which is supported by all Canadians would become more Russian than Russia," he said. (B. Figler. Biography of Sam Jacobs. 1970. P.30)

The nub of the Protestant case was the Christian and denominational nature of Canadian society, and the position and the rights of the Jewish citizenry in such a society.

It was the Ontario Protestant parallel to the Quebec Catholic ultramontane movement with its concommitant anti-Semitic movement. Scholars of the broader scene are familiar with the parallel problems of creed and state in the Moslem universe.

S.W. Jacobs told the Montreal Herald, "I am disgusted at the way in which this measure is being railroaded through the House with a clause which is highly offensive to Hebrews, and must also be so to those who hoped that the days of the union of church and state were past in this country.

"To me it appears as if the Parliament of Canada is taking a step backwards when it will agree to nationalize a University, and at the same time declare that no professor or officer of the board, janitor employed on the premises, or snow shoveller hired to keep the foot-paths or the college clear of snow shall be employed if he professes the Hebrew religion. Every one appointed, even to the most menial office, must be Christian, the actual words of the act being no religious test shall be required save the profession of Christianity.

"So long as the college was a distinctively Christian and denominational institution, no possible objection could be taken to any religious test required from officials. But so soon as it decided to free itself from denominational trammels and restrictions which the promoters of the Bill seem to think hampered it in the past, they have no right to ask the Parliament to declare that, notwithstanding the widening of its scope and the extension of its horizon to national bounds, it shall be distinctively Christian, or in other words, distinctively 'non-Hebrew,' when Hebrews are as much part of this nation as are those of the Presbyterian communion.

"The object of the promoters was to bar Hebrews from taking part in the management or control of the University and although it was sought to show, when the Bill was before the Private Bills Committee, that there was no intention of that kind by several delegates from the University, we have pretty conclusive proofs that this was the sole and only object, one of the members going so far as to declare that

unless some restriction was imposed by the Bill, the University might fall into the hands of the Hebrews.

"In answer to this objection, I would like the gentleman who made use of this statement to know that when the time comes that the Hebrew will be able to control the universities of this country, their ambition might soar a little higher than to wish to control an institution which is showing such a narrow-minded and intolerant spirit as Queen's College.

"There are several sections of the Bill relating to the administration of the university, and the providing for the appointment and election of a board of trustees, a University Council, and a Senate, the member of which could easily prevent such a dire calamity as the one suggested, and bar out Hebrews as effectively as Section 20, but the Presbyterian gentlemen were determined to put a double lock on the door.

"There is one feature of the Bill, however, for which credit ought to be given to the college authorities, and that is section 9, which says that 'a benefactor is any person who shall have given at least one hundred dollars to the University,' and inasmuch as there is no restriction placed upon the benefactor's religious persuasion, I fancy that even Hebrew money would be acceptable. It might be just possible, however, that before the Bill finally becomes law, some restriction may be imposed to prevent the acceptance of such tainted money.

"'What is the rule in England with regard to public universities?' Mr. Jacobs was asked.

"'The whole matter was finally disposed of in England,' he said, 'in 1873 by the passing an act by the Imperial Parliament, declaring that from and after the passing of such act the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, were to be thenceforward free from all religious tests, and since that time every one, regardless of his race and creed, is placed on an equal footing with those professing the Anglican communion in the universities I have just named.

"It is interesting to read the preamble of the Act. It says: 'Whereas it is expedient that the benefits of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham should be rendered freely accessible to the nation, and Whereas, by means of diverse restrictions, tests and disabilities, many of Her Majesty's subjects are debarred from the full enjoyment of the same, it is therefore expedient that such restrictions, tests and disabilities should be removed, under proper safeguards for the maintenance of religious instruction and worship in the Universities.' And then the Act goes on to state that 'no person shall be required, upon taking, or to enable them to take any degree or upon taking or holding, or to enable him to take or hold any office in any of the Universities, or, upon teaching, or to enable him to teach within any of the said Universities, to subscribe any article or

formulary of faith or to make any declaration or take any oath respecting his religious belief, or profession, or to conform to any religious observances, or to attend or abstain from attending any form of public worship, or to belong to any specified church, sect or denomination.'

"You will, therefore, see that an abuse which had come down to modern times from the days of intolerance and bigotry and which was probably enacted at a time when Roman Catholic and Protestant prelates were publicly burned at the stake, according as Protestant or Catholic sovereigns reigned on the English throne, is brought to life in Canada, and crystallized into a legislative enactment. One is disposed to believe that the colonies are always ahead of the Mother Country in matters of progressive legislation; but when one contemplates the action of the authorities in this matter, a rude shock is given to one's pet theories.

"Within the last few days we have seen the whole of the Province of Quebec worked up over the Keewatin Bill because 116 Roman Catholics will be deprived of certain rights claimed to have been granted to Roman Catholics by the Act of 1875. Yet here we have an instance of a much more important character where 100,000 Hebrew citizens are publicly insulted and no person seems to pay any attention to it, outside of those directly affected. The question of contributions from the public funds to the University will no doubt soon come up, and we will then witness the anomaly of Hebrews contributing their share to an institution from which, by law, they are debarred. I have not examined the legal aspect of the case, but I venture to think that if the matter came before the Courts as to the legality of the Act, there might be some pronouncement which would possibly surprise the defenders of their faith, vis., the Presbyterian Church."

Lyon Cohen observed the Christians' effort to apply their faith to their own core institution: "When a charter as broad as the boundless mercy of God was sought, it was not consistent to bar Jews."

DR. CAMPBELL RESPONDS

One of the promoters of the Queen's College Bill, the Rev. Dr. Campbell responded to Jacobs in the press,

"He attacks the clause in the charter which says that the institution was founded for the education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion, and for instruction in the various branches of science and literature, the retention of which in the charter was made a condition on which the Presbyterian Church, that founded and endorsed it, would surrender control of it; the profession of Christianity shall be exacted of the corporation and staff.

"He alleges that 100,000 Jewish citizens are publicly insulted by this qualifying clause. According to the position he takes, every institution in the country of a distinctively Christian character is a public insult to the Jews. The authorities of Queen's College which has been hitherto avowedly Christian are only asking now that changes may be made in its charter, opening the way for Christians of every denomination to share in its government, not confining its control to Presbyterians as hitherto. Surely that is a proper and reasonable request to make of Parliament.

"The Bill does not ask Parliament for money, nor are the Jews asked for contributions to the college. When they are it will be time enough for Mr. Jacobs to object.

"Mr. Bickerdike is reported as having used the same phrase in Parliament, that 'clause 20 is an insult to the Jews.' I know that Parliamentarians are privileged in their utterances, but their constituents are supposed to have a right to criticise. This exaggeration of the member for St. Lawrence division may seem to him good politics, but I humbly submit that it says little for the sanity of his judgment if he believes it. Further, as a voter in the division, I venture to remind him that there are other people in his constituency whose wishes are entitled to consideration as well as Jews.

"Mr. Jacobs continues to assume that clause 20 was drawn up specially to exclude Jews from office in Queen's University, although he was assured before the Private Bills Committee that they were not in the minds of the framers of the Bill. Clause 3 and 20 were drawn up nine years ago, in the Bill introduced into Parliament, under the auspices of the then Principal Grant, at a time when there were but few Jews in Canada. Mr. Jacobs further proceeds upon the assumption that the Jews are the only non-Christians in the Dominion. He ought to know that there are many thousands of Mormons in the country, and that there is an increasing number of Chinese, Hindus and Japanese entering Canada. But it was not any of these nor all

of them that were in the thought of those who introduced that clause into the bill."

Ontario Baptists complained that "There was passed, without amendment, by the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons at Ottawa, on Friday last, the Queen's College Bill, and it will now come before the House itself. Before the Private Bills Committee, a strenuous protest was made by certain Hebrew bodies, who feel that the Bill as proposed shuts them out from privileges which should be theirs as citizens of the Dominion of Canada.

"We believe that the Hebrews are in the right in their protest, and that they should be joined in their contention by Baptists and others who believe that a 'National' university foregoes the right to place a religious test on any citizen who may seek to have entrance into its halls or into its professorials. If Queen's College, now becoming Queen's University, cuts itself loose from the bonds of denominationalism, and of its own accord becomes a National or State institution, it should be willing to shoulder any supposed disabilities, and not seek legislation that contravenes either in spirit or fact the democratic position of separation of Church and State.

"The Bill would make the university at Kingston 'national' but would continue it as distinctly Christian, and the Baptist members of the House of Commons at Ottawa have been asked to use their votes and influence against it.

"Hon. George E. Foster and other Baptist M.P's have received letters on the subject. One of the fundamental Baptist principles is the separation of Church and State, and, on this ground, the Baptists object to the Queen's Bill.

"Our objection is that no national University should teach religion, since the State funds which support it must be drawn in part from those who are not in sympathy with Christianity or any other religion. Why should the State, for instance, collect taxes from Jews to support a Christian university? What an anomaly it would be were a national university permitted to confer degrees in religion. Not even the University of Toronto can do that. The Jews say no national University should have a religious test that would exclude them.

"No national university, no Public school, should teach religion. We cannot trust the State to do that."

Mr. Bickerdike commented, "That is what the Baptists say, and I think they are men of very broad views. I do not think the Baptists would want to have any such clause enacted as the one in question as regards any of their universities. Neither is this proposed legislation

in accord with Anglicanism; the Anglicans are too broad-minded to adopt such a position. I cannot say that it is even Presbyterianism, for I believe many Presbyterians in this country are opposed to any such legislation as is here proposed."

IN PARLIAMENT

In the course of the public debate, members spoke out clearly,

"If Queen's University seeks such legislation, it becomes the House of Commons to decline to give it. It is true that Canada is a Christian country in a nominal sense, but that does not mean that universities and colleges shall therefore be empowered by the Parliament of Canada to make the profession of Christianity a sine qua non to the rights and privileges of a university which, while professing to be a Christian institution, is in fact a national institution and declaratively so by terms of legislation passed in its favor.

"On the ground of nationalism, it may be anticipated that Queen's University will take another step and knock at the doors of the Provincial Legislature in behalf of funds with which to augment its income. What then shall be said about Parliament giving monetary assistance to a Christian institution in a land where there is separation of Church and State? We are not saying that Queen's should not receive Government aid as a national university, but we do say emphatically that Queen's should not receive any such aid so long as she applies the religious test. The application of the religious test surely shuts her out from that sphere in which it is just and right for Parliament to bestow financial support.

"Then, too, what new thing is this? 'The University,' 'Christian,' but 'national' remember, 'may confer degress in Divinity at the instance of its Senate or of any affiliated theological college.' Surely this is progress backward in Canada."

"McMaster University and all other Baptist educational institutions," said a member of the McMaster Senate this morning, "are supported entirely by money voluntarily given to the cause, principally by Baptists, of course. No one but a Christian can become a member of the faculty of any of our colleges, but we have the right to insist on that since we do not receive any State aid. Many years ago when Woodstock College was burned down just after being built, the town council of Woodstock met and voted a large sum of money to assist us in rebuilding. This was refused, believing as we do that we have no right to accept money raised as taxes but paid by people of all creeds."

Mr. Nickle of Kingston, who defended the university Bill which Mr. Bickerdike called "the champion of the persecutors of the Jews today", insisted that it is ridiculous to construe this Bill as "an insult to the Jews or to any other class of people. If the Jews came tomorrow and desired to incorporate a university confined to the adherents of their faith, I would vote for it as readily as I do for this Bill,

recognizing as I do the right of all religious sects to educate their people in the faith of their fathers...

"The whole spirit of Queen's from its inception, has been against religious intolerance. It was founded as a protest against the restriction of King's College, Toronto, now Toronto University. When a student was bound to take a test oath before he could have the advantage of that institution...

"However in 1911 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada consented to the university becoming separated from the Presbyterian Church, but laid down as a condition precedent to that separation, that the distinctively Christian character of the university should be maintained, and at that time appointed two committees, one of which was to cooperate with the trustees of the university in securing legislation, the other to watch the interests of the theological faculty...

"The Presbyterian Church gave consent to this separation on certain terms, and, bowing to the judgment of the Theological Committee of the Presbyterian Church, the trustees and the cooperating committee of the church agreed to these words being reinstated, and it is in that way that the words now appear in the Bill.

"Perhaps it is only fair that I should place before the House my views on this question, because the Bill, as I have already pointed out, is private legislation. It is not a Bill for which I am primarily responsible.

"The Bill that I introduced in this House relates to an institution that is domiciled in Kingston. I might say that my personal views are that the incorporation of Christianity is a mistake from the point of view of the university and from the point of view of the church. It is a mistake because, in my judgment, it will cut off the university from taking advantage of the intellect of certain of the Jewish people who display great aptitude in matters legal, literary, and scientific. It will be a stumbling block in the way of the university when application is made to the government of Ontario for assistance, because the government may then feel justified in saying: 'You are not national in spirit because your restrictions exclude from your trustee board and professional chairs, certain representative Canadian citizens. I think also it is a retrograde movement, because it puts restrictions on Queen's that are not now there, and furthermore, I doubt if the movement is one in the right direction...

"I have told this House, and I have told the member for St. Lawrence (Mr. Bickerdike) in private conversation, that I do not believe in test oaths. I believe the effect of this Bill will be that the scamp may have access to the professoriate of Queen's University and the scholar may be excluded. I believe the man who has no principle may say he is a Christian, while the man of integrity who may happen to be a Jew, will say that even for the sake of the professorial chair, he will

not abandon his religious emotions. When the men who have drafted this Bill tell me that I cannot change one jot or one tittle, I say it is unfair for the hon. gentlemen (Mr. Bickerdike) to brand me as a persecutor of the Jews. The Jews of my own consistency know where I stand in this matter. It is not a question of politics, it is a big question which touches Canada from one end to the other, and which the Presbyterian Church feels, touches her to the very foundation. The men who control the Presbyterian Church maintain that Christianity is the foundation of the common law of this country, and now that the issue has been raised, they, as the representatives of that church, insist that that great principle be maintained, that Christianity is part of the common law of England, and they rely on the enunciation of that principle by the hon. Minister of Justice. What right have I, a commoner of this House, and as a young lawyer without power and without reputation, to set my judgment up as against the judgment of men who sit on the Bench of England and who occupy the Woolsack in Canada, and have represented this Canada of ours as Ministers of Justice in former parliaments? Why should I be branded a persecutor of the Jews because I take this stand? It is not fair politics and I resent it. I do not want to read the member for St. Lawrence a lecture, but we have heard enough about the east as against the west, about Roman Catholic as against the Protestant. Are we going to set Jew against Gentile in this country by striking at the very foundation of the Christianity we revere?...

"There is another question that I have to consider, and it is one that has caused me great worry and anxiety. The question is this: How far am I justified in setting up my views as against the views contained in this Bill, which represent the wisdom of the Presbyterian Church and the wisdom of the trustee board of Queen's University? The only ground on which I would be justified, as a member of parliament, in voting against this Bill, is that within its four corners there are inconsistencies and improprieties from a national point of view...

"I do not agree with the Presbyterian Church or that branch of it which contends for this provision; but I do agree with the contention that the Presbyterian Church, in handing over $800,000 to the university to educate students, has a right to say into what hands that work shall be entrusted. I do not think it ever crossed the mind of the Presbyterian Church or the representatives of the university that this would give offence to the Jews.

"If I catch correctly the spirit of the Presbyterian Church this was aimed not at the Jew, but at the agnostic and the atheist, because the Presbyterian Church desires to retain its great educational institution as founded on Christianity, as requiring those it sets to educate the youth of Canada to be Christians, to believe in the divinity of Christ...

"As the ex-Minister of the Interior says, why should not the Presbyterian Church be allowed to give this great gift to the nation, and widen the sphere of its influence?...

"I have listened to the arguments advanced by my hon. friend from St. Lawrence (Mr. Bickerdike), and of those whom he contends he primarily represents, and I have been struck with the fact that only on one ground can he hope to succeed in having either clause 3 or clause 20 amended or altered in any way. If I interpret correctly the argument of the member for St. Lawrence, it is that there is an inconsistency in having in the Bill clauses 3 and 20. If the members of the House will follow me they will see that clause 3 of Bill (No. 68) reads as follows:

> "'The management and discipline of the university shall be in every respect freed from all denominational restrictions, and it shall be national and non-denominational in its character and management;'

"Clause 20 is to the following effect:

> "'The university shall continue distinctively Christian, but no religious test or qualification save the profession of Christianity shall be required of or appointed for any officer, trustee, member of council, or official of the university. Laymen shall be eligible to any position therein.'

"The argument of the hon. member for St. Lawrence is that there is an inconsistency in the Bill in saying that a university shall be national, and at the same time saying that it shall be distinctly Christian. The promoters of this Bill answer those objections by referring to cases decided in the courts in England and in Ontario. In the case of the Crown versus Milburn, which is reported in the Law Reports, Exchequer Court Cases, 1867, volume 2, page 230 (234) Baron Kelly enunciated the doctrine that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land.

"They also draw my attention to a case that was decided in Ontario, in 1879, Pringle versus Napanee, in which the Divisional Court held that Christianity in general and not simply the tenets of a particular sect is part of the recognized law of the province.

"In Shirley's Leading Cases, fifth edition, at page 155 to 158, the same principle is enunciated: That Christianity is part of the common law of England. The argument might be advanced that while Christianity was part of the law of England, yet parliament with plenary jurisdiction could vary in any way the desire to enact a law of this sort. But then the promoters of the Bill estop me still further by drawing my attention to 'Hansard' of 1896, page 5023, in which the late Minister of Justice spoke as follows when the Lord's Day Act was before this House for discussion:

"'The general scope of this Bill is indicated by its title, an Act respecting the Lord's Day, an Act intended to secure the better observance of the Christian Sunday, throughout the whole of Canada. Christianity, I need scarcely say, is recognized as constituting part of the law of Canada, as it is of the law of the British Empire, and statutes declaring certain things to be offences because they profane the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath have been frequent upon the statute books of the imperial parliament and of this parliament and of its predecessors.'

"As a member of parliament, in the face of such decisions and of the statements of the late Minister of Justice is it correct to say that Christianity is not a part of the law of this land, and that a Bill is inconsistent which states in one clause that a university shall be National and in another that it shall be distinctly Christian? After giving the matter the most careful consideration that I have been able to have come to the conclusion that there is nothing necessarily inharmonious in this Bill, that is to say that a university is National and to say that a university is distinctly Christian, is practically saying legally one and the same thing, but in different terms. I might say for the enlightenment of my hon. friend (Mr. Bickerdike) that when this clause was drafted it was never thought for one moment that it would be offensive to the Hebrew citizens of this country.

"Queen's is at all times willing to open her doors to men of other faiths and I trust the time will never come when Queen's will feel that she need shut her doors in the face of any man who comes seeking for instruction.

"This university was founded by the Presbyterian Church and has been endowed with Presbyterian money; and it would seem that these people are within the sphere of their right when they ask this parliament to ratify legislation that widens the scope of her operations.

"Some people might object that a clear severance should be made between education and the state; and, I think, when they try to put on the term 'National' as used a narrow meaning, and say that because the university is declared to a National university, therefore it becomes the ward, so to speak of the state, they do not give to the word its true and direct meaning. The idea that the trustees had in the use of that word was that 'National' meant that Queen's is a free institution to which every student could freely come, that it was geographically National; and, while certain restrictions were put on the staff, and on the trustee board, she was National in this, that she offered free opportunity to those who seek an education to take advantage of the opportunities that she possesses.

"And I think that when my hon. friend from St. Lawrence, Montreal, (Mr. Bickerdike), considers the matter he will see the propriety of allowing the preamble of this Bill to pass, and that we should discuss

in committee the modification he desires, when it may be possible, that some solution of a very vexed question may be reached. It would be radically unfair that because certain terms are objectionable to him, and to those whom he purports to represent, the whole Bill should be killed." (House of Commons Debates, March 11, 1912)

Minister of Justice Doherty defended the proposed University Bill,

"If our Hebrew friends came to us and asked for the incorporation of a Hebrew university, desiring to keep the teaching in their own hands, surely we would not refuse so long as the corporation called itself what it distinctively was. I have had the pleasure of hearing the observations of many of our Hebrew friends upon this Bill, and, unless I entirely misapprehend them, they do not object to the institution making a profession of that kind, provided it is clearly and distinctly a Christian institution, and is not given the title 'National' or 'undenominational.' I am, perhaps, as anxious to meet the desires of these gentlemen as is the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bickerdike), and that is what I understand them to desire."

Montreal member Bickerdike was the eloquent defender of the Jewish cause,

"My friend Nickle the other day quoted largely from Sir John Thompson, a man whose memory we all respect. But the hon. gentleman forgot to say that Sir John Thompson was the man who declared that wherever minorities were found they should be treated not only justly but generously.

"Now, I ask him if it is just or generous to some half a million good, loyal inhabitants of this country, loyal to the Union Jack, to pass section 20 of this Bill, which is an insult to them, and specially to single them out as unworthy to enjoy equal rights with their fellow citizens in Canada. And here we are asked to legalize that insult. I hope this House will never agree to adopt section 20.

"We should be very careful in this country how we deal with minorities. Although these men are Jews, they have souls just as well as my hon. friend who has just taken his seat, and why should we single them out for unfair treatment? Why, even a negro, much to his credit, can be a professor in Queen's College, while a Jew cannot. A Jew cannot even be a janitor, cannot even be an employee in that institution; and here you are asking us to pass a law that for all time to come will exclude Jews from Queen's University.

"A Jew may be one of the best educated men in this country, he may have all the qualifications requisite to make an excellent professor, and yet you impose upon him here a test that he cannot take.

"England, at a former time, made just such unjust distinctions against Jews. My hon. friend has the evidence by him, and he knows that three universities combined to strike out those religious tests. I

think that the secret of England's greatness is the fact that she has always dealt justly and generously by minorities. Is Canada going to do any less? Why should Canada pass a law shutting Jews out from any university in this country? Why should Canada pass a law that would prevent a Jew even from sweeping the streets in front of this university? I think it is an outrage, and on reflection I do not think this House will consent to it.

"I acquiesced in the opinion of the Minister of Justice on the constitutional question, because he was the Minister of Justice, and believed he was right, although I think he was wrong. I have always taken the ground that educational matters belong exclusively to provincial jurisdiction. Why should this Bill undertake to say that we have jurisdiction here under the British North America Act? I think I have heard my good friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Foster) argue several times that educational matters belong specially to the jurisdiction of provincial legislatures.

"For my part, I am strongly opposed to section 20, and I move in amendment to strike out these words 'save the profession of Christianity'. I want to strike out this religious test, and I appeal to hon. members of this House to assist me.

"The hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Nickle) suggested that a man who wants to become a professor could easily profess the doctrine of Christianity; he said that some men might do so, but he did not think the Jews would. I suppose he meant that they could not. What harm will it do to strike out these words, which are an insult to a large number of loyal Canadians? I see no necessity for them whatever. The hon. member for Kingston himself admits that it would be right to strike them out, but he does not wish to do so because the university authorities wish them to remain in. I think, however, that we should follow our own judgment and strike out these words...

"I will not be dictated to even by the Presbyterian church."

"MR. LANCASTER: I do not, as a rule agree with the hon. member for St. Lawrence Division, Montreal (Mr. Bickerdike), but on this occasion I am obliged to agree with him. It seems to me this amendment he has offered ought to be adopted by this committee. I cannot approach this matter without reminding myself that this House might properly be called Caesar's court. We have no business, as I understand our constitution, to make any distinction between one man and another on the ground of his religion. We are called upon in parliament to legislate only for the welfare of loyal British subjects, and I cannot understand why we should indirectly insult a man who is a good, loyal British subject, as this Bill would do without this amendment.

"I suppose I am as much wedded to the Christian religion as any other man in this House, but I consider that anyone who tries to convert a Jew by depriving him of his state rights is doing a very

un-Christian thing. We have no right to put a mark against a Jew, or even an atheist, in this matter.

"It is not entirely a matter of the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church is not able to do what it wants to do without the legislation of this parliament, and it comes here and asks us to approve of what it is doing, and to give it a greater strength than it could have without that legislation; and it wants us to draw a line between the Jew and the Christian as to education.

"This is a place where we render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's. We have no business here to do anything towards the salvation of souls. The man who says that he is in this House for the purpose of doing the work of the churches is mistaken upon the constitution and is very nearly a hypocrite. We have no business to attempt to affect prejudicially or otherwise the religion or non-religion of anyone who is a loyal citizen of King George. Therefore, I cannot vote for this, and I think we ought to be very careful before we establish any such precedent...

"On the other hand, I cannot understand why we should put a premium upon any man joining the Christian religion. I do not think Christianity would be served by exercising any such compulsory powers. This is coercion, and this House ought not to exercise coercion on anybody, no matter to what church or sect he may belong, so long as he is a loyal subject to King George. We are here asked to give sanction to this legislation.

"We must do it either because the institution is denominational or because it is national. If this is a denominational institution, which has certain rights as such, that is one thing; but to say here that we are going to exclude by Act of parliament, or to sanction the exclusion of certain people from this university because they are not Christians, it seems to me is striking a blow at their citizenship which we ought not to do.

"Let me remind this House that an atheist, who is further removed from Christianity than a Jew, is perfectly competent to sit in this House; he is just as competent to exercise the franchise as a Christian or anybody else. He has all rights co-equal with any one of us, whether we are Jews or Christians. Why, Sir, under our constitution the Prime Minister of this country might be an atheist, and competent to advise His Excellency on all matters, and an atheist is even further removed from Christianity than a Jew. We cannot forget that a former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Benjamin Disraeli, who became Lord Beaconsfield, was a Jew. I personally feel that I ought not to give a silent vote on this matter or allow the measure to pass without some such amendment as that moved by the hon. member (Mr. Bickerdike).

"To properly represent my constituency I must declare for full rights of citizenship for every one without putting any impediment in

the way of any citizen, without any attempt to restrict his liberties, either by persuasion or coercion in any legislation and I cannot vote that any institution wanting state legislation should be allowed to pick or choose between Jew and Christian."

"MR. SHARPE: (Ontario) The last speaker (Mr. Lancaster) and also the hon. member for St. Lawrence (Mr. Bickerdike) are apparently arguing on the assumption that this is public legislation; on the contrary it is private legislation, asked by private individuals. I agree with the hon. member for Lincoln that we should not place a ban upon any one by any public legislation, but we have here certain private individuals asking us to pass an Act that is private legislation. They ask for this legislation which is the result of an agreement. The amendment proposed would destroy that agreement among the parties. We would be guilty of breach of faith if we accepted this amendment."

"MR. LANCASTER: Where is the difference in our function? It matters not whether it be a public or a private Bill, parliament is asked to sanction this. If we adopt it we advise His Royal Highness the Governor General to approve a certain Act of parliament and I see no difference in regard to our function between a public and a private Bill. For my part I cannot advise His Royal Highness to sanction any such Bill as this."

"MR. DEVLIN: As I shall be called upon to vote on this amendment, I do not wish to give a silent vote and shall explain briefly why I propose to support the amendment of the hon. member for St. Lawrence division (Mr. Bickerdike). The hon member for St. Lawrence is perfectly right in saying that this is offering an insult to a religious sect in this country. The Jews are very, very respectable people and, as was pointed out a moment ago by my hon. friend from Lincoln (Mr. Lancaster), Benjamin Disraeli, one of the ablest men in the history of Great Britain was Jewish.

"I know from experience that McGill, one of the greatest universities in Canada, does not exclude any man of any faith from a chair in that university. I know that the Minister of Justice, who does not profess the Presbyterian faith with which McGill is very closely allied, accepted for a great many years a professor's chair in that university. In fact I had the honour to be a student of the university when the minister was giving a course of lectures. I speak in favour of the Jews being recognized in this country not from any political point of view, because, to the best of my knowledge, I have not a Jewish voter in Wright. I think if we are going to lay down as a principle in this country that there shall be no coercion, the Presbyterians should not ask us to sanction an Act which will involve coercion of the Jews, any more than the members of any other faith should ask us to coerce, for instance, the province of Manitoba.

"I hardly think it can be argued in this House that any particular religious body can ask the Canadian parliament to establish any set

rule in the educational system, we will say again, in the province of Manitoba, which would exclude either Protestants or Roman Catholics. If we are not going to recognize any established church in this country, and if the universities we charter are to be undenominational, why should not Jews, who believe in God, be recognized just as well as any other religious body.

"I am very sorry to have to take part in a discussion which does not concern the religious family to which I belong, but since it becomes my duty to vote on this measure, I want to say that I recognize no established church in Canada, and I cannot vote to insult a most respectable element in our community, namely the Jews." (Hansard, March 11, 1912)

At the close of the debate on March 11, 1912 Bickerdike's amendment was negatived 7:70.

"MR. BICKERDIKE: I understand that clause 3 stands."

"MR. BORDEN: Yes, but we will take the amendment now if the hon. gentleman has no objection."

"MR. BICKERDIKE: I have no objection."

"MR. OLIVER: Is this amendment in accordance with the expressed wish of the authorities who are supporting the college or university?"

"MR. NICKLE: It is not in accordance with the expressed wish of those who are promoting this Bill, but it removes from the measure the sting that the Jews are singled out as not being part of the nation. If the committee passes the amendment, as seems to be its spirit now, I will write to the promoters of the Bill, setting out how the matter stands, and if they object to the Bill going on in that form it will have to be withdrawn."

"Section as amended agreed to.

"Bill reported.

"Bill (No. 69) to incorporate Queen's Theological College -- (Mr. Nickle) -- was considered in committee and reported as amended.

"ROYAL ASSENT.

"MR. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the House that I have received the following communication from the secretary of His Royal Highness the Governor General:

"Ottawa, March 11, 1912.

"Sir,--I have the honour to inform you that the Right Hon. the Chief Justice of Canada, acting as deputy of His Royal Highness the

Governor General, will proceed to the Senate Chamber on the 12th instant at four o'clock for the purpose of giving the Royal Assent to certain Bills which have passed the Senate and the House of Commons during the present session."

PUBLIC OPINION

The St. Lawrence Political Association, one of the early Jewish political associations of Montreal, had protested against the passage of the Queen's College Bill. They called a "General Protest Meeting of all the Jewish Citizens of Montreal, irrespective of class, condition and party, for Sunday, March 25th, at 2:00 p.m. at 318 St. Lawrence Blvd., where Mr. Robt. Bickerdike, M.P., Dr. Finnie, M.L.A., Godefroy Langlois, M.L.A., and the most prominent Jewish communal workers representing various fieds of endeavour, such as Mr. Lyon Cohen, S.W. Jacobs, K.C., Ald. A. Blumenthal, Reubin Brainin, I. Lande, Harry Bloomfield, Charles Schneour, B. Hershman, L. Eldstein, etc."

We notice the absence of Sperber and Glazer from the list of eminent speakers, among them Cohen and Jacobs.

Bernard Rose, a prominent observer of current affairs at this time, wrote in the Witness on the Queen's Bill,

"A rigid interpretation of this section would exclude not only our fellow-citizens of the Jewish faith, but also Unitarians, the nobly reverent Deists, the law-abiding and religious Quaker, as well as the philosophical agnostic. It would, therefore, keep from the Board of Management and the several faculties men who are intensely Christian in practice, if not altogether so in profession, and I boldly affirm that section 20 is directly contrary to the fundamental principle enunciated by the founder of Christianity, which principle we refer to as 'the golden rule.'

"Section 20 is unnecessary and arbitrary, and should be excluded from the Bill. Our fellow-citizens of the Jewish faith have rightly shown their dissatisfaction with this measure as framed, and I think their objections are well founded since, while the Canadian Jew could become a student in any one of the several faculties, in the event of a vacancy occurring on the professorial staff of his Alma Mater, and although his qualifications were of the highest, he could not be given the position unless he made a declaration of Christianity.

"Your readers and the promoters of the Bill may not be aware that in two of the foremost of Canadian universities instructors of the Jewish faith are employed. McGill has two and Toronto University one. In these cases the gentlemen referred to are graduates of the institutions in whose faculties they now teach. I do not suppose that any one would for a moment think that either McGill or Toronto University are anything but Christian in character, and yet they do not discriminate. I think Queen's could do worse than follow such excellent examples.

"It ill becomes those whose faith is founded on the Bible to discriminate against the people who cherish its traditions and teachings. Christianity draws its sustaining power from the founder of the dominant religion who was a Jew. Yet his modern disciples frown upon the descendants of those among whom he dwelt and whom he loved.

"I am informed that during the debate on the Bill in committee a declaration was made to the effect that Jews would perhaps some day secure control, and then the Hindoos. I would like to tell the gentleman who made this declaration that the Jew is the most assimilable of racial material. This is borne out by statistics and anthropological data. Under beneficent conditions the specifically Jewish type of countenance relaxes, and he is the first to adapt himself to his surroundings and enter into the national life. This can be verified any day of the week by a comparison between the physiognomy of the Jew who is Canadian by birth or training and the one who was born and reared in Europe. Our citizens of the Jewish faith have never clamored for separate schools; their faith is strong enough to stand the strain. And yet, in spite of the possession of these commendable qualities, Queen's thinks that the Jews should be excluded from her teaching staff.

"If a vote was taken of the teaching staffs of the universities of this country and the United States, it would be found that very few members are what we call dogmatic Christians. They are Christian in conduct, and I think that is what the founder required. Christianity itself is undergoing mighty changes. The higher critics discredit a good deal of what has for centuries been reverenced by Christians, and a number of German theologians are even questioning the historical existence of Jesus. And yet, in spite of this, Queen's wishes to go on record as being distinctly narrow instead of distinctly Christian. Both Oxford and Cambridge universities have on their teaching staffs Englishmen who profess the Jewish faith, and if these two foremost educational institutions do not discriminate, I fail to see why Queen's should.

"The whole movement, which has culminated in the present demand for the granting of corporate powers by the Federal Government, is largely due to the desire on the part of the professorial staff of Queen's to participate in the Carnegie Pension Fund, which can only be taken advantage of by universities that are undenominational in character, and I feel confident that if the Bill is passed in its present form, application made by Queen's to share in this fund, and the attention of the Scotch ironmaster is called to clause 20, he will most emphatically declare that, by virtue of the said section, Queen's is a denominatinal university. Andrew Carnegie's views on religion are more deistical than Christian, but, as I have already remarked, his conduct is such as would be approved by the Son of Man. I trust, therefore, that before the Bill becomes law those interested will do as they would be done by.

"Note: McGill College had the Reverend Abraham De Sola as a professor from the time of its reorganization in the early fifties. Still it was professedly and by its charter a Protestant University."

BITTER PROTEST

The Montreal Jewish weekly summarized the legislative conclusion of the debate,

"The Queen's University Bill, which was passed by Parliament at the session just closed, was passed in such a mutilated form that it can hardly be recognized even by its own fathers, namely, the gentlemen composing the Presbyterian General Assembly.

"When it was first presented to Parliament the promoters of the Bill started out with the object of making the University one which was declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, and it was also declared to be national and undenominational in its character and management. It was for these purposes that clauses 2 and 3 of the Bill embodying the above provisions were inserted. But desiring also to retain in their own power the character, management and teaching of the University, they inserted clause 20 in their Bill which provided that a test oath shall be required of all its officials, namely, that they must believe in Christianity, that they must be Christians.

"The reasons for inserting clause 2 and 3 are obvious, namely, that the professors of the university should be able to benefit by and come under the provisions of the Carnegie Pension Fund and that the University itself should be able to obtain assistance from the Province of Ontario. The raison d'être for the original clause 20, now clause 19 of the Bill, has already been explained and is too obvious for any further explanation.

"Owing to our efforts, and when we use the word 'our' we mean the whole Jewish community and not in any personal sense, clause 2 of the Bill was struck out in toto and clause 3 of the Bill was amended by striking out the words, 'national and undenominational in its character and management.'

"Owing to the force of public opinion, which is certainly against the establishment of any test oath in a university, the promoters of the Bill decided to amend clause 19 thereof by striking out the provisions requiring the test oath, only requiring that the professors of the University should be gentlemen of Christian character, and that the University shall continue distinctively Christian.

"By doing so, and by declaring publicly at their conference that the words 'Christian character' did not necessarily mean a belief in Christianity, they hoped to placate public opinion.

"This amendment we discussed last week and declared that it was inacceptable to us, and that so long as any religious qualification was attached to the university we objected to it being called a national

university. The amendment made by the promoters of the Bill was accepted by Parliament without, however, repealing the previous amendments made.

"The University today, therefore, is not a national institution, nor is it declared to be to the general advantage of Canada. It is today a University purely sectarian namely, a Christian University, and though we would have liked to have seen a free and national institution, nevertheless, as the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Mr. Doherty, stated to the writer, as well as on the floor of the House of Commons, that he could not see any objections to voting for a charter giving certain gentlemen the right to establish a sectarian university, if that was what they proposed to establish, and also declared that if Jewish citizens or citizens of any race or creed made application for the establishment of a university for themselves, he would just as readily vote for their Bill, but such a university has nothing national about it, we are obliged, of course, to accept this reasoning.

"However, the character of the University is so plain and clear that there can be no possible misapprehension. The University is a purely Christian institution, as much as a church is a Christian institution or a synagogue a Jewish institution.

"The fact that persons not professing Christianity will be admitted there both as students and as professors does not change the character of the persons who seek admission and entrance thereto inasmuch as the part is always absorbed by the whole.

"It is a pity that the promoters of the Bill did not see their way clear to establish a great and free institution of learning admitting within its doors without loss of self respect, everybody who desired to learn and to teach. We use the words 'without loss of self respect' because nobody who is not a sincere Christian could possibly seek admittance either to learn or to teach in the University because by doing so he assumed a Christian character, which is not in keeping with the upbringing or with his needs mode of life. But those who respect themselves and their institutions will naturally seek their opportunities to learn and to teach elsewhere than the narrow halls of Queen's University. The loss will be not ours but theirs." (Canadian Jewish Times, Apr. 5, 1912)

A.B. BENNETT VIEW

An important perspective on the Queen's University episode in Canadian Jewish history is recorded contemporaneously by a young Kingston student at McGill University who was to become one of the shapers of the national community, Archibald B. Bennett.

His comments make difficult reading for being so non-conformist, yet coming from so central and advanced a figure in the journalism and in the history of the community. There is a puckish element in Bennett's public thinking that persisted to the end of his long career. However, it is not totally unfair to ask whether in this case -- possibly the only case -- Bennett might have been influenced by his fresh loyalty to the institution, Queen's College, which he had just left as a proud and grateful alumnus.

This articulate youthful philosopher edited the Canadian Jewish Times some months before the parliamentary crisis. When it concluded painfully he commented in the weekly of June 7, 1912,

"The Queen's University Bill incident has been one of the most unpleasant episodes in the history of Canadian Jewry.

"It is not an unusual thing for us to meet with manifestations of intolerance of a more or less serious nature not only in Quebec, but even in the English-speaking provinces as well. But the idea of a great seat of learning -- one of the greatest in the land -- openly giving countenance to the practice of discrimination against Jews came to us as a distinct surprise and shock.

"It is irritating when a hotelkeeper assumes an air of exclusiveness towards members of our race; but for a college, a centre of thought, to snub us, was more than we could possibly bear with equanimity.

"Accordingly, we girt our loins and prepared for a protracted struggle. We sharpened our pencils; we appointed committees; we called mass meetings; we rushed to the m.p.'s who were gracious enough to favor us with a smile during the last campaign; we sent delegations to Ottawa. In short, we gathered all our forces, and lined them up in an imposing array to charge upon the enemy. And after the smoke of battle had cleared away, we had no cause to feel disappointed. We carried the day. Our victory was perhaps not clear-cut and decisive. Nevertheless, it was quite satisfactory.

"Yet it is remarkable that, while we had no reason to blush over the part we took in the affair -- our cause was worthy, and our achievement not disappointing -- still we appeared very anxious to forget about the episode as quickly as possible.

"This anxiety is probably to be accounted for by the fact that there is a natural tendency in man to divert his attention from the painful and to focus it upon the pleasant. The campaign which was waged over the Queen's Bill, while it ended in a victory for us (for all practical purposes), was yet a very painful affair. It rudely shocked our Jewish sensitiveness. And we felt relieved when it was all over, and we had no longer to think about it.

"However, though it may be disagreeable again to refer to the Queen's incident, I must nevertheless do so, in order to expose two very wrong notions, which were born during the heat of the campaign, and have since acquired great vogue among a considerable part of the Jewish public. They are, first, that the Queen's Bill was motivated by and was the reflection of a deep-rooted instinct of anti-Semitism in the minds or hearts of the people of Canada; and secondly, that Queen's College itself is a hot-bed of prejudice and Jew-baiting.

"These two fallacies must be exterminated, or like all delusions, they might some day prove incalculably harmful.

"Our leading Jews, those who took an active part in the campaign against the Bill, were undoubtedly fully cognizant of the true significance of the measure. They have come in contact with the people who were responsible for and supported the obnoxious clauses, and were, therefore, able to judge them at first hand and thus, more or less correctly. But these men, aside from waging their battle, did not deem it necessary to enter into or analyse the affair for the benefit of the public at large. It was not their function to do so.

"On the other hand, the masses, the bulk of the Jewish community, were in no position to gain a direct knowledge of the circumstances, and had, therefore, to depend for their information on the reports furnished them by the Jewish press. And here is the rub. The Jewish papers were woefully incorrect and unfair in the treatment of the matter. Their accounts were for the part inflammatory rather than instructive. Our own paper spent most of the space which it had devoted to this incident in arguing with the backers of the Bill.

"The arguments were sound and valid. But when one is arguing for one's side, one cannot be expected to take a broad and comprehensive view of the subject under discussion. Our local and New York Yiddish contemporaries were altogether misleading. The Eagle with the exception of printing one sensible article by Mr. Roback, was constantly encouraging the impression that the Queen's Bill was the product of a clique of terrible anti-Semites who might pounce on us and tear us to pieces if we dared come too close to them. It could find no better appellation for the measure than 'anti-Semitic decree.' Our New York friends wrote in a tone which indicated their surprise that we were not massacred long ago by those hooligans who compose the Canadian population.

"Fed on such absurdities, it is not surprising that many of our Jewish people, particularly those that read the Yiddish press exclusively, are today going around with very queer notions in their heads concerning the position of the Jews in this country. I have, myself, heard more than one otherwise rational Jewish man and woman discuss the Queen's Bill and its significance in some such vein as this.

"'Today they are prohibiting Jews from holding offices at Queen's. Tomorrow, they will do the same thing in other colleges. Next they will bar even students from entering the college halls, and then it will not be long before they will actually massacre Jews in the streets like they do in Russia.'

"Think of such contingencies as these happening in Canada! Of course not everybody is as extreme in his pessimism as all that, some are willing to take a more cheerful view of the future. But there are very few who would not at any rate concur in the proposition that the Queen's Bill must be regarded as a writing on the wall.

"Similarly, a false impression has been created and still prevails among a vast number of Jews concerning the character of Queen's University itself, as an institution which is supposed to minister to the educational needs of this country. Mention the name 'Queen's' to almost any reader of Jewish papers and he will wink at you knowingly, as much as to say, 'Oh that place! Say, what kind of a college is it anyway? We heard some pretty funny things about it lately.' It is ironical that this college which is one of the noblest and most useful -- perhaps the most useful of all the institutions of its kind in Canada -- should be the one to be associated with all that is mean and low, in the minds of so many citizens of Canada.

"One would imagine by reading the Jewish papers that some Russian Black Hundred College has been transplanted to Canadian soil, on the 'old Ontario strand'; and that, as such, it is now continuing under the title of Queen's University to preach the distinctively Russian doctrines of the inferiority of the Jews and of the desirability of having them exterminated. I need only adduce the fact of the Varsity Jewish student who wrote to one of the English dailies of his city, severely reprimanding Queen's for not allowing Jewish young men and women to obtain an education in its classrooms -- to illustrate the density of the ignorance which prevails even among the educated classes of Jews with regard to the purport and effect of the Queen's Bill. And assuredly no one is as much to blame for this condition as the Jewish Press. Its function is to guide public opinion. In this case it did not guide; it misled and perverted it.

"I can well conceive of some of our readers even now becoming impatient and exclaiming: 'Well, what difference does it make what we think about the Bill or the College? If we are wrong, it is hardly worthwhile for us to go to the trouble of changing our opinions'...

"It behooves us to exercise all possible care in the formation of our notions or conceptions, and to permit no idea, which is not based upon the best truth obtainable, to become fixed in our minds. We should be traitorous to our essential natures if we did not.

"For this reason alone, therefore, we would be justified in making this attempt to overhaul our conceptions of the Queen's Bill, and the character of the college. But this is not the only reason which lends plausibility to the present essay. There is a more cogent one than that.

"We will not be able to appreciate our position as Jews, in this country, our relation to the people about us, and the future that we may expect here, unless we interpret such important phenomena as the Queen's affair correctly. We are a comparatively recent factor in the national life of Canada. We must understand our surroundings and learn to enter into an harmonious relation with them, if we are to become an appreciable force in this country. And admittedly the best method we can employ to reach an understanding of our environment is to study its representative movements and its representative institutions.

"No movement was more representative of the genius of the Canadian people than that which led to the separation of Queen's College from the Presbyterian Church, and which culminated in the passage of the Bill in parliament in its form as finally amended by the church committee. No institution is a truer reflection of the spirit of the Canadian nation, of its civilization at its best and noblest than Queen's College with its remarkable uphill struggle from the first day of its inception against the most crushing odds; Queen's College with its thorough democracy -- its curriculum is the most democratic of those of all the universities of Canada -- and yet with the essential note of conservatism and reverence for tradition and the past vibrating through its whole system -- where can you find a better mirror of the characteristic features of the Canadian people, energetic, democratic, and tradition-loving as they are? Misunderstand a phenomenon like the Queen's Bill; misunderstand an institution like Queen's College, and you will place a barrier in your own way to an appreciation of the genius of your environment, and of your position in it, which will be hard to surmount.

"What are the facts then?

"A personal acquaintance with many of the members of the governing body, with almost the entire staff, and with the spirit which prevails among the undergraduates, warrants me in saying that the Queen's Bill must by no means be regarded as a sign of the growth or intensification of the sentiment of anti-Semitism among the intellectual classes of Canada. In no place has the scholarly element always been unqualifiedly the purest and freeest from stains of anti-Semitism.

"We remember only too well the strictures of the late Mr. Goldwin Smith against Jews, and the case of Melville Dewey, the state librarian in New York. Unbounded learning is not in every instance an effective antidote to inborn prejudices. In Canada, however, I think I can safely say, the men of learning have, as a rule, shown themselves to be singularly fair and unbiased in their attitude towards Jews and the Jewish problem, in decided contrast to the position taken by so many of their fellow scholars in such countries as Germany, Austria and France. And the Queen's Bill is not ominous of a change. An analysis of the circumstances will make this statement clear.

"In the formulation and passage of the Bill, four parties were directly involved (a) the governing body of the college, that is, the Board of Trustees; (b) the staff of professors; (c) the church which was the parent of the college and (d) the parliament which passed the measure. Let us examine the attitude of each of these parties towards this question, and see whether Jew-hatred was really the motive of the disputed clauses:

"(a)..THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES. This body has until now had control of the management of the University within a certain latitude prescribed for it by the Presbyterian Church. It is composed of two sections, viz., members of the church or ministers, and laymen, the former section predominating numerically.

"I know it as a fact that when the church committee proposed the 'test clauses' the lay members almost to a man protested vigorously against their insertion in the charter. But their voice of protest was ineffectual because, in the first place, the Board of Trustees as a body had to submit to the dictation of the church committee which had absolute power in the matter; and in the second place, those who did not wear the ministerial garb were outnumbered by those who did; and the latter sided with the church. What is at present of interest to us, however, is that the non-clerical members of the Board of Trustees of Queen's University, with few exceptions, were opposed to the unsavory clauses.

"(b)..THE PROFESSORIAL STAFF. It was the professors who started the agitation for the separation of the college from the Presbyterian Church. The principal, Dr. Gordon, the vice-principal, Dr. Watson, and the dean of the faculty of Arts, were the leading figures in the movement for the severance. When the church committee insisted on the discriminatory clauses, these men staunchly opposed that retrograde step.

"Dr. Gordon in conversation with me told me that he had fought against the restrictions put on the college by the church with all his might; but that to do more than to protest he had not the power. The vice-principal, who is recognized as one of the greatest intellects in Canada today, expressed himself more than once as being deeply grieved at the idea that the college, to whose growth he had

contributed so much, should be put to the disgrace of having to recognize religious distinctions.

"Dean Cappon only about three weeks ago, in a speech which he delivered before the Queen's Alumni Association at London, Ont., used these very words in reference to the new charter: 'We should all be thankful to the Jews and Baptists of Canada for having saved Queen's from being crippled for life.'

"Prof. W.L. Grant of the department of history, who is a son of the late Principal Grant, the man who virtually built up the college, at the time of the discussion of the Bill in parliament wrote to the Kingston and Toronto press, saying that in his opinion his 'late father would have been heart and soul opposed to the measure.' Professor Morison, another prominent member of the professorate, told me plainly that he regarded the test clauses as disgraceful.

"With these facts before us we can therefore no longer speak of the Queen's Bill as representing the attitude of the men who generate the influence which Queen's as an institution exerts over Canadian thought towards the Jews. The professors of Queen's College are, with scarcely an exception, to my personal knowledge absolutely innocent of the charges of intolerance and narrow-mindedness which have in the general excitement of the Bill, been levelled against them.

"(c)..THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. By the process of elimination we have at last fallen in with the party which cannot possibly shirk the blame for the odious test clauses, namely, the Presbyterian Church committee.

"At the conference of the church, held in Ottawa last summer, when the General Assembly finally sanctioned the separation of the college from the church, a reservation was made to the effect that the new constitution which the university would have to frame for itself should not come into force unless it met with the approval of a committee appointed by the church to represent its interest. The church had established the college. It had nurtured it, and fostered it like a child. And now, when the moment came, when the child, grown big and sturdy, had to leave the parental roof, and shift for itself, it is not unnatural that the mother, the church, should have been anxious that her offspring should remain loyal to her ideas.

"We must not forget that after all, a church exists for the purpose of preaching Christian doctrines. And therefore when we see a church trying to make her influence felt, to gain predominance for her ideals, we really cannot blame her for doing that.

"The Presbyterian Church had a strangle hold on Queen's University, and she was only acting in keeping with the policy of all Christian churches, when she was desirous of utilizing her advantageous position to force the college into her service.

"In acting thus, she was ungenerous. She was selfish. She was prepared to cripple the college for life. But Christian churches have often been worse than ungenerous and selfish in their zeal for the propagation of their ideals. The committee appointed at the last conference met the representatives of the college and told them that the college will not be allowed to sever its connection with the church unless it would manifest its willingness to remain a Christian institution by inserting clauses in its constitution that only Christians shall be eligible to offices on its staff. The professors objected to those clauses; the lay members of the Board of Trustees objected; but the church committee had the power, insisted, and won.

"However, the test clauses emanating as they do from the Presbyterian Church, must in view of the source whence they sprang, not be spoken of as 'anti-Semitic.' If the Board of Trustees or any other body of Canadian laymen had attempted to pass through parliament a bill which would have the effect of harming us, then we should have been warranted in branding such an attempt as an outbreak of anti-Semitism. But when a church is trying to secure the perpetuation of its influence in an institution over which it has formerly had absolute control, we can only say that it is but once more giving evidence of its bigotry, of its belief that it alone has a monopoly of divine truth. And bigotry in churchmen, when called into play against Jews, is by no means synonymous with anti-Semitism.

"(d)..THE PARLIAMENT. It is hard to see how the parliament of Canada could have acted differently from the way it did. The Honorable Mr. Doherty made the position of the House of Commons clear during the debate on the subject. So long as the word 'national' remained in the charter, parliament had grounds for rejecting the measure. But as soon as that word was deleted, the Bill became strictly private legislation over which the government had no jurisdiction. It is true that the Canadian House of Commons did not treat us with as much consideration as it might have done; nevertheless it could easily gain shelter behind a wall of precedent and legality.

"All the talk in the Jewish press about the Queen's Bill having been a bit of anti-Semitic legislature was mere twaddle. The Board of Trustees and the staff of Queen's were entirely helpless in the matter. The parliament acted consistently by demanding the deletion of the word 'national' from the charter before passing it. The church was really responsible for the whole affair; but it acted its part not from motives of anti-Semitism, but from sheer bigotry, and from the belief that it alone is capable of exerting a moral influence over the students of the college.

"Even the church, after we have raised a loud protest against her bigotry, finally softened, and modified the clauses to such a degree that to all intents and purposes we can consider ourselves as having gained our point.

"Whatever the relation of our Christian neighbours to us, the Queen's Bill is certainly no indication of a change for the worse. Only the overheated imaginations of some of our ill-informed writers in the Yiddish papers can look on it as such."

HALIFAX

Characteristically, Rabbi Glazer appears in a 1913 Halifax case when Rabbi Abraham Levitt was fined for cruelty to animals as he slaughtered cattle for the community.

According to charges laid by the local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, this constituted undue cruelty. This accusation was sustained by Stipendiary Magistrate Fielding.

The case clearly endangered the rights of Canadian Jews to fresh Kosher meat, but the local community did not have legal facilities to establish their rights to defend their 3,000-year-old practice. Samuel Whitehouse of Lunenberg and Louis Webber, president of the Baron de Hirsch Hebrew Benevolent Society of Halifax, appealed to Montreal Jewry through the Canadian Jewish Times. "We have lost in the Police Court and we have appealed before the County Judges....Kindly consult with some of the congregations in Montreal, and see what you can do for us in this matter. We have not anyone here who can explain to the Judge all about the Jewish Slaughtering Law." (Apr. 28, June 2, 1913)

By June 3 the legislative committee of the Montreal Baron de Hirsch Institute decided to assist in the case. The Canadian Jewish Times explained,

"It cannot be denied that there was a great lapse of precious time lost by the Legislative Committee from April 4th to June 3rd, at which latter date it was decided to take definite action. The committee should have taken immediate drastic steps to come to the assistance of the helpless community in Halifax. Delay was extremely dangerous. But it must not be forgotten that two of the leading spirits of this body were engaged in the battle against the Quebec Anti-Semitic Trial (Plamondon case), and this no doubt delayed the matter somewhat.

"We further are given to understand that the Legislative Committee endeavoured to get into communication with Halifax, but were unable to obtain a satisfactory response. This delayed matters, too. We, ourselves, made several telegraphic and postal attempts to get into communication with our Halifax brethren but have not met with success." (June 13, 1913)

The Montreal committee telegraphed to obtain a postponement of the appeal proceedings, but in this they were not successful.

In this context Rabbi Glazer proceeded to Halifax to help the local community and to testify at the appeal hearings, for which he was formally thanked by the Canadian Jewish Times. (June 13 and 20, 1913)

In mid-June the verdict against Schochet Levitt was reversed by Judge Wallace. At the same time, Judge Wallace expressed the opinion that the Jewish method of slaughter was most humane.

"This is welcome news indeed, as the successful result of the appeal must put a stop to the contemplated prosecution all over the Dominion, which the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals have in hand. Had the appeal been lost, a very serious situation to Jews in Canada would have arisen. Judge Wallace appears to be a man of understanding who realized that a method which has been in vogue by Jews for a few thousand years, and which was originally based on humane consideration for the animal slaughtered, could not be cruel." (Canadian Jewish Times)

Rabbi Glazer's vigorous initiative in community affairs continued, to the very intense unhappiness of Samuel Jacobs' lay group which very early, back in the days of de Sola Sr., kept the political and communal role of their own ministers down to a minimum. There was no anti-clericalism in this; rather a class attitude which was very conscious of employer-employee relations.

During his years in Montreal Rabbi Glazer contributed to the Adler, under his own name and under the noms de plume of Zerubavel, Eliel and Yigosh, in spite of his mixed relations with the publisher.

AT VAL DAVID

In the early 1920's Schochet Glazer figured as defendant in an arbitration case before the Montreal Rabbinical Council in a dispute with Schochet Rotblat in regard to Shechitah rights in Val David. The letterhead of the council bore the name of H. Cohen, rabbi and chairman of its court; Rabbi Judah Rosenberg, vice-chairman; Rabbi Abraham Dubitzky; Rabbi Moshe Yom Tov Wachtfogel; Rabbi J.D. Berger; Rabbi Joshuah Halevi Hirschorn; Rabbi Nathan Notte Abramovitch; Rabbi Judah Leib Zlotnik; Rabbi Dr. Chaim Abramowitz.

Rotblat had been spending the past nine summers at Val David where he slaughtered fowl. A year earlier Mr. Glazer came there and also performed this function there, which Rotblat considered an invasion of his rights and interests. He appealed before the Rabbinical Council which rendered judgment:

"The Schechitah fees on the orders of fowl which Rotblat sent to Val David and the nearby places belong entirely to him, and Mr. Glazer has no claim on them; except for the fowl slaughtered at the request of residents of Val David who come with fowl to Val David -- Mr. Glazer may slaughter those which are brought to his home for the purpose. But the income from the Schechitah of fowl brought by private residents to the home of either Schochet must be divided between them with 70% for Rotblat and 30% for Glazer.

"The Schechitah rights in Val David belong entirely to Rotblat and not all to Glazer, and the Rabbinic Council has only set up this compromise between them for certain reasons.

"Therefore it is not permitted for anyone to come to kill fowl there; nor may Glazer do so even if Rotblat fails to come to Val David.

"If Mr. Glazer violates any of the above, these determinations are voided and the entire Schechitah fees shall belong to Mr. Rotblat, and we shall be forced to publish that Mr. Glazer is encroaching upon the claims of his colleague, and that his Schechitah in Val David is forbidden.

"In the name of the Rabbinical Council, (Rabbi) Aaron Zalmanovitch."

THE SON

Rabbi Simon Glazer was serving on the advisory board of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America which was operating from the historic HIAS building at 425 Lafayette St. in New York in 1921. He served the Jewish Centre of Harlem and Yorkville, Beth Hamidrash Hagadol (1923-27), Temple Beth El in Brooklyn (1927-30) and Maimonides Synagogue, (1930-38) in New York.

He participated actively in the passage of the U.S. Senate resolution favouring Palestine as the homeland of the Jewish people.

In 1922 he published Palestine Resolution.

He issued a collection of sermons, Visions of Isaiah in 1937, a year before his passing.

His son B. Benedict Glazer was the rabbi in Reform Temple Beth El in Detroit for ten years, after leading Temple Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia and Temple Emanuel of New York (as associate rabbi). He died suddenly in 1952. (Irving I. Katz. The Beth El Story. Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1955)

INDEX

Abramovitch, N.N. 126
Abramowitz, Rabbi Dr. Herman..., 41, 80, 126
ADLER, 28, 44, 47-48, 50, 52-53, 60, 67, 79, 81-82, 117
Anglicans, 2-3, 7, 10-11, 99
Anhalt, I., 54
Ash, S., 47
Ashinsky, A., 51
Austro-Hungarian Congregation, 52, 55-56, 74
AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 35
Baal Shem Tov, ii
Baptists, 21, 98, 100, 121
BAR MITZVAH PULPIT, 53
Baron de Hirsch, 15,25,28,47,49,64,67,70,78-79,84,89,124
Belkin, S., 47, 49
Benjamin, H., 36
Bennett, Archibald B., 116-123
Berger, J.D., 126
Beth Judah Congregation, 55
Beth Solomon Congregation, 55
Bickerdike, R., 91-92, 97-109
BIOGRAPHY OF SAM JACOBS, 94
Bloomfield, H., 92
Blumenthal, A., 6, 66, 88, 111
Bnai Zion Association, 21-22
Board of Deputies, 79
Bonnheim, Dr., 46
BOOK OF SERMONS, 53
Borden, R., 109
Brainin, R., 6, 111
British Columbia, 2
Brodeur, Ald., 62
Burt, A.F., 30-31
C.P.R., 70
Cambridge, 95, 112
Campbell, Dr., 97-98
Campeau, Chief, 7
CANADIAN JEWISH CHRONICLE, 48
Canadian Jewish Congress, 50, 61, 79
CANADIAN JEWISH REVIEW, 48
CANADIAN JEWISH TIMES, 38-39, 41, 43
CANADIAN JEWISH TRIBUNE, 38-39
Cappon, Dean, 121
Carnegie Pension Fund, 83, 88-89, 112, 114
Carnegie, A., 112
Chevra Kadisha Synagogue, 52, 55-56, 74
Chinese, 97
Choquet, Judge, 64

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

CHRONICLE-REVIEW, 48
Cohen, Hirsch, 2, 28, 51, 57, 60, 64-65, 67, 74-75, 80, 126
Cohen, Horace, 57
Cohen, Lazarus, 41, 57
Cohen, Leonard, 57
Cohen, Lyon, 41-42,44-47,49-51,57,67-68,74,84,88,96,111,
Collard, E.A., 35
COMPLETE DICTIONARY ENGLISH-YIDDISH, 53
Cummins, A.B., 74
De Sola, A., 35, 125
De Sola, M., 2, 9, 12-16, 32-34, 80-81
Des Moines, Ia., 52
Detroit, 127
Devlin, (M.P.), 91, 108-109
Dewey, M., 120
Disraeli, B., 107
Doherty, Hon., 105-106, 108, 115
Doucet, T., 36
Dreyfus Case, 40
Drysdale, W., 29, 34
Dubitzky, A., 126
Dubnov, S., 53
Dunsky, S., 54
Durham, 9
Edelstein, H., 41
Eldstein, L., 111
Emmerson, (M.P.)
Episcopalians, 15, 27
Erzwillig, 53
Evans, J.G., 31
Farthing, Bishop, 2-3, 7-8, 12-15
Federation of Ukrainian Jews, 50
Feigelson, H., 2, 32-34
Ferband, 47
Fielding, Magistrate, 124
Figler, B., 7, 16, 41, 94
Findlay, R., 75
Finkelstein, M., 46
Finnie, Dr. 111
Foster, G.E., 98, 106
Free Loan Society, 64
French Revolution, ii
Freshman, C., 35
Freshman, J., 35
Friedlander, J., 10-11
FUN MEINE KINDER YORN, 16-17
Garber, M., 54
Gauvin, Mayor, 6
Gelbman, 42
Glazer, B.B., 127
Glazer, S., 47, 51-89, 92, 111, 124-27
GLIMPSE OF TORONTO'S GHETTO, 4

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

GLINTS OF MOSAIC LIGHT, 37
Godbout, Ald., 65
Goldman, Emma, 69
Goldman, L., 43
Goldstein, B.J., 47
Goodman, J.J., 46
Gordon, H., 43
Gordon, Jacob, 18
Gordon, N., 2, 12, 47, 80-81
Gordon, Principal, 120
Gouin, O., 65
Graetz, H., 53
Grandchamps, Chief, 7
Grant, W.L., 22
GUIDE TO JUDAISM, 53
Halifax, 30, 67, 124
Hamilton, 10-11, 37
Harkavi, A., 53
Hart, A.J., 71-73
Hart, Aaron, 35
Hart, Alexander, 35
Hart, L.A., 35-37
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, 127
Hebrew Protective Association, 44-45
Hebrew Publishing Co., 53
Hebrew Sheltering Home, 77-78
Hebrew Union College, 80
Helmuth, I., 35
HERALD, 94-96
Hershman, B., 111
Hindus, 112
Hirschorn, J., 126
HISTORY OF ISRAEL, 53
Hyman, H., 53
Isaacs, A.S., 35
Isaacs, H.A., 46
Jacobs, Lyon W., 6
Jacobs, Rabbi S., 19, 22, 88
Jacobs, S.W., 8,41-2,44,49-51,57-9,67-8,78,88-9,94-8,111,125
Japanese, 97
JEWISH COMPROMISER, 52
Jewish Endeavour Sewing Society, 14, 19, 25
JEWISH HERALD, 52
Jewish Ladies Sewing School, 25
Jewish Lads Brigade, 45
Jewish National Society, 6
JEWISH REPLY TO CHRISTIAN EVANGELISTS, 37
Jewish Theological Seminary, 80
JEWISH TIMES, 38, 48
Johnstone, G.F., 92
Joint Distribution Committee, 49
Joseph, G., 36

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

Kansas City, 53
Kaplansky, A.L., 53
Kerr, Archdeacon, 30
Khal Yeshurun Congregation, 55
Kingston, 31
Kol Israel Chaverim Congregation, 55
Lafontaine, Judge, 64
Lamdan, S., 64-68
Lampe, D., 30-31
Lancaster (M.P.), 91, 106-108
Lande, I., 111
Langlais, G., 111
Lapidoth, Moses, 53
Lehrman, Wolf, 53
Levitt, A., 125
Levy, M.Z., 55
London Society for Conversion..., 27, 30-31
London, Ont., 31
Lord's Day Act, 2
Lunenberg, 124
Lutherans, 35
Magid, M., 54
Maimonides, 53
Mapu, A. i
McCarey, J.J., 63
McCarter, J., 26-29, 32-34
McGill, 36, 47, 108, 111
McMaster University, 100
Medres, I., 38
MEIN LEBENSREISE, 6
Michele, Louise, 69
Mieff, E., 53
Missionaries, 1-37
Missionary Alliance, 31
Monk, Hon., 92
Montefiore, M., ii
Montreal Abattoirs Ltd., 74-75
Montreal Foundling Hospital, 64
Mormons, 97
Myerson, M., 54
Napanee, 103
Negroes, 105
Nervich, H.P., 38-40, 42, 47, 70
Neugewirtz, D.J., 6, 16, 27, 30
Nickle (M.P.), 90, 100-106, 109
Nidrewitz, Jacob, 53
Noveck, H., 16-17
O.R.T., i
Ohev Shalom Congregation, 75
Oxford, 95, 112
Pants Makers' Union, 69
Patterson, W., 74

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

Plamondon Case, 78, 83, 124
Poale Zion, 47, 49, 61
PRESBYTERIAN, 21
Presbyterians, 2, 4-6, 20-22, 26, 31-34, 83-124
Quakers, 111
Quebec City, 35, 55-56, 75
Queen's College, 83-127
Rabinowitz, Abraham, 53
Rawlinson, Marmaduke, 20
Ray, J., 8
Reuben, M., 29
Riopel, Capt., 8
Roback, A., 117
Robb (M.P.), 91
Rohold, S.B., 4, 21-23
Romantic Revival, ii
Rose, B., 111-113
Rosenberg, Judah, 126
Ross, Commissioner, 7
Rotblat, Schochet, 126
Rumanian Congregation, 52, 55-56, 74
Russell, Pastor, 24
Ryan, C., 38-42, 44
Ryland, W.H., 36
Sabbatai Zvi, ii
SABBATH SCHOOL GUIDE, 52
Salvation Army, 27
San Francisco, 39
Saunders, M., 43
Schneour, C., 111
Schubert, J., 6
Scott, Rev., 5
SEFER HAMADA, 53
SELF-MADE VILLAIN, 30-31
Sewing School for Girls, 20
Shaar Hashomayim Congregation, 37
Sharpe (M.P.), 107
Shayne, Dr., 22
Shearith Israel Congregation, 36-37
Shomrim Loboker Congregation, 55
Sidersky, P., 29
Silver, B., 31
Silver, L., 89
Singer, Convert, 5
Singer, Henry, 5, 23-24
Smith, G., 2, 120
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 124-125
SOME BURNING QUESTIONS, 37
Soskin, Dr., 21-22
Speisman, S., 60-61
Sperber, M.M., 83-84, 88-92, 111
ST. ANDREW, 26

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

St. Lawrence Political Association, 111
STRANGERS WITHIN OUR GATES, 25
Sunday Observance, 79, 104
Sweeney, Bishop, 10-11
Szenasi, L., 30-31
TALMUDIC AND OTHER LEGENDS, 37
Tardivel, J.P., 3
TECHINAH BOOK, 53
Temple Emanuel, 47
THE JEWS AND ISRAELITES, 35
THE JEWS OF IOWA, 52
THE JEWS OF TORONTO, 61
Theatre, 44-46
Thomas, G., 16
Thompson, J., 105
Tifereth Israel Congregation, 52, 55
Timothy, I., 26-27
Toledo, 52
Toronto Matzoh Bakery, 68, 75
TORONTO NEWS, 21
TORONTO WORLD, 22-23
Toronto, 3-6, 18-24, 60-61, 67
Trebitsch-Lincoln, I.T., 26-27, 30-31
Trépanier, Léon, 66-67
Troop, O., 2, 25, 28, 35
Unitarians, 111
United Jewish Relief Agencies, 49
University of Toronto, 98, 101, 111
Val David, 126
Vallee, Jailer, 65
VERITE, 3
Verville (M.P.), 91
Victoria, B.C., 2
Vilno, 55
Vineberg, Abel, 20
VISIONS OF ISAIAH, 127
Wachtfogel, M.Y., 126
Wallace, Judge, 125
Watson, Vice-principal, 120-121
Wayman, 69
Wazawieck Case, 31
Webber, L., 124
Weinstock, B., 67
Weir, Recorder, 66
Weiss, L., 37
Wesleyans, 31, 35
Whitehouse, S., 124
Wilson, L.A., 91
Winchester, Judge, 24
Winnipeg, 5, 25, 28, 46
Wiseman, S., 54
WITNESS, 6

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

Wolfe, A.H., 89
Wolofsky, H., 6, 44, 48, 51, 82
Woodstock College, 100
Woodsworth, J.S., 25
Yeshivah Ben Yitchak Alchanan, 80
Yiddish, 44-47
YIDDISHE VELT, 53
YIDDISHER SHTERN, 52
YMHA, 67
Zalmonovitch, A., 126
Zhitlowsky, C., 47
Zipper, J., 54
Zlotnik, J.L., 126

N.B. Titles of publications, underlined in text, are capitalized in index.

Reid, A.H., 69
Reliefs, R., 54, 58, 31, 82
Rockefeller College, 100
Rosenberg, G.A., 85
Rudolph Bad Virchow Alumnus, 80
Ruffian, 44-47
Rumpler Motor, 53
Rutherford, Ernest, 32
Rydberg, C., 47
Ryder, Dr., 54
Ryerson, Mrs., 108

N.B. Titles of publications, appearing in text are capitalized in Index.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES of the CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
PUBLICATIONS by DAVID ROME

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, New Series:

Number	Title
1	Early Documents on the Canadian Jewish Congress, 1914-1921, 69 p. (1974)
2	Inventory of Documents on the Jewish School Question 1903-1921, 118 p. (1975)
3	On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-1931, 136 p. (1975)
4	Canadian Jews - Early in This Century (by B.G. Sack) 95 p. (1975)
5	Our Archival Record of 1933, Hitler's Year, 112 p. (1976)
6	The Congress Archival Record of 1934, 131 p. (1976)
7	Jewish Archival Record of 1935, 119 p. (1976)
8	The Jewish Congress Archival Record of 1936, 148 p. (1978)
9	On our Forerunners - At Work, 94 p. (1978)
10	On our Forerunners - At Work - Epilogue, 98 p. (1978)
11	On Jules Helbronner, 98 p. (1979)
12	On Mackenzie King and Jewish Sweating Labor, part 1, 91 p. (1979)
13	On Mackenzie King and Jewish Sweating Labor, part 2, 77 p. (1979)
14	On Sunday Observance, 1906, 126 p. (1979)
15	On the Early Harts, part 1, 105 p. (1980)
16	On the Early Harts, part 2, 118 p. (1980)
17	On the Early Harts, part 3, 100 p. (1980)
18	On the Early Harts, part 4, 99 p. (1980)
19	On the Early Harts, Their Contemporaries, part 1, 110 p. (1981)
20	On the Early Harts, Their Contemporaries, part 2, 152 p. (1981)
21	On the Early Harts, Their Contemporaries, part 3, 132 p. (1981)
22	On the Early Harts, Their Contemporaries, part 4, 124 p. (1981)
23	On the Early Harts, Their Contemporaries, part 5, 136 p. (1982)
24	Benjamin Hart and 1829, 120 p. (1982)
25	Samuel Becancour Hart and 1832, 165 p. (1982)
26	Anti-Semitism I - The Plamondon Case and S.W. Jacobs, part 1, 104 p. (1982)
27	Anti-Semitism II - The Plamondon Case and S.W. Jacobs, part 2, 121 p. (1982)
28	On the Jews of Lower Canada and 1837-38, part 1, 98 p. (1983)
29	On the Jews of Lower Canada and 1837-38, part 2, 100 p. (1983)
30	On the Jews of Lower Canada and 1837-38, part 3, 108 p. (1983)
31	Anti-Semitism III - Early Anti-Semitism: Threats to Equality, part 1, 111 p.(1983)
32	Anti-Semitism IV - Early Anti-Semitism: Across the Dominion, part 2, 112 p.(1983)
33	Anti-Semitism V - Early Anti-Semitism: The Voice of the Media, part 1, 121 p.(1984)
34	Anti-Semitism VI - Early Anti-Semitism: The Holy Land; Tardivel, 151 p. (1985)
35	Anti-Semitism VII - Early Anti-Semitism: The Imprint of Drumont, 124 p. (1985)
36	The Immigration Story I - The Jewish Times, etc., 114 p. (1986)

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
Montréal, Qué. H3G 1C5

BNQ
000 325 912